

HISTORY OF INDIAN BUDDHISM

by E. LAMOTTE

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HISTORY OF INDIAN BUDDHISM

FROM THE ORIGINS TO THE ŚAKA ERA

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FOREWORD

It is unanimously agreed that Professor Etienne Lamotte's mastery of Buddhist Scriptures is displayed on every page of his impressive *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*. Hence, it is not surprising that as soon as this epoch-making book was published, it quickly became so famous and renowned that introducing such a masterpiece seems to be pointless.

His friends, colleagues and disciples, have spoken at length about the scholar and his work, and in much better terms than I would ever be able to do. Therefore, my task being easier, I feel that the best way of paying tribute to Professor E. Lamotte's memory is to depict briefly the attitude that we have deliberately adopted, from the very moment we undertook the responsability of revising the English translation of one of the finest pieces of scholarship among his huge scientific production.

From the start, all the contributors were deeply convinced that their primary task was to preserve the essence of the original and try to render the flavour of Professor E. Lamotte's vivid and brilliant style, even if this sometimes meant clashing with the new trends that characterize present day Buddhist scholarship. From the beginning, the dilemma proved to be very crucial indeed, namely when we were confronted with the problem of translating accurately the Buddhist technical terms: it soon became obvious that the main difficulty was due to the majority of the basic terms being given different meanings throughout the book, in order to fit the context within which they were used. I was one of the happy few who had the privilege of knowing Professor E. Lamotte, and I believe the only likely explanation is the assumption that the *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* is entirely the product of the phenomenal memory with which the famous scholar was endowed.

To quote briefly even a few examples would be beyond the scope of this foreword, and would be bound to degenerate into a barren debate between specialists. The form of the index of technical terms illustrates clearly the kind of preoccupations we

had to cope with, and, at the same time, exemplifies the compromise we have finally decided to adopt.

The broad outline of the project was initiated by Professor Suzanne Van Riet of the Université catholique de Louvain, director of the Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (P.I.O.L.) in July 1985, and, for the main part, was carried out and achieved by Mrs Sarah Webb-Boin, whose English translations of Professor E. Lamotte's other works enjoy a very high reputation. Thanks to her outstanding ability as a translator, she produced, in a relatively short time, a high-standard, fluent English translation, very close to the French original. We are all glad to have the opportunity to express openly our deepest gratitude for her painstaking efforts, which have greatly contributed to the successful completion of the whole enterprise. In the course of the revision process, Mrs S. Webb-Boin constantly made many valuable suggestions that considerably facilitated the task of the revision team, while enabling us to concentrate on a close scrutiny of particularly controversial doctrinal matters.

It is plain to everyone that Buddhist scholarship is becoming more and more prolific: new archaeological remains come to light, new inscriptions are discovered, texts in Buddhist Sanskrit or Prākrits, unearthed from ruined stūpas, are deciphered and published. All those elements open up new prospects to a deeper knowledge of certain aspects of Indian Buddhism, and contribute to a better approach to the history of Buddhist doctrine. Those factors have been taken into account for compiling a bibliographical supplement which lists the titles of the leading works and essential articles which can shed new light on specific topics. Far from being exhaustive, we have deliberately preferred to be selective by focusing on carefully selected fields of interest, such as : the personality and the religious policy of king Aśoka, the newly discovered Aśokan inscriptions, the irritating, unsolved problem of the origin of Mahāyāna. We decided not to mention the numerous Japanese works dealing with those subjects, bearing in mind that these publications, irrespective of their intrinsic value, are accessible only to a limited number of Buddhist scholars capable of mastering the Japanese language.

The index has been thoroughly revised, completed and, in

some respects, improved. The transcriptions of the Chinese terms have been converted into the Wade-Giles system of transcription, which is more familiar to English-speaking readers and still widely used, though considerably rivalled by the *pinyin* system.

As already mentioned, the Sanskrit technical terms have been extracted from the (general) index, and have been regrouped into a separate index; according to the order of the *devanāgarī* alphabet. It should be pointed out that for some important terms, the English renderings of the different meanings used by Professor E. Lamotte are followed, in brackets, by one or several English equivalents which we feel are better suited to the commonly accepted norms of contemporary Buddhist terminology.

The table of contents has been amended accordingly. Concerning geographical maps, the locations of all important sites have been carefully checked against those on bigger scale maps; while some new localities, where important new discoveries have taken place, have been added.

Finally, as the French edition is the "root-text" to be consulted whenever doubts arise, reference has been made throughout to the pagination of this edition.



Needless to say a project of such amplitude could never have been successfully carried out without close co-operation between Mrs S. Webb-Boin and the members of the revision team who, in addition to their respective specialist contributions in their own spheres of responsability, gave me their full support at a high level, by making invaluable suggestions.

All of us feel greatly indebted to Professor S. Van Riet for having provided the financial support at top level, with funds supplied by the P.I.O.L., and for having found adequate solutions to intricate and apparently insolvable administrative problems to everybody's satisfaction.

My warmest thanks go to my friend and collaborator Jean-Marie Verpoorten (Ph.D.) for having efficiently prepared, co-ordinated and put the finishing touches to the multiple activities of the revision team, composed of Miss Sophie Jacques, Miss Carmen

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PREFACE

v Every year, the number of publications devoted to the life of Śākyamuni and to Buddhist philosophy increases but, in contrast, histories of Buddhism are rare and show signs of being outdated.*

The *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien* by Eugène Burnouf dates from 1845, the *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië* by J.A. Kern goes back to 1882-84, while the manuals of Indian studies such as *L'Inde classique* by L. Renou and J. Filliozat (1947-53), the histories of religions such as *Die Religionen Indiens* by H. von Glasenapp (1943) and the histories of philosophy such as *Die Philosophie der Inder* by H. von Glasenapp (1949) and the *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* by E. Frauwallner (1953-56) contain, it is true, excellent historical summaries but inevitably limited to generalities.

Since the time of Burnouf and Kern, the discovery of new Indian manuscripts, the analysis of Chinese and Tibetan sources, epigraphical findings and archaeological discoveries have increased the information available and the time has come to re-write the history of Buddhism from these new data.

In reponse to a kind invitation by Alfred Foucher, a few days
before his death, the author has attempted here to retrace the
history of the first centuries of Buddhism from the very beginning
(sixth century B.C.) to the start of the Śaka era (end of the first
vi century A.D.). The period concerned practically embraces the
history of early, or to use the traditional expression, Sthavirian
Buddhism.

Whatever al-Bīrūnī may have said, India had her historians. Without speaking of the genealogies (*vaṃśāvalī*) compiled by the royal houses, the chronicles such as the *Dīpa-* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the *Gośṛṅgavyākaraṇa*, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, even the *Aśokāvadāna*, demonstrate clearly enough the existence of an historical or pseudohistorical literature. Nevertheless, the Buddhist sources tend, in general, to move on an abstract level of ideas and, if they explain the doctrine of Śākyamuni and the great scholars in detail, if they give a detailed description of the

functioning of the order of bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs, they are almost completely devoid of historical or chronological indications. The *philosophia perennis* willingly disregards time and space.

However, the relationship between political and spiritual history is very close. Without the favours of an Aśoka, how would the disciples of the Śākya have ever been distinguished from the Muṇḍasāvakas, Jāṭilakas, Magaṇḍikas, Tedaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas and other obscure sects only the names of which are known to us today? If accidents of history had not brought the Buddhists into contact with the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kuśāṇas, Serindians and the Chinese, would they, still today, constitute the most widespread of universal religions?

Our first concern was to replace Buddhism within the historical framework it lacked, to extract it from the world of ideas where it deliberately confined itself in order to bring it back to earth. It is
VII hoped that we have succeeded, at least to a certain degree, by means of a constant recourse to inscriptions, the systematic analysis of the chronicles and the correct arrangement of the geographical information supplied by Chinese pilgrims and which are largely confirmed by archaeological discoveries. Nevertheless, too many dates remain approximate and purely conjectural if they are not confirmed by the writings of Greek and Latin historians or Chinese annalists.

The first five chapters begin with a description of Indian history in which Buddhist facts are enclosed.

During the sixth century B.C. this history was dominated by the Republican States and the smaller kingdoms which made up the sixteen "Great Countries" of northern India. It was in the area of the Middle Ganges, especially in Magadha, that the Buddha Śākyamuni preached his four noble Truths and founded a religious order of mendicant monks who were supported materially by a lay community.

As its name indicates, the Magadhan period (546-324 B.C.) was marked by the constant growth of the kingdom of Magadha under the dynasties of the Haryankas, Śiśunāgas and Nandas, and the settlement of Aryan colonizers in the island of Ceylon. However, North-West India, conquered by Alexander the Great, became the theatre of battles between the Diadochi. During this

troubled period, Buddhism was undergoing a difficult birth. Nevertheless, the monks were able to lay the foundations of their canonical writings and to organize themselves under the direction of their disciplinary leaders and Dharma masters.

Completely dominated by the great figure of the Emperor
VIII Aśoka, the Mauryan period (324-187 B.C.) saw the expansion of Buddhism throughout India as a whole and its implantation in the island of Ceylon. Even more than the texts, the archaeological discoveries enable us to follow this progress step by step. The council of Pāṭaliputra was marked by dissensions between the monks; then, Mahādeva's heresy widened the gap and, finally, the schism of the Mahāsāṃghikas split the Buddhist monks into two rival parties.

The period of the Śuṅgas and Yavanas (187-30 B.C.) constituted a critical period during which Buddhism, while making some progress, had to face many difficulties. In the Ganges Basin, King Puṣyamitra and his successors adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the monks, and the devout, monotheistic movement which was inaugurated by the Viṣṇuite sects counterbalanced the influence of the *Good Law*. In contrast, in the North-West, certain Indo-Greek kings, especially Menander, relied on Buddhism to assert their authority. In Ceylon, the kings Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi set up an increasing number of religious foundations and the latter favoured the writing down of the canonical texts. The Śuṅga period also witnessed the inception and efflorescence of the early school of sculpture in central India, the main centres of which were Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñcī.

The Śakas and Pahlavas (100 B.C.-75 A.D.), who succeeded the Greeks in the north-west and soon seized the western coast, also ended by showing favour to Buddhism, and several Scythian satraps set themselves up as benefactors of the Community. In order to reach those simple souls, Buddhist propaganda had to
IX simplify its methods and adapt its teachings somewhat. Supported by these new masters and with the goodwill of the first kings of the Dekkhan, the disciples of Sākyamuni got into the habit of carving their temples and dwellings out of bare rock. This rock-carved architecture, which was inaugurated during the Scythian era in the western Ghāts, was to continue for many centuries.

The chronological account of the first six centuries of Buddhism is followed by two chapters, one of which is devoted to the sects and the other to the Buddhist religion.

Sthavirian Buddhism or the Hīnayāna consists in the main of eighteen sects the nature and formation of which pose some critical problems. The origin and doctrinal position of these schools needed to be clarified, their geographical distribution defined, and the various contradictory lists compiled from age to age by the early authors subjected to a comparative study. These sects contributed greatly to the philosophical elaboration of the truths that were taught by Śākyamuni and led to noteworthy progress in the Abhidharma, i.e. philosophical speculation. However, their main work was to have popularized the Word of the Buddha by transposing it into as many languages as was necessary to ensure its greatest propagation.

Therefore, the chapter devoted to the sects deals with the formation of the Buddhist languages: early Māgadhī, Pāli, Prākrit of the North-West, hybrid Sanskrit and, finally, Buddhist Sanskrit. We do not claim that we have found the solution to all the problems posed, but we hope we have provided the data.

At the beginning of the new era, Buddhism, from the philosophico- mystical message that it had been at the outset, became
X transformed into a true religion, with a deified Buddha, a mythology, an hagiography, and a cult deeply interwoven with a messianic expectation. The study of this evolution forms the subject of chapter 7. It contains a detailed account of the legend of the Buddha, a legend in which the influence of the popular and lay sphere on the evolution of religious ideas can be assessed.

Throughout this work, an attempt has been made to adhere as closely as possible to the sources by referring to them, as it were, on every line. Nevertheless, the fact that there is much that is legendary and contradictory about them cannot be hidden.

The Buddhist tradition is steeped in the marvellous. Belittled by some schools and exaggerated by others, the marvellous is ubiquitous. We have accepted it as such without attempting to eliminate it in the name of western rationalism. To disregard it would be to offer the reader a caricature of Buddhism and still not attain historical truth. It is not enough to discard the legend in order to

discern the reality of the facts. By leaving the marvellous the place it has always occupied in the sources, we believe we have given a more faithful image of the mentality of the Buddha's disciples. And it is this mentality which is the true object of our research and not a fleeting and elusive historical certainty. Moreover, comparing the sources and checking the texts against iconographical documents is often enough to disperse the most obvious fictions and to present the tradition in the most favourable light.

More delicate is the attitude to be adopted with regard to the contradictions with which the texts teem. The Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist sources rarely agree and, inside Buddhism, the
XI Sinhalese chronicle often deviates from the written or oral traditions which prevailed on the Indian continent, and adopts a different chronological computation. Completely opposed versions of one and the same fact circulated. There are no less than six different dates proposed for the schism of the Mahāsāṃghikas (pp. 286-289) and the disappearance of the Good Law is foreseen at a date which varies between the year 500 and the year 12,000 after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa (pp. 192-198).

We could reconcile and attempt to harmonize the sources, and it would be enough to disregard such and such a textual variation, to say that a particular passage is interpolated or to identify people with different names, such as Upagupta and Moggaliputtatissa (p. 254). Such a method is, if not justified, at least ingenious when it is a matter of a point of detail which could be dealt with in a few pages. However, adopted as a working method and applied throughout a whole book, it would be bordering on farce.

We have not been afraid here to emphasize viewpoints or pointout contradictions, but we have been careful to classify them chronologically in order to draw out the lines of a revealing evolution of the mentality and intentions of the early authors. Thanks to this method, we will see how, for example, the tradition concerning the first two Buddhist councils was exploited in the course of time for very different purposes (pp. 132-139).

With regard to the problem of foreign influences exerted on Buddhism, we have been very cautious. If Buddhism, which voluntarily opened itself to all beings, can legitimately claim the title of a universal religion, if in the course of time it conquered

the major part of the Asiatic continent, it nevertheless remains a fact that, for the first centuries of its history, it was an Indian
XII phenomenon, to be interpreted as such. The truth, said Fustel de Coulanges is "to have no other masters over Greece than the Greeks, over Rome than the Romans". However, their Indian nationality was in no way to prevent the propagandists from becoming Greeks with the Yavanas, Scythians with the Śakas and Taoists with the Chinese.

We have not lacked advice and encouragement, and once again, the most efficient assistance has come from France. Mademoiselle Marcelle Lalou, director of studies at the École des Hautes Études, and Monsieur Paul Demiéville, member of the Institut and professor at the Collège de France, read the proofs, pen in hand, and suggested some indispensable corrections and valuable improvements to us. Monsieur Louis Renou, member of the Institut and professor at the Sorbonne, carefully checked the section concerning the Buddhist languages. The Musée Guimet supplied us with the plates with which this work is illustrated and its Keeper, Mademoiselle Jeaninne Auboyer, kindly placed her personal photographs at our disposal. We would like here to thank all these colleagues and friends and, at the same time, aknowledge the debt we owe to our late teachers, in particular, MM. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Sylvian Lévi and Alfred Foucher.

Our thanks also go to the Royal Academy of Arts, the India Office Library and the firm of John Murray who kindly authorized us to reproduce certain photographs, of which they held the copyrights.

The Fondation Universitaire [de Belgique] and its distinguished director, Monsieur Jean Willems, have continued to extend their support to us by granting this work a generous subsidy.

CHAPTER ONE

INDIA AT THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA

I. — HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1 VEDIC ANTECEDENTS. — When, in the sixth century before the Christian era, the man who was one day to become the Buddha Śākyamuni was born, India had a long past behind her.

In the second half of the third millenium, the Indus basin had seen the seat of an important urban civilization which was eneolithic in nature. Its two principal centres, Harappa (in the Punjab) and Mohen jo-Dāro (in the Sindh), have brought to light, among other monuments, some inscribed seals covered with pictographic writing, the interpretation of which still remains uncertain but which enables us to establish synochronisms between the Indus civilization and the Sumero-Akkadian Ancient World of Mesopotamia. Despite some religious features which are Indian in appearance, this civilization seems to have been imported. It collapsed under the blow of cataclysms, traces of which have been uncovered by excavations*, and its disappearance preceded the occupation of India by the Āryans, possibly by several centuries.

According to traditional opinion[1], it was about the thirteenth century B.C. that the Indo-Europeans, or more precisely the Āryans representing the eastern branch of the Indo-Iranians, invaded North-West India in successive waves. They spoke Vedic Sanskrit, a language which was closely connected to that of the Medes and Persians who remained on the Iranian plateau.

The Āryan language first served as a literary expression for the Vedas, sacred texts compiled roughly from the fifteenth to sixth centuries B.C. and which constitute the *śruti* "Revelation", in contrast to the *smṛti* human "Tradition".

2 In the strict meaning of the word, the Veda includes four classes of literary compositions:

1. The *Mantra* "Sacred formula", distributed into four *saṃhitā* "collections": *Ṛk, Sāma, Yajuḥ* and *Atharva Saṃhitā*. The first three, which

[1] Other conceptions can be found in R. SCHAFER, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, Wiesbaden, 1954.

constitute the *trayī vidyā* "Threefold knowledge", were from the very beginning considered as canonical texts. The *Ṛk* is a collection of verses composed in honour of the gods of the Vedic pantheon, Indra, Varuṇa, Sūrya the Sun, Uṣas the Dawn, Agni the Fire, Rudra the storm, etc., for the most part, atmospheric deities of a somewhat hazy nature. The *Sāman* is a book of melodies taken from the *Ṛk*. The *Yajuḥ* contains versified formulas also taken from the *Ṛk*, and formulas in prose which should be recited by the sacrificer.

The *Atharvaveda* is a collection of texts on magic which was not considered as canonical until much later. Nevertheless, part of its material is ancient. It includes, alongside songs and incantations for use by magicians, some hymns of great mental elevation.

2. The *Brāhmaṇa* "Interpretations of the Brahman" are treatises concerned with prayers and sacrifical ceremonies. Their main purpose is to interpret the cult practices, but they also contain cosmological myths, old legends and verses celebrating the exploits of kings who were famous in the priestly tradition.

3 and 4. The *Āraṇyaka* "Forest books" and the *Upaniṣad* "Connections or Correlations" appear to be a prolongation of the *Brāhmaṇa* of which they often call themselves the appendices. The latter mark, if not the beginning, at least the intensification of philosophical speculation in which participate not only the priests but also and especially the laity of the royal and warrior classes.

The Vedic *śruti* as constituted by the texts listed up to here is completed by the *smṛti* or human tradition which is responsible for the compilation of the *Vedāṅga* "Auxiliary treatise of the Veda". They are six in number: phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy. These complementary sciences led, in the course of time, to the compiling of manuals, the most notable of which from the linguistic point of view is the grammar in eight books (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*) by Pāṇini, which fixes the form of the Sanskrit language at the end of the Vedig age (fourth century B.C.).

3 Because they are documents of a purely religious nature, the Vedas supply us with very imperfect information on the early Vedic age, and it would be equally futile to attempt to reconstruct the political and religious history of the Āryans on the basis of the Indian epics of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. However, one fact can be deduced: the slow progression of the Āryans from the Indus basin to the borders of Bengal during the ten centuries of the Vedic age (fifteenth to sixth cent. B.C.).

The *Saṃhitā* have preserved the memory of the settlement of the

Āryas in the land of the Seven Rivers. Emerging from the passes of Kābul and Kandahār, they took possession of the Higher and Middle Indus and, in order to hold their ground, had to engage in fierce battles with the non-Āryan tribes of the Dāsa or Dasyu, who were black or dark-skinned, and whose strongholds had to be reduced. They also had to fight against the Paṇi, a people who refused to support the Vedic cult and who stole the Āryans' cattle.

There was internal warfare as well as external battles. In the *Ṛgveda* there is a reference to the "War of the ten kings", which, on the banks of the Paruṣṇī (present-day Rāvi), brought the Bharatas into conflict with a confederation of ten Āryan tribes, among which were the Pūrus. This ended in victory for Sudās, the Bharata king, who killed Purukutsa, the Pūru leader.

The last *Saṃhitā* show that, at the beginning of the last millenium, the Āryans had proceeded eastward and occupied the western part of the Ganges basin. A confederation of Bharatas and Pūrus established the kingdom of the Kurus on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and Kurukṣetra (present-day Rohilkhand) became the major centre of the brahmanical culture, the Brahmāvarta. The wars had not ceased for all that and the subject of the *Mahābhārata* is precisely the epic battle which broke out, towards the beginning of the ninth century B.C., between two lines of Bharata descendants: on the one hand, the hundred Kauravas commanded by Duryodhana, on the other, their cousins, the five Pāṇḍavas. The Kurus occupied the northern part of Doāb, the capital of which was Hastināpura or Āsandīvant. They allied themselves with the Pañcālas who were settled in Southern Doāb around Kāmpīla or Kāmpilya. Some of the Kuru kings are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Purāṇa*: Parikṣit, the founder of the dynasty of the same name; Janamejaya, who celebrated the horse sacrifice and bore arms as far as Takṣaśilā; Nicakṣus who, after the destruction of Hastināpura when the
4 Ganges overflowed, transferred his capital to Kauśāmbī on the lower course of the Yamunā.

Continuing their move eastwards, the Āryans also founded the kingdoms of Kosala (Oudh), Kāśī (region of Vārāṇasī) and Videha (Southern Bihār) all in the region of the middle Ganges.

The main towns in Kosala were Ayodhyā (which has sometimes been identified with Sāketa) and Śrāvastī. Its princes belonged to the solar dynasty of the Vedic hero Ikṣvāku, the son of Manu. King Daśaratha, who ruled over Ayodhyā, had as his son and successor the epic hero Rāma, whose romantic and martial adventures are celebrated in the

Rāmāyaṇa. Nevertheless, in the oldest version of the legend, Rāma was the king of Vārāṇasī.

Kosala was continually at war with the rival kingdom of Kaśī, the capital of which was Vārāṇasī or Benares. Kāśī was at first the winner, which led to the glorious reign of King Brahmadatta whose great deeds are celebrated in the Buddhist *Jātaka*. The situation was reversed when Kaṃsa, the king of Kosala, conquered and annexed the land of Kāśī once and for all.

The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (IX, 4) preserves the memory of the Āryan conquest of the region of Northern Bihār, and the foundation of the kingdom of Videha in roughly the eighth-seventh centuries B.C. Fire, followed by the king Māthava the Videgha, departed from Sarasvatī towards the east, crossed all the rivers, but then stopped before the Sadānīrā (Gandak?) because "Fire had never burnt beyond there". King Māthava crossed the river and, with the assistance of the brāhmins, made the conquered territory submit to Fire. Henceforward, that barren land with its marshy soil became extremely fertile. The capital of the kingdom of Videha was Mithilā, present-day Tirhut.

Videha reached its peak under King Janaka who gave his name to the town of Janakpur in the district of Darbhanga. The epic makes him the father of Sītā, the wife of Rāma, whose name lives on in the locality of Sītāmārhi. Janaka, king of Videha, is presented in the *Upaniṣad* as the patron of the metaphysicians Yajñavalkya and Śvetaketu. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakā* (II, 1, 1) makes him a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāśī who has been compared to Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, who played an important part in the life of Śākyamuni. If this identification is correct, the Upaniṣadic speculation, as it appears in one of its earliest documents, the *Bṛhadāraṇyakā*, would coincide chronologically with the origins of Buddhism.

5 However, in the biography of the Buddha, no further mention is made of the kingdom of Videha. It has been replaced by the confederation of the Vṛjis whose most important tribe was the Licchavis, capital Vaiśālī, present-day Besarh in the district of Muzaffarpur. As for Magadha, an area in Southern Bihār, it was only at the time of the Buddha that it was organized into a kingdom. Before that, it played only a secondary part in Gangetic India: it was not completely aryanized, but simply crossed by bands of renegade Āryans named *vrātya* who did not follow the Vedic rites.

Vedic literature almost exclusively reflects the Āryan progression to the north of the Ganges, along the foot-hills of the Himālayas. However, towards the end of the Vedic age, the Āryan expansion had

considerably extended beyond the southern bank of the holy river. On the banks of the Yamunā, a tributary of the Ganges, the tribe of the Yādavas had colonized the land of the Śūrasenas around Mathurā; further to the east, the Vatsas occupied the region of Kauśāmbī. Following the course of the Chambal upstream, the Āryans had settled in Avanti and reached Narmadā. According to the epic tradition, a branch of the Yādavas, under the leadership of Kṛṣṇa, is supposed to have gone to Kāthiāwār and founded a new capital in Dvāraka. Although the historical rôle of Kṛṣṇa does not correspond in any way to reality, there is no doubt about the Āryan expansion towards the south. Its effect was to drive the Dravidians into Southern Deccan where they retained their language, but were not unaffected by the cultural influence of the alien invaders.

When the Āryans settled in the Ganges basin, the religion was transformed. Vedism became Brāhmanism, a collection of religious and social concepts which were defined and directed by the brāhmins who constituted a priestly body.

The work of the brāhmins was threefold: to define the law (*dharma*) or Indian status which was applicable to the different classes of society; to assimilate the popular religions; finally, to establish the main features of religious beliefs.

The *dharma* is that set of norms which direct the Aryan's religious and social conduct. It applies with certain variations, to the different classes of Indian society: "To the brāhmins", says Manu I, 88 sq.), "the Lord assigned the teaching and study of the Veda, the performing of sacrifices for oneself and for others, the giving and receiving of gifts; the
6 *kṣatriya* (warriors) he ordered to protect the people, to give, sacrifice and study; the *vaiśya* (cultivators), to raise cattle, give, sacrifice, study, trade, lend money, and cultivate the ground; finally, the *śūdra*, to serve the other three classes". The Dharma directly concerned the Āryan groups, to whom it granted similar religious privileges and assigned separate occupations. It only indirectly affected the Śūdras, the lower class into which were relegated, besides Āryans who had regressed, the mass of natives who were reduced to the rank of slaves and servants.

It was the task of the brāhmins to make a synthesis between the ancient Vedic tradition of which they were the upholders, and the "primitive" ideas of the native inhabitants. This task was far from easy. On the one hand, a wholly ritualistic religion in which sacrifice, raised to the level of a cosmic power, overshadowed the divinities to which it was offered; on the other, a profusion of regional cults the roots of which were steeped in animism and magic. From among the mass of major and

minor deities there stand out the great figures of Viṣṇu and Śiva to whom their worshippers paid mystical and impassioned homage. Viṣṇu is a benevolent deity, the "preserver" of the universe and master of human destiny. He is surrounded by a rich legend which retraces his *avatāra*, that is, the descents of the god upon the earth, and his intervention in human affairs at different periods. Śiva is even more complex in that his many manifestations make him appear sometimes under the aspect of the "destroyer" or Death, of "restorer" or divine ascetic, or as a procreator symbolized by the phallic emblem of the *liṅga*. The greatest step made by the brāhmins was to identify these popular divinities with the (neutral) "supreme principle" of the Veda: Brahman, the sacred word elevated to the rank of creator. This introduced the indigenous cults into the Vedic tradition and granted them official investiture.

However, the local cults represent only one aspect of the primitive mentality of the local inhabitants, a mentality completely imbued with animism and magic. The animist believes in reincarnations, in the *gandharva*, a desincarnate being seeking a womb in the world of animals, mankind, spirits or gods in order to continue an existence which cannot, normally, be interrupted. He also believes in the efficiency of acts which condition that existence: rituals, solemnly expressed vows,
7 austerities, actions which are morally good or bad. The Indian sage, who identifies life with suffering, seeks to free himself of it. Without being pessimistic, but resolutely, he aims for deliverance which will enable him to reach an unconditioned way of being transcending the human condition. This deliverance is to be found in *yoga*, effort, technique of asceticism applied to the most varied goals, disinterested activity, the winning of knowledge, union with God, etc., but which all lead to the same results: access to immortality. These ideas or rather these tendencies are practically alien to the Vedic tradition. The doctrine of re-death (*punarmṛtyu*) of non-deified men, which is found in the *Brāhmaṇa*, does not contain even a suspicion of animistic belief in universal transmigration (*saṃsāra*). The Vedic sacrifice, which is aimed at maintaining cosmic order, cannot be unparadoxically considered as some form of *yoga*.

Nevertheless, the brāhmins' prolonged contact with the local inhabitants made them accept and sanction views and practices which had originally been alien to them. They incorporated them into their traditional concepts and expressed them in the ideology-nomenclature which was peculiar to the *Brāhmaṇa*. The result of this was an extension of the religious horizon which is the very nature of Hinduism. The *Upaniṣad*

which are to be considered as the culminating point of the Veda point out the essential doctrines of Hindu Brāhmanism: the belief in transmigration due to acts; the doctrine of non-duality (*advaita*) which identifies the *brahman*, the neutral and unknowable absolute, with the individual soul (*ātman*), the immediate assumption of consciousness; the aspiration for deliverance (*mokṣa*) conceived sometimes as absorption into the *brahman*, the isolation of the individual (*pudgala*) or union with a personal form of the divinity; finally, the legitimacy and efficacity of the practices of yoga in order to achieve that goal.

This movement of ideas, a compromise between two civilizations, developed during the seventh-sixth centuries in the region of the Middle Ganges. Being situated more to the east, the lands which were to be the cradle of Buddhism escaped it for the most part. This explains why the preoccupations of early Buddhism are relatively remote from the speculations originated by the Hinduized brāhmins. It can be said, as did L. de La Vallée Poussin, that the "brāhmanism from which Buddhism sprang is not the brāhmanism of the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Upaniṣad*", but represents, even better than the latter, the ancient Indian *yoga*.

8 THE SIXTEEN GREAT COUNTRIES OF THE SIXTH CENTURY[2]. — In the sixth century B.C. the Āryan domain in India extended from the Punjab to Bengal and overflowed into part of the Deccan. The Buddhist, Jaina and epic sources record the existence at the time of sixteen Great Countries (*ṣoḍaśa mahājanapada*) which were subjected to the Āryan element but inhabited, particularly in the east, by populations of autochthonous origin, and still not completely brahmanized. Below is a list of them with an indication of the modern districts which these countries covered and an enumeration of the main towns :

[2] Buddhist lists of the Great Countries are found in Dīgha, II, p. 200; Ch'ang-a-han, T 1, ch. 5, p. 34*b*; Jên hsien ching, T 9, p. 213*c*; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 55, p. 772*b*; Aṅguttara, I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260; Mahāvastu, I, p. 34; Yu p'o i to shê chia ching, T 88, p. 912*c*; Pan jo po lo mi ching, T 245, ch. 2, p. 833*a*; T 246, ch. 2, p. 844*a*; P'i p'o sha, T 1545, ch. 124, p. 648*b*. — Jaina lists in W. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920, pp. 225-6. — Mahābhārata, VIII, 40.29; 45.14-16; 28, 34, 40.

On Buddhist geography in general, see, CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India*, new ed. by S.N. MAJUMDAR, Calcutta, 1924; N.L. DEY, *Geographical Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1927; B.C. LAW, *Geography of early Buddhism*, London, 1932; *India as described in early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, London, 1941; *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954.

Janapada	Modern districts	Towns
1. Aṅga	Bengal	Campā (Bhagalpur) Bhaddiya Assapura
2. Magadha	Southern Bihār	Rājagṛha or Girivraja (Rajgir) Pāṭaliputra (Patna)
3. Kāśī	Banaras/Vārāṇasī	Vārāṇasī (Banaras)
4. Kosala	Oudh	Śrāvastī (Sāheṭh-Māheṭh) Sāketa (Ayodhyā)
5. Vṛji	Northern Bihār	Vaiśālī (Besarh) of the Licchavis Mithilā (Janakpur) of the Videhas
6. Malla	Gorakhpur	Pāpā (Padaraona) Kuśinagarī (Kasia)
7. Ceḍi	Bundelkhand	Śuktimatī Sahajāti Tripurī
9 8. Vatsa	Allahābād	Kauśāmbī (Kosam)
9. Kuru	D. of Thānesar, Delhi and Meerut	Indraprastha (Delhi) Hastināpura
10. Pañcāla	Rohilkhand Central Doāb	N. Ahicchatra (Rāmnagar) S. Kāmpilya (Kampil)
11. Matsya	Jaipur	Virāṭa (Bairāṭ)
12. Śūrasena	Mathurā	Mathurā (Muttra)
13. Aśmaka	Nizam	Potana (Bodhan)
14. Avanti	Mālwā and Nimār	Ujjayinī (Ujjain) Māhiṣmatī
15. Gandhāra	D. of Peshāwār and Rawalpiṇḍi	Takṣaśilā
16. Kamboja	S.W. Kaśmīr and Kāfiristān	

In some of the lists, the last two countries have been replaced by the land of the Śibis, between Jhelum and Chenāb, capital Sivapura (Skorbot), and Dasārṇa in Bundelkhand.

Among all these countries, the Buddhists distinguished between two kinds of territories : the Middle Region (*madhyadeśa*) where the Buddhist discipline was rigorously applied, and the Frontier Regions (*pratyantajanapada*) which benefited from some indulgences. The Middle Country, which roughly corresponds to the ancient Āryāvarta, was border-

ed to the east by Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) and the town of Kacaṅgalā, to the south by the River Śarāvatī, to the west by the villages of the Sthūṇopasthūṇaka brāhmins, and to the north by the Uśīragiri[3]. The Middle Region, which included fourteen *mahājanapada* out of sixteen, measured 300 leagues in length, according to the ancient estimates, 250 in width and 900 in perimetre; its inhabitants were virtuous, and noble persons, including the Buddhas, willingly chose it as their cradle[4]. It included seven principal towns : Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Campā, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha and Kauśāmbī[5].

10 THE ROUTES.* — We possess only fragmentary information about the road networks connecting the urban centres of India in the sixth century[6].

The imperial highway of the Maurya period, of which Pliny the Elder was later to give a description based on precise information supplied by Megasthenes, existed only as a rough track. Starting out from Takṣaśilā, the chief town of Gandhāra, it passed through Verañjā and then followed the banks of the great rivers, the Yamunā and Ganges. It then continued through Mathurā in the land of Śūrasena, Kauśāmbī in the land of Vatsa, Vārāṇasī in the land of Kāśī and finally reached Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha; from there, it continued eastwards as far as the mouths of the Ganges. However, in the ancient period travellers preferred to use a more difficult but also more direct route which connected Verañjā with Vārāṇasī : it seems that it passed through Soreyya, Sāṃkāśyā, Kanyākubja, Udumbara, Aggalapura, Sahajāti and, finally, Prayāga at the confluence of the Yamunā and Ganges[7].

A central track, leaving Pratiṣṭhāna (present-day Paithan, on the upper Godāvarī), led northwards and, crossing the two great cities of Avanti, Māhiṣmatī and Ujjayinī, reached, via Gonaddha, Vidiśā and Vanasavhya, Kauśāmbī on the Yamunā. From there, it described an immense curve around the region of the middle Ganges. It connected Sāketa, Śrāvastī and Setavyā in Kosala, Kapilavastu among the Śākya,

[3] For the limits of the Buddhist Madhyadeśa, cf. Vinaya, I, p. 197; Szŭ fēn lü, T 1428, ch. 39, p. 846*a*; Shih sung lü, T 1435; ch. 25, p. 181*c*; Gilgit Man., III, part IV, p. 190; Divya, p. 21; Yu pu p'i ko shih, T 1447, ch. 1, p. 1053*a*. Cf. E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Zur Śroṇakoṭikarṇa-Legende*, NAWG, 1952, p. 147.

[4] Sumaṅgala, I, p. 173; Jātaka, III, p. 115-16; Dhammapada Comm., III, p. 248.

[5] Dīgha, II, p. 146; E. WALDSCHMIDT, MPS, p. 304; Ch'ang a han, T 1, ch. 3, p. 21*b*; T 5, ch. 2, p. 169*c*; T 6, ch. 2, p. 185*b*; T 7, ch. 2, p. 200*c*.

[6] See T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 103.

[7] Vinaya, II, pp. 299-300; III, p. 11.

Pāpā and Kuśinagarī in the land of Malla, and terminated in Vaiśālī, the capital of the confederated Vṛjis. Continuing southward, the route traversed Nādikā and Kuṭigrāmaka where it reached the Ganges. This last was crossed in Pāṭaligrāmaka at the place where later the great city of Pāṭaliputra was to be built. Rājagṛha was five leagues from the Ganges, and was reached most often by passing through Nālandā, present-day Bargaon[8].

Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, communicated overland with the great ports of the western coast : Bharukaccha (Broach) and Śūrpāraka (Sopāra).

THE REPUBLICAN STATES. — At the end of the seventh century of the ancient era, part of the population which inhabited the sixteen regions was organized into republics (*gaṇa*) : they had no monarchs and the
11 affairs of state were settled by a council of elders and popular assemblies[9].

The republic of the Vṛjis, built on the ruins of the ancient kingdom of Videha, consisted of a confederacy of eight clans the principal ones of which were the Licchavis and the Videhas. A wise administration had made it a happy and prosperous state. It also fulfilled the conditions of progress defined by the Buddha, and the latter drew his inspiration from it in the organization of his order.

Alongside the Vṛjis, mention should also be made of the small republics of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Krauḍyas of Rāmagrāma, the Mallas of Pāpā and Kuśinagarī, the Bhargas of Mount Suṃsumāra, the Mauryas of Pipphalivana, etc.

THE FOUR KINGDOMS. — At the same period, four great kingdoms, which never ceased growing to the detriment of the neighbouring republics, were preparing to face each other before being united by the most powerful among them. These were the kingdoms of Avanti, Vatsa, Kosala and Magadha[10].

Avanti was subdivided into Northern and Southern Avanti, the capitals being Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī. Its king Caṇḍa Pradyota, who was violent by nature, had designs on the neighbouring kingdoms of Kauśāmbī and Aśmaka; unable to win them with arms, he gave his daughter

[8] Suttanipāta, vv. 1011-18; Dīgha, II, p. 81.

[9] For details see B.C. LAW, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924; *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943; U.N. GHOSHAL, *The constitution of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī*, IHQ, XX, 1944, pp. 334-40.

[10] Details and references in RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History*, pp. 199-209.

Vāsuladattā to the king of Kauśāmbī and concluded an alliance with Aśmaka. Among his subjects were two disciples of the Buddha, Mahā Kātyāyana and Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa, who obtained from Śākyamuni a relaxation in the disciplinary rules for the region of Avanti.

Further to the north was situated the territory of Vatsa over which ruled Udayana, the son of Parantapa. He was noted for his conquests and practised a policy of matrimonial alliances by successively marrying, nearly always under romantic circumstances, Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadatta of Avanti, Padmāvatī of Magadha and Āraṇyakā of Bengal. He also had as wives Māgandiyā, the daughter of a Kuru brāhmin, whose hand had been refused by the Buddha, and Sāmāvatī, the adopted daughter of the banker Ghosaka. His sympathies for Buddhism were very mitigated :
12 he received Ānanda coldly and nearly had the Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja devoured by red ants. His supremacy extended over the neighbouring territory of the Bhargas where his son, Bodhi, was governor.

Kosala, which corresponds to the present-day province of Oudh, had expanded to the district of Vārāṇasī in the south and, to the north, the Nepalese teraï which was occupied by the Śākyas. The son and successor of the eponymous king, Mahā Kosala, was Prasenajit, a contemporary and friend of the Buddha; his daughter Kosaladevī married Bimbisāra of Magadha. The first queen of Prasenajit was Mallikā, the daughter of a garland maker and a pious Buddhist; he also took to wife a Magadhian princess, sister of Prasenajit. The friendship he felt for the Buddha led him to ask for a Śākya girl in marriage, but the Śākyas, jealous of their nobility, sent him, instead of an authentic princess, a Śākya girl of mixed blood, Vṛṣabhakṣatriyā, daughter of Prince Mahānāman and a slave. For a long time Bimbisāra was unaware of the fraud, and Vṛṣabhakṣatriyā bore him two children, Virūḍhaka and Vajrā. However, Ajātaśatru, the crown prince of Magadha, had his father Bimbisāra killed, in order to accede to the throne; this, caused Kosaladevī, the wife of the victim and sister of Prasenajit, to die of grief. In reprisal Prasenajit retook a small village in the Magadhan district of Vārāṇasī which had formed part of his sister's dowry. Ajātaśatru declared war on him but, after some victorious campaigns, he was defeated and taken prisoner. Prasenajit demanded his abdication, but as soon as Ajātaśatru had agreed to his terms, he returned his states to him and also gave him the hand of his daughter Vajrā.

Prasenajit frequently visited the Buddha and the canonical texts have preserved the tenor of the many conversations he had with the Master. However, taking advantage of one of his absences, his son Virūḍhaka, supported by the general Dīrghakārāyaṇa, seized the throne of Kosala

by surprise. As soon as he heard of the revolt, Prasenajit went to Magadha to ask the aid and support of his nephew and son-in-law Ajātaśatru. He reached Rājagṛha at nightfall; since the gates were closed, he had to remain outside and, overcome by exhaustion and anxiety, he died under the walls of the town. Ajātaśatru held a splendid funeral for him, but forewent a punitive expedition against Kosala.

Virūḍhaka, the new king, had sworn to take vengeance on the Śākyas who had deceived his father by causing him to marry the daughter of a slave instead of an authentic princess. Since he was the fruit of that
13 misalliance, he considered himself to be dishonoured. Hardly had he mounted the throne than he advanced on the republic of the Śākyas. Three times the Buddha succeeded in making him turn back, but in the end the spirit of vengeance prevailed. Since they were prevented by their upāsaka vows from shedding blood, the Śākyas offered the invader only a symbolic resistance and were massacred until practically the last man. Later legends claim that those who escaped founded towns and kingdoms in the Himālayas, on the bank of the Ganges, or again in North-West India. In the sixth century A.D., the monk Vimokṣaprajña or Vimokṣasena claimed to be a descendant of a Śākyaputra who had been saved from the massacre. Back from his expedition, Virūḍhaka set up camp in the dried-up bed of the river Aciravatī; however, during the night, a sudden swelling of the waters submerged him and a large part of his army.

The fourth Gangetic kingdom, that of Magadha, was destined to supplant all its neighbours. At the time of the Buddha, it was ruled over by the house of the Haryaṅkas, and Bimbisāra reigned over Rājagṛha-Girivraja from 546 to 494. He carried out a policy of matrimonial alliances and contracted unions with the ruling families of the Madras, in Kosala and Vaiśālī. His marriage to Kosaladevī ensured him of the possession of part of the district of Vārāṇasī, and he annexed Aṅga (Bengal) to his crown after having defeated King Brahmadatta. After 52 years of rule, he was overthrown by his son Ajātaśatru and thrown into prison, where he died of starvation. Like his neighbour and brother-in-law, Prasenajit of Kosala, Bimbisāra maintained relations of close friendship with the Buddha, and the texts have preserved the memory of the two meetings he had with the Master, in 537 when he embraced the life of a religious wanderer, and in 531, shortly after the Enlightenment of the Buddha.

II. — THE DATE AND LIFE OF THE BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI

THE DATE OF THE BUDDHA. — According to unanimous tradition, the Buddha lived for eighty years, but the date of his Nirvāṇa, that is, his decease, has still not been established with certainty[11].

14 Nowadays, the Buddhists of Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma and Kampuchea place the Nirvāṇa in 543 B.C. However, this date is rejected by the great majority of western and Indian historians, because the year of the Nirvāṇa is closely linked to that of the consecration of Aśoka, an event which, for reasons that will be explained in chapter 3, occurred about the years 268-267 B.C.

Two chronologies are attested in the ancient documents : the long chronology which places the Nirvāṇa 218 years before the consecration of Aśoka (c. 486 B.C.), and the short chronology which locates the same event 100 years before the consecration (c. 368 B.C.).

1. The long chronology, which is adopted by the Sinhalese tradition, therefore locates the consecration of Aśoka in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (*Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 19-20; *Mahāvaṃsa*, V, 21; Pāli version of the *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 41, 1.25), and the council of Pāṭaliputra 18 years later, i.e., in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (*Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 37, 44; *Mahāvaṃsa*, V, 280).

However, this calculation calls for some reservations.

First of all, the same tradition, during the interval of 278 years between the accession of Bimbisāra (in 60 before the Nirvāṇa) and the consecration of Aśoka (in 218 after), counts thirteen sovereigns — which is to be expected —, but only five masters of the Vinaya, which is too few.

In the second place, the Sinhalese chronicles and commentaries are not absolutely faithful to their own calculations. Thus, Aśoka's consecration, instead of being located 218 years after the Nirvāṇa, is dated the year 118 after the Nirvāṇa by the Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā* (T 1462, ch. 1, p. 679c 13). The council of Pāṭaliputra, instead of being located in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa, is sometimes placed in 118 (*Dīpavaṃsa*, I, 24-5; V, 55-9), and sometimes in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (*Atthasālinī*, p. 3, 1.26-7; p. 4, 1.25-6).

2. The short chronology, represented by nearly all the Sanskrit and Chinese sources, situates the accession of Aśoka in the year 100 of the

[11] On the date of the Nirvāṇa, see the bibliography in WINTERNITZ, *Literature*, II, p. 597, and more recently, A. BAREAU, *La date du Nirvāṇa*, JA, 1953, pp. 27-62. For astronomical calculations, see P.C. SENGUPTA, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, Calcutta, 1947; *Dates of the principal Events in the Buddha's Life*, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 124-8*.

Nirvāṇa. However it also counts twelve sovereigns and five patriarchs between Bimbisāra and Aśoka. Many of the sources locate Aśoka and his chaplain Upagupta in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa : *Aśokāvadāna* (*Divya*, p. 368; T 99, ch. 23, p. 162*a* 6; T 2042, ch. 1, p. 99*c* 6; T 2043, ch. 1, p. 132*a* 29); *Compilation* by *Saṃgharakṣa* (T 194, ch. 2, p. 144*c* 13); *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (T 201, ch. 10, p. 309*c* 7); *Hsien yü ching* (T 202, ch. 3, p. 368*c* 19; ch. 13, p. 442*b* 19); *Tsa p'i yü ching* (T 205, ch. 1, p. 503*b* 17); *Chung ching* (T 208, ch. 2, 539 b 22; 541 c 21); *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (*Gilgit Man.*, III, 1, p. 3; T 1448, ch. 9, p. 41*c* 27); *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70*a* 8; ch. 10, p. 129*b* 29); *Avadānaśataka*, II, p. 200; *Mañjuśrīkalpa*, V, 353.

15 The modern historian can opt for either the long chronology or the short, but should take the dual calculation into account according to whether he is using a Sinhalese or a Sanskrit source. Hence, Mahādeva's heresy, which is mentioned only in the Sanskrit sources, should be placed in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, that is, interpreted according to the short chronology, in the reign of the Great Aśoka.

3. If only for the record, it is appropriate to mention yet other calculations :

The recensions of the *Treatise on the Sects* by Vasumitra locates the consecration of Aśoka in the era of the Nirvāṇa : 100 years and more (T 2031, p. 15*a* 15), 116 years (T 2032, p. 18*a* 9; T 2033, p. 20*a* 16), or even 160 years (Chinese editions of the Sung, Yüan and Ming).

The Khotanese chronicle, *Li yul gyi lo rgyus*, places the reign of Aśoka in 234 after the Nirvāṇa[12].

The evidence supplied by Hsüan-tsang somewhere around 635 in his *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 6, p. 903*b*) proves that the Chinese were not able to attribute an exact date to the Nirvāṇa. However, the tradition of the "dotted record"[13] referred to for the first time by Tao-hsüan in his *Ta t'ang nei tien lu* (T 2149, ch. 4, p. 262*b*) claims that when Upāli, collated the Vinaya after the decease of the Buddha, he marked a dot in the manuscript. His successors, Dāsaka, Soṇaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa, Caṇḍavajji, etc., marked a new dot each year. During a visit to Canton about 489, Saṃghabhadra inscribed the 975th dot on the manuscript, which locates the Nirvāṇa in 486 B.C.

This is the date which will be followed here as a working hypothesis. It is adopted in the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (II, p. 36), while the *Cambridge History of India* (I, p. 171) prefers 483 B.C., and the editors of *Inde classique* (I, p. 220) opt for 478.

[12] Cf. F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, London, 1935, pp. 97-8.

[13] On the Dotted Record, see P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956, pp. 132-43.

16 THE LIFE OF ŚĀKYAMUNI. — To write about the life of Śākyamuni is a desperately difficult task[14]. As will be seen in a later chapter, it took the Indian Buddhists nearly ten centuries to compose a complete biography of their Master and to represent it in full on their monuments. The legend thus elaborated was transplanted throughout the whole of the Far East where it underwent constant alterations in order to make it correspond to the expectations of the new believers. The various interpretations given to it by our religionist schools have obscured a problem already complicated enough in itself. It remains nonetheless a fact that Buddhism could not be explained if it were not based on a personality powerful enough to give it the necessary impetus and to have marked it with its essential features which will persist throughout all history.

Reduced to its main events, the life of Śākyamuni can be presented as follows. The proper name of the future Buddha was Siddhārtha and his family name Gautama. He belonged to the sub-Himalayan clan of the Śākyas, a clan of uncertain origin but which had to a certain degree been subjected to brāhmanical influence: hence the term Śākyamuni "the Sage of the Śākya clan" by which the Buddha is known even in the West. His father was the kṣatriya Śuddhodana and his mother was Māyā. He was born about the year 566 in the Lumbinī park near
17 Kapilavastu, the chief town of the Nepalese teraï. He spent his youth in comfort and pleasure; he contracted a marriage when he was about sixteen years old (550) and had a son whose name was Rāhula. The revelation of the great mysteries of old age, disease and death inspired him with disgust for the world and, like many young people of his time, he resolved to win the Immortal, an undefined abode but which is

[14] Among the many works devoted to the biography of Śākyamuni, we can recommend W. ROCKHILL, *Life of Buddha*, London, 1884; H. KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strasbourg, 1896, pp. 12-46; H. KERN, tr. Huet, *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, I, Paris, 1901; E.J. THOMAS, *Life of the Buddha*, London, 1931; A. FOUCHER, *La vie du Bouddha d'après les textes et monuments de l'Inde*, Paris, 1949; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Buddha : Geschichte und Legende*, Zurich, 1950; M. LADNER, *Gotamo Buddha. Sein Werden, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, Zurich, 1948; J. BACOT, *Le Bouddha*, Paris, 1947; A. SCHWEITZER, *Les grands penseurs de l'Inde*, Paris, 1950; A.K. COOMARASWAMY and I.B. HORNER, *Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha*, London, 1948 (tr. Buchot, *La pensée de Gotama, le Buddha*, Paris, 1949); J. FILLIOZAT, *Inde classique*, II, pp. 463-92; A. WALEY, *Did the Buddha die of eating pork?*, MCB, I, 1932, pp. 343-54; E.J. THOMAS, *Buddha's Last Meal*, IC, XV, 1948, pp. 1-3; J. PRZYLUSKI, *Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles du Buddha*, JA, 1918-20; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha*, Göttingen, 1944-48.

On the historical value of the traditions, see R.O. FRANKE, ZDMG, 69, 1915, p. 455; WINTERNITZ, *Literature*, II, pp. 597-601; É. LAMOTTE, *La légende du Buddha*, RHR, 134, 1947-48, pp. 37-71; E. FRAUWALLNER, *The historical data we possess on the Person and the Doctrine of the Buddha*, East and West, VII, 1957, pp. 309-12.*

situated beyond suffering and death. In the year 537, at the age of 29, he left the town of Kapilavastu and took up the life of a religious wanderer.*

Making his way southward, he crossed the river Anomā and, after a brief stop in Anupiya, he reached Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. There he made acquaintance of King Bimbisāra and promised to visit him immediately after his Enlightenment. Continuing on his way, he joined the Yoga masters, Āḷāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra; under their direction, he devoted himself to ecstatic practices and entered into possession of the supradivine and mystical spheres of the attainments (*samāpatti*).

However, doubting the efficacity of this method since, on withdrawing from the ecstasy, he found himself exactly as before, he decided to apply himself to the "strenuous effort" (*mahāpādana*) and retreated to Uruvilvā where five mendicants, the Pañcavargikas, Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, etc., came and joined him. For six years (536-532), he devoted himself to the most severe austerities, stopping his breathing and undergoing fasts so prolonged that they endangered his life. However, these efforts were fruitless, for those mortifications did not even enable him to obtain supernormal powers. He therefore renounced such penances; on seeing which his companions deserted him in order to go to the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva) near Vārāṇasī.

Now alone, Śākyamuni was close to triumph. He regathered his strength by accepting food offered to him by a young girl, and then bathed in the Nairañjanā, at a place known as Supratiṣṭha. In the evening, he reached the Tree of Enlightenment, a *ficus religiosa*, located in Bodh-Gayā, and sat at its foot in order to meditate.** He directed his thoughts, not to the supradivine and unconscious spheres which his masters had taught him, but to the mystery of death and rebirth and the elimination of rebirth in the world of appearances. During that memorable night, he attained supreme and perfect Enlightenment (*bodhi*) which made him a Buddha (531 B.C.).

During the watches of the night, he won the threefold knowledge: the
18 recollection of his previous existences, the knowledge of the death and birth of beings — a knowledge which is also called the "divine eye" — and, finally, the certainty of having destroyed in himself the desires which are the basis of successive rebirths in the world of becoming. This conviction included the discovery of the mechanism of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*): Śākyamuni mentally examined in direct and reverse order the twelve causes (*nidāna*) which condition that

origination, and he thus acquired the certainty of living his last existence.

Having continued his meditations in Bodh-Gayā for four or seven weeks, the Buddha went to the Deer Park in Vārāṇasī; before the five companions who had witnessed his austerities, he preached the discourse on *Turning the Wheel of the Dharma* in which are explained the four noble Truths, which was soon followed by a homily on the *Characteristics of the Not-self.*

The discourse at Vārāṇasī inaugurated the public ministry which the Buddha carried out for forty-five years (531-486). He travelled throughout the region of the Middle Ganges in all directions, expounding the Law, making conversions and recruiting those inclined into the religious order of mendicants (*bhikṣu*) which he had created in addition to the many orders which already existed, the Nirgranthas, Ājīvikas, etc.

Vārāṇasī or Banaras, the chief town in the country of Kāśī and located on the banks of the Ganges between the rivers Barnā and Asi, was an ancient city the origins of which went far back into the distant past. The Buddha set the Wheel of the Law in motion and preached several important discourses there. He generally stayed in the Deer Park (*mṛgadāva*), which was also known as the Ṛṣivadana or Ṛṣipatana, a pleasure garden situated in the present-day market-town of Sārnāth six kilometres to the north of the town itself. It was in Vārāṇasī that the Buddha made his first conversions and recruited his first disciples: the Group of Five (*pañcavargika*) consisting of Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, Vāṣpa, Bhadrika, Mahānāman and Aśvajit; five sons of noble families, Yaśas and his four friends Vimala, Subāhu, Pūrṇajit and Gavāmpati; finally, fifty other young people. Immediately after having ordained them, the Buddha sent them out on missions to teach his doctrine everywhere.

In Uruvilvā, a small locality situated on the banks of the Nairañjanā, not far from Bodh-Gayā, the three Kāśyapa brothers and their thousand disciples, the Jaṭilas, wearing topknots and, until that time, devo-
19 tees of the Vedic sacrifices, were converted and swelled the ranks of the small community.

Rājagṛha, formerly Girivraja, was, at the time of the Buddha, the capital of Magadha and one of the seven most important towns in India. Situated five leagues from the Ganges, it was protected by five mountains and watered by the rivers Tapodā and Sarpinī. Śākyamuni was on the best of terms with King Bimbisāra with whom he had two famous meetings: one on the Pāṇḍavaparvata immediately after the Great Departure, the other in the Supratiṣṭhacaitya shortly after the Enlightenment. The Buddhists soon had at their disposal in Rājagṛha eighteen vast

monasteries, the main ones of which were erected in the Veṇuvana, a gift from Bimbisāra, on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata, in the Vaibhāravana, in the caves of the Saptaparṇaguhā and the Indraśailaguhā, and finally, on the slopes of the Sarpaśuṇḍikaprāgbhāra. Two young men, Upatiṣya and Kolita, pupils of the heretical master Sañjaya, were introduced to the faith by the disciple Aśvajit who, having met them in Rājagṛha, summarized the whole of the doctrine of Śākyamuni in one famous stanza: "of all Dharmas which have arisen from a cause, the Tathāgata has told the cause; and he has also revealed its cessation, he, the great monk". Upatiṣya and Kolita were converted and rapidly attained holiness. The Buddha raised them to the rank of principal disciples with the names of Śāriputra "the foremost of the wise" and Maudgalyāyana "the foremost of those who possess the supernormal powers".* Another important person who was converted in Rājagṛha was the brāhmin Pippali, better known by the name of Mahākāśyapa. He had been married in his youth to a certain Bhadrā Kāpilānī, but never went near his wife and soon left her to renounce the world. On meeting the Buddha in the Veṇuvana, he spontaneously prostrated himself before him and received religious teaching from him. The Master conferred the ordination on him and, as a mark of particular benevolence, exchanged cloaks with him. After the decease of the Buddha, Kāśyapa "the foremost of those who observe the austere discipline" assumed a leading role in the order. In the course of the many visits which he paid to Rājagṛha, the Buddha also had the opportunity to convert Queen Kṣemā, the proud wife of Bimbisāra; she took up the religious life and attained holiness. Towards the end of Bimbisāra's reign, Śākyamuni was the victim of a plot hatched against him by his cousin and rival Devadatta, supported by the crown prince Ajātaśatru. Devadatta, who
20 had entered the order, attempted to supplant the Master at the head of the community. When his manoeuvres failed, he tried to kill the Buddha, but the hired assassins he had commissioned became converted; the rock which he had thrown from the top of a mountain only gave the Buddha an insignificant wound, and the maddened elephant which he sent in pursuit of the Master prostrated itself before the latter. Devadatta provoked a schism in the community and, having won 500 Vṛji monks from Vaiśālī to his cause, formed a separate congregation. The intervention of the disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana brought the misled monks back into the fold, and Devadatta, who was abandoned by one and all, underwent the punishment for offences. Ajātaśatru, who had supported him, recognized the error of his ways as soon as he ascended

the throne of Magadha: on the advice of Jīvaka, the court physician, he asked forgiveness of the Buddha and this was granted.*

The Buddha frequently visited his native land, Kapilavastu at the foot of the Himālayas, sometimes residing in the Nyagrodhārāma, and sometimes in the forest of the Mahāvana. During his first visit, his father Śuddhodana and his former wife, the mother of Rāhula, became converted to the Dharma; his half-brother, Nanda the handsome, abandoned his betrothed and took up the religious life, and little Rāhula himself was received as a novice by Śāriputra. The Buddha had only just left the town to return to Rājagṛha when the Śākyas became converted en masse. A group of young noblemen, led by the barber Upāli, caught up with the Buddha in Anupiya, in the country of Malla, and sought admittance into the community. Among them were several cousins of the Buddha, Aniruddha, Mahānāman, Devadatta and Ānanda. Devadatta, as we have just seen, was to betray his vows and tried to kill the Buddha. Ānanda on the other hand, was a model monk: through his docility and zeal, he became the favourite disciple of the Master who made him his personal assistant (*upasthāyaka*). For twenty-five years, Ānanda gave the Buddha his best attention, noting his slightest words in his infallible memory: he was the foremost of "those who have heard and remembered much". It was upon the intercession of Ānanda that Śākyamuni accepted women into his community: the first nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*) were Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, the Buddha's aunt, and her ladies-in-waiting; they were subjected to particularly strict monastic rules. Other occasions also brought the Buddha back to his native town: he
21 had to settle a quarrel which broke out between the Śākyas and the Krauḍyas over a question of irrigation, to help his father in his last moments and to inflict a punishment on his father-in-law Suprabuddha who had insulted him. When Virūḍhaka seized the throne of Kosala and resolved to have vengeance on the Śākyas for having formerly offended his father, the Buddha's intercession only succeeded in delaying the catastrophe for a few days: his family clan was almost completely exterminated and the few survivors had to leave the country.

The Buddha, who had a high regard for the Licchavis, often stopped in Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛji confederation. He had saved the inhabitants from the plague and was always given a warm welcome there. Two stopping-places were at his disposal: the Mahāvana where the Belvedere Hall (*kūṭāgāraśālā*) stood on the banks of the Monkey Pool (*markaṭahradatīra*) and the monastery in the Āmrapālīvana which had been built for him by a courtesan from the town.

However, it was in Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala, that the Buddha

spent most of his time. The town contained at least three monasteries: the Jetavana which had been laid out thanks to the generosity of the rich banker Anāthapiṇḍada; the Mṛgāramātṛprāsāda which had been built in the Pūrvārāma by the pious Viśākhā, the daughter-in-law of Mṛgāra but his "mother" in the Buddhadharma; finally, the Rājakārāma which had been erected through the good offices of Prasenajit. In Śrāvastī, the Buddha had to face the hostility of six heretical masters whom a literary contrivance always presents together: Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarin Gośālīputra, Ajita Keśakambala, Kakuda Kātyāyana, Nirgrantha Jñātiputra and Sañjayin Vairaṭṭīputra. Nirgrantha Jñātiputra was none other than Mahāvīra, the founder and reformer of the powerful Jaina order which nowadays still numbers several million adherents in India; Maskarin Gośālīputra was the leader of the Ājīvikas, a sect that had a considerable influence for a long time; the others were determinists, materialists or sceptics. The Buddha triumphed over all these opponents in a public debate in the presence of Prasenajit. Legend has it that on that occasion he emphasized his triumph by various prodigies: the twin wonders with jets of water and rays of light, the miraculous growth of an enormous mango-tree, the multiplication of imaginary Buddhas, or again a walk in the sky; after which, having gone to the heaven of the Trāyastriṃśa gods, the Buddha came down again accompanied by Brahmā and Indra on three precious ladders, the feet of which rested in
22 Sāṃkāśya, present-day Sankissa-Vasantapura. Welcomed by a splendid company in which could be noted the nun Utpalavarṇā disguised as a Cakravartin king, the Buddha returned to Śrāvastī. However, his detractors did not give up and successively accused him of having had illicit relations with a heretical woman, Ciñcā-māṇavikā, and even to have assassinated the nun Sundarī; events themselves belied these slanders. In the forests near the town, the Buddha carried out some memorable conversions: he welcomed into his order the brigand Aṅgulimāla who had held to ransom and mutilated travellers in the woods of Jālinī; he tamed and appeased the cannibalistic Yakṣa who devoured young children in the Ālavī forest.

In Kauśāmbī, in the country of Vatsa, the Buddha had at least four establishments at his disposal: the Ghositārāma, Kukkuṭārāma, Pāvārikambavana and Badarikārāma. He owed the first three to the generosity of some eminent citizens, among whom was the rich banker Ghosita. Near Kauśāmbī, in the village of Kalmāṣadamya, the Buddha made the acquaintance of a brāhmin who offered him the hand of his daughter Māgandikā; the proposal was rejected but the girl, who later became one of the wives of King Udayana, attempted to avenge the affront by

persecuting the pious Sāmāvatī, another of the king's wives. While the Buddha was staying in Kauśāmbī, a schism occurred among his monks over a minor detail of discipline; the Master, unable to restore harmony, withdrew for some time to the Pārileyyaka forest where he lived in the company of wild animals. The relations between Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, and the Buddha were somewhat distant: the king gave a suspicious greeting to the disciple Ānanda who had been sent to his court and whom he considered his wives had given too warm a welcome; he tried to have another missionary, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, devoured by red ants. However, his son Bodhi, who governed the land of the Bhargas, reserved a splendid reception for the Buddha. It was also in the land of the Bhargas, in Suṃsumāragiri, that the Buddha met the mother and father of Nakula with whom he acknowledged kinship.

The Buddha declined an invitation from King Caṇḍa Pradyota who asked him to go to Avanti, but was represented by two eminent disciples, Mahākātyāyana and Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa. At the request of these last, he consented to some relaxation in the Buddhist discipline in favour of the small communities in Avanti.

23 Whatever the later legend may say, it is doubtful whether the Buddha ever visited the western coast inhabited by the Śroṇāparāntakas. Nevertheless, the region was converted to Buddhism by the merchant Pūrṇa, who himself had been converted by the Master in Śrāvastī. The new disciple returned to Śūrpāraka, his native land, where he founded a small community and built a sandalwood monastery which became famous.

The Buddha once went to Mathurā, in the country of Śūrasena, but that city which was later to become one of the strongholds of Buddhism did not leave a good impression on him. Still further to the west, he made his way as far as Verañjā (in Sanskrit Vairantī), a town situated on the great route from Mathurā to Takṣaśilā; but the brāhmin Agnidatta who had invited him for the rainy season did not receive him and, famine having broken out, the Buddha and his disciples were compelled to eat barley or, according to the Chinese versions, "horse corn". The furthest east the Buddha reached seems to have been the country of Aṅga (Bengal) where Sumāgadhā, the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada, lived. Her father-in-law, who was a heretic, tried to make her pay homage to the naked ascetics but, far from consenting to do so, she appealed to the Buddha. The Master, accompanied by 500 disciples, went to Bengal and carried out conversions there.

Later sources which attribute to Śākyamuni voyages to distant lands

— North-West India, Kaśmīr, Lake Anavatapta and the island of Ceylon — should be considered as apocryphal.

The last days and decease of the Buddha are narrated in detail by the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* of which we possess several relatively concordant versions. When he was in Rājagṛha, the Buddha received a visit from Varṣākāra, a minister of Ajātaśatru, at the moment when the latter was contemplating a campaign against the Vṛji confederacy; in the presence of the minister, the Buddha explained the conditions necessary for the prosperity of states and monastic orders. The following day, he set out in the direction of the Ganges: in Veṇuyaṣṭikā (in Pāli, Ambalaṭṭhikā), he once again preached the four noble truths; in Nālandā, he received the homages of Śāriputra and recommended discipline to his monks. He thus reached the banks of the Ganges in Pāṭaligrāma, a village which the Magadhans were fortifying because of the campaign against the Vṛjis; the Buddha predicted the building and future grandeur of Pāṭaliputra and, after a flattering reception from the population, he crossed the river with great solemnity.

24 Teaching as he went, the Master passed through the villages of Kuṭigrāmaka and Nādikā and reached Vaiśālī, where he was received by the courtesan Āmrapālī, and then went on to Veṇugrāmaka in order to spend the rainy season there. It was there that he first had an attack of illness and predicted his coming death.

When the retreat was at an end, the Master wished to proceed to Kuśinagara. After casting a last glance at Vaiśālī, he passed through Bhoganagaraka and reached Pāpā in Malla country; when invited to a meal by the smith Cunda, he ate a "tasty dish of pork" which caused him to have bloody diarrhoea.* Notwithstanding, he set out again and, despite his weakness, still found the strength to convert the Malla Putkasa and put on the golden tunic with which the latter had presented him. After having bathed in the River Hiraṇyavatī (Kakutthā), he was again overcome by weakness; it was only with great difficulty that he reached the approaches of Kuśinagara, where he conversed for a long time with the Mallas who had come out to welcome him.

The Buddha had his death-bed prepared in the Śāla Grove in Upavartana, in the outlying part of the town. There he lay down, with his head pointing towards the north. He made his final arrangements, comforted Ānanda who was overcome with grief, and converted the heretic Subhadra, then addressed his last exhortations to the monks. During the third watch of the night, after having gone in direct and reverse order through all the meditational stages, he entered Nirvāṇa "like a flame which goes out through lack of fuel". He was 80 years of age.

When Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, and the Mallas of Kuśinagara learned of the decease of the Buddha, they gave themselves over to violent manifestations of grief. The Mallas went in a crowd to the Śāla Grove, and the body was transported to the Makuṭabandhana-Caitya where it lay exposed for seven days, before being placed in a coffin and set down on the funeral-pyre. Mahākāśyapa, who had not been present at the decease of the Buddha, arrived in Kuśinagara; he paid his last respects to the Master's remains and he alone was able to set fire to the pyre. After the cremation, the relics were collected by the Mallas of Kuśinagara. However, the neighbouring countries, as well as King Ajātaśatru, demanded their share and, when the Mallas refused, prepared for war. The adversaries eventually came to an agreement and the relics were shared out between eight states: the Mallas of Kuśinagara, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulakas of Calakalpā, the Krauḍyas of Rāmagrāma, the brāhmins of Viṣṇudvīpa and the Mallas of Pāpā. The brāhmin
25 Dhūmrasagotra, or Droṇa, who had initiated the distribution, kept for himself the urn which had enclosed the relics. Finally, the Mauryas of Pipphalivana, who had arrived too late, received the ashes from the pyre. Each of them returned home and erected a stūpa over the precious remains which they had obtained. There were therefore ten stūpas: eight contained relics; the ninth was raised over the urn, and the tenth was erected over the ashes of the pyre.*

III. — THE EARLY BUDDHIST DOCTRINE

THE DHARMA AND THE BUDDHA — What Buddhists mean by Law or *dharma* is the truth discovered by the Buddhas during their Enlightenment and preached by them or their disciples during their public ministry[15]. The word of the Buddha is good at the beginning, in the

[15] There are a great many studies on the Dharma of the Buddha, and many of the older works still retain their value : H. OLDENBERG, *Buddha; sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, Berlin, 1881 (tr. W. HOEY, *Buddha; his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*, London 1882); H. KERN, *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Haarlem, 1882-4 (tr. HUET, *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1901); T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism*, London, 1890; E. HARDY, *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pāli-Werken*, Leipzig, 1906; R. PISCHEL, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, Leipzig, 1926; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Bouddhisme. Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, Paris, 1925; *Le dogme et la philosophie du bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930; H. BECKH, *Der Buddhismus*, Berlin, 1928; A.B. KEITH, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1923; E.J. THOMAS, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, 1933; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1955; *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten*, Berlin, 1936; *Die Weisheit des Buddha*, Baden-Baden, 1946; *Die Philosophie der Inder*, Stuttgart, 1949; *Die fünf grossen Religionen*, I,

26 middle and at the end, perfect as to the meaning and the letter, homogenous, complete and pure[16]. From the night of the Enlightenment until the night of the Nirvāṇa, all that the Buddha declared and taught is true and not false[17]. The sky will fall down with the moon and stars, the ground will rise up to the heavens together with the mountains and forests, the oceans will dry up, but the great sages do not speak falsely[18]. The good word of the Buddhas has four features: it is well-spoken, agreeable and pleasant, and conforms to what is beneficial and truthful[19].

What place does the Buddha occupy in relation to the Law which he discovered and preached and what are the main points of his teaching?

Düsseldorf, 1951; J. PRZYLUSKI, *Le bouddhisme*, Paris, 1933; G. TUCCI, *Il buddismo*, Foligno, 1926; L. SUALI, *Gotama Buddha*, Bologna, 1934; E. WALDSCHMIDT, 'Der Buddhismus', in : CLEMEN, *Religionen der Erde*, Munich, 1949, pp. 299-333; J. FILLIOZAT, *Inde classique*, II, pp. 511-66; E. FRAUWALLNER, *Geschichte der Indischen Philosophie*, I, Salzburg, 1953, pp. 147-272; E. CONZE, *Buddhism, its Essence and Development*, Oxford, 1951.**

Apart from the canonical writings which have come down to us in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions, certain authors postulate the existence of a "primitive" or "precanonical" Buddhism which they attempt to reconstruct : S. SCHAYER, *Precanonical Buddhism*, *Archiv Orientální*, VII, 1935, pp. 121-32; *Zagadnienie elementów nieraryjskicj buddyznie indyjskim* [Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Buddhism], Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Fasc. 1-3, 1934, pp. 55-65; *New Contributions to the Problem of Pre-hinayanistic Buddhism*, Polish Bulletin of Or. Studies, 1, 1937, pp. 8-17; A.B. KEITH, *Pre-Canonical Buddhism*, IHQ, XII, 1936, pp. 1-20; C. RÉGAMEY, *Bibl. des travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens*, BEFEO, 1934, pp. 429-566; *Der Buddhismus Indiens*, (*Christus und die Religionen der Erde*), III, Freiberg, 1951, pp. 248-64.***

26 Nearly all the Buddhist writings in Pāli have been edited by the *Pāli Text Society* and translated into English in large collections : *Sacred Books of the East*, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, *Translation Series of the Pāli Text Society*, etc.

Good anthologies of the Buddhist texts also exist : J. BLOCH, J. FILLIOZAT, L. RENOU, *Le Canon bouddhique Pāli*, I, 1, Paris, 1949; J. BERTRAND-BOCANDÉ, *Majjhimanikāya "Les Moyens Discours"*, Paris, 1953; H. OLDENBERG, *Reden des Buddha*, Munich, 1922; M. WINTERNITZ, *Der ältere Buddhismus*, Tübingen, 1929; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Gedanken von Buddha*, Zurich, 1942; *Der Pfad zur Erleuchtung, Buddhistische Texte*, Düsseldorf, 1956; E. FRAUWALLNER, *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus, Texte der indischen Philosophie*, II, Berlin, 1956; H.C. WARREN, *Buddhism in Translation*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896; E.J. THOMAS, *Early Buddhist Scriptures*, London, 1935; E. CONZE, etc., *Buddhist Texts through the Ages*, Oxford, 1954.*

[16] Vinaya, I, pp. 35, 242; Dīgha, I, p. 62; Majjhima, I, p. 179; Saṃyutta, V, p. 352; Aṅguttara, I, p. 180, etc.

[17] Dīgha, III, p. 135; Aṅguttara, II, p. 24; Itivuttaka, p. 121; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 34, p. 645*b* 18; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 1, p. 59*c*; Modified text in Madh. vṛtti, pp. 366, 539; Pañjikā, p. 419; Laṅkāvatāra, pp. 142-3.

[18] Divya, pp. 268, 272; T 310, ch. 102, p. 574*a*; T 190, ch. 41, p. 843*b*.

[19] Suttanipāta, III, 3, p. 78.

The Buddha voluntarily stood aside before the Law which he discovered and preached. He did not claim to be a god, but a seer. He destroyed within himself all the impurities which, if they had not been eliminated, could have made him a god, a heavenly spirit (*gandharva*), a demon or even a man: "Just as a lotus, born in the water and grown up in the water rises above the water without being stained by it, so the Buddha, born and grown up in the world, has triumphed over the world and remains in it without being stained by it"[20]. The vanquisher of
27 enemies, pure of any stain, freed from desires, the Buddha has acquired knowledge; he has no Master; no-one is like him; he alone is an accomplished seer; he is appeased and in Nirvāṇa: he is the Victorious One.

The Buddha did not keep jealously to himself the truth which he had discovered. His teaching was public and not secret[21]. He was the best of all lights[22]. He guided beings to deliverance by means of the appropriate indications. He taught his disciples where Nirvāṇa is to be found, and showed them the path which led to it. Nevertheless, it did not depend on him as to whether or not the traveller followed his indications. Among the disciples whom he advised only some were to attain the supreme goal, Nirvāṇa. The Buddha could do nothing about it: he was merely "He who shows the Way"[23].

The truth discovered by the Buddha — the origin of things and their cessation — remained external to him, independent of any findings of which it could be the object. The dependent origination of all the phenomena of existence, as well as their gradual elimination, is ruled by a strict law which the Buddha was the first to recognize, but "it was not he who created the Law of twelve causes, and neither did another create it"[24]. It functions independently of the presence or absence of the Buddhas: "Whether or not the Holy Ones appear in the world, the essential nature of things pertaining to things (*dharmāṇāṃ dharmatā*)* remains stable"[25].

Furthermore, the Buddha honoured the Law he had discovered.

[20] Aṅguttara, II, pp. 38-9; Saṃyutta, III, p. 140.

[21] Aṅguttara, I, p. 283.

[22] Saṃyutta, I, pp. 15, 47.

[23] Majjhima, III, p. 6.

[24] Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 12, p. 85*b-c*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 2, p. 75*a*; ch. 32, p. 298*a*.

[25] Saṃyutta, II, p. 25; Aṅguttara, I, p. 286; Visuddhimagga, p. 518; Śālistambasūtra, ed. La Vallée Poussin, p. 73; Pañcaviṃśati, p. 198; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, p. 274; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 143; Kośavyākhyā, p. 293; Madh. vṛtti, p. 40; Pañjikā, p. 588; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 14; Daśabhūmika, p. 65.

Śākyamuni, when he was meditating under the goatherd's Banyan-tree some weeks after his Enlightenment, sought throughout the world to discover a monk or brāhmin whom he could revere and serve. Not having discovered anyone superior to himself, he resolved "to commit himself to the Law which he had himself discovered, in order to honour, respect and serve it"[26].

28 Finally, when the Buddha, having shed the psycho-physical aggregates of existence and eliminated all individual feeling, entered stillness like a flame blown out by a breath of wind, he escaped from every one's sight and could do no more for his disciples. However, the latter were not abandoned entirely: they were still to have a refuge, for the Law was to be their refuge: "Let the Law", Śākyamuni told them, "be your island and your refuge; seek no other refuge"[27].

THE DISCOURSE AT VĀRĀṆASĪ. — The essence of the Buddhist Doctrine is contained in the Discourse of Vārāṇasī, also called the "Discourse setting in motion the Wheel of the Law". (*Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra*) in which the Buddha revealed the four noble Truths (*āryasatya*) to those who were to be his first disciples[28].

After having advised his listeners to avoid the two extremes which consist of a life of pleasure and a life of mortification, the Buddha proposed to them a middle way which would lead to Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa.

"This, O monks, is the noble truth of suffering: birth is suffering, old-age is suffering, disease is suffering, death is suffering, union with what one dislikes is suffering, separation from what one likes is suffering, not obtaining one's wish is suffering, in brief, the five kinds of objects of attachment (*upādānaskandha*) are suffering.

"This, O monks, is the noble truth of the origin of suffering: it is the thirst which leads from rebirth to rebirth, accompanied by pleasure and covetousness, which finds its pleasure here and there: the thirst for pleasure, the thirst for existence, the thirst for impermanence.

"This, O monks, is the noble truth of the cessation of suffering: the extinction of that thirst by means of the complete annihilation of desire, by banishing desire, by renouncing it, by being delivered from it, by leaving it no place.

[26] Saṃyutta, I, pp. 138-40; Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 44, p. 321c; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 10, p. 131c.

[27] Dīgha, II, p. 100.

[28] The Pāli version can be found in Vinaya, I, p. 10; the Sanskrit, in Mahāvastu, III, pp. 331-3. For an explanation of it, see NYANATILOKA, *Fundamentals of Buddhism*, Colombo, 1949; *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950; *The Word of the Buddha*, Colombo, 1952; the articles by W. RAHULA and others in IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 249-64.*

"This, O monks, is the noble truth of the path which leads to the cessation of suffering: it is the noble path, with eight branches, which is called right faith, right will, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration"[29].

29 The meaning and import of these four truths should be explained briefly.

THE TRUTH OF SUFFERING. — The truth of suffering raises the question of universality of suffering. Suffering does not result only from painful feelings, whether bodily or mental, which can affect us. It is inherent in all "formations" (*saṃskāra*), that is, in all the psycho-physical phenomena of existence, whatever the form taken by this last.* These formations, which are continually appearing and disappearing, are transitory; being transitory, they are tainted by suffering which results from their instability; being suffering, they assert themselves beyond any control of the endurer and do not constitute a self, or pertain to a self:

"Whether there is an appearance of a Tathāgata (or Buddha), whether there is no appearance of a Tathāgata, the causal law of nature, the orderly fixing of things prevails: all formations are impermanent (*anitya*), all formations are suffering (*duḥkha*), all things are selfless (*anātmaka*)"[30].

These three characteristics are interdependent: "What do you think, O monks, is corporeality [or other psycho-physical phenomena]: permanent or impermanent?" "Impermanent, Lord". "But is what is impermanent suffering or joy?" "Suffering, Lord". "So therefore, whatever is impermanent, full of suffering, subject to change, can one, when one considers it, say: That is mine, I am that, that is my self?" "One cannot, Lord". "Consequently, O monks, with regard to corporeality [and other phenomena] everything that has ever been, will be or is, be it inside us or in the world outside, be it strong or weak, low or high, distant or near, all that is not-mine, I am not it, it is not my self: this is what should be seen in truth by whomever possesses true knowledge"[31].**

Two questions arise: what exactly are the psycho-physical phenomena? Why are they selfless?***

[29] After OLDENBERG, *Le Bouddha, Sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté*. Trad. de l'allemand d'après la 2e éd. par A. FOUCHER, Paris, 1894, pp. 131, 214.

[30] Aṅguttara, I, p. 286.

[31] Vinaya, I, p. 14; Saṃyutta, III, pp. 67-8.

The early texts provide three classes of phenomena: 1. the five aggregates (*skandha*), 2. the twelve bases (*āyatana*) of consciousness; 3. the eighteen elements (*dhātu*).

30 I. The five aggregates (*skandha*) are:

1. corporeality (*rūpa*): the four great elements (*mahābhūta*) — earth, water, fire and wind — and matter derived (*upādāyarūpa*) from the four great elements.

2. feeling (*vedanā*): feelings resulting from contact with the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

3. perception (*saṃjñā*): perceptions of colours, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles and mental images.

4. volition (*saṃskāra*): volitions concerning colours, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles and mental objects.

5. consciousness (*vijñāna*): consciousness of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind[32].

The five aggregates are inseparable. The texts show that the passage from one existence to another and the development of consciousness cannot be explained independently of corporeality, perception, feeling and volitions: "Any feeling, perception and consciousness are associated and not dissociated, it is impossible to separate one from the other and to show their difference, since what one feels, one perceives, and what one perceives, one knows"[33].

The transitory and impersonal nature of the five aggregates is revealed under scrutiny.

Let us suppose that the Ganges carries along a mass of foam and that a man with keen eyesight perceives it, observes it and examines it closely. He will find that that ball of foam is empty, insubstantial, and without any true essence. Equally, if one examines corporeality in all its aspects, it appears as empty, insubstantial and without any true essence; and it is the same for the other four aggregates: "Matter is like a ball of foam, feeling is like a bubble of water, consciousness is like a mirage, volition is like the trunk of a banana tree and consciousness is like a phantom"[34].

When she was questioned about the origin and destiny of a being (*sattva*), the nun Vajirā replied: "What do you mean by saying 'being'? Your doctrine is false. This is merely an accumulation of changing
31 formations (*saṃskāra*): there is no being here. Just as wherever parts of the chariot get together, the word "chariot" is used, so equally, wherever

[32] Saṃyutta, III, pp. 59-61; also see III, pp. 47, 86-7.

[33] Majjhima, I, p. 293.

[34] Saṃyutta, III, pp. 140-2. This famous stanza is quoted in Madh. vṛtti, p. 41.

there are the five aggregates, there is the being; such is common opinion. Everything that is born is just suffering, suffering what remains and what disappears; nothing else arises but suffering, no other thing than suffering ceases to be"[35].

However, one might say, comparison is not reason. Nevertheless, in the teaching on the Not-self which followed the Discourse at Vārāṇasī, the Buddha explained that the five aggregates are not the Self since if corporeality, feeling, perception, volition and consciousness were the Self, they could be subject to disease, and one should be able to say, with regard to corporeality, etc.: Be my body so, be not my body so[36]. In other words, if psycho-physical phenomena were the self or pertained to the Self, they could be controlled and directed, but such is not the case.

Can one also say that, even if corporeality eludes us, at least thought belongs to us individually? The Buddha would immediately reply: "It would be even better, O disciples, if a child of our times, who has not learned of the Doctrine, were to take as the Self this body formed of the four elements, rather than take the mind. And why is that so? It is because, O disciples, the body formed of the four elements seems to last one or two years... or it seems to last a hundred years or more. But that which, O disciples, is called the mind, thought or consciousness, arises and disappears in an endless changing of day and night. Just as, O disciples, a monkey gambolling in a forest or a wood, grasps a branch then lets it go and grasps another one, so, O disciples, what is called the mind, thought or consciousness arises and disappears in an endless changing of day and night"[37].

II. The second classification of phenomena concerns the twelve bases (*āyatana*) of consciousness[38].

1. The six internal (*ādhyātmika*) bases are those of the eye (*cakṣus*), ear (*śrotra*), nose (*ghrāṇa*), tongue (*jihvā*), body (*kāya*) and mind (*manas*).

32 2. The six external (*bāhya*) bases are the visible (*rūpa*), sound (*śabda*), odour (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), the touchable (*spraṣṭavya*) and the object of thought (*dharma*).

This table explains their relationship:

[35] Saṃyutta, I, p. 135. See Oldenberg-Foucher (quoted above n. 29), p. 263.
[36] Vinaya, I, p. 13; Saṃyutta, III, pp. 66-8.
[37] Saṃyutta, II, pp. 94-5.
[38] Dīgha, II, p. 302, etc.

Ādhyātmika āyatana	Bāhya āyatana
1. cakṣus	7. rūpa
2. śrotra	8. śabda
3. ghrāṇa	9. gandha
4. jihvā	10. rasa
5. kāya	11. spraṣṭavya
6. manas	12. dharma

Bases 1 to 5 and 7 to 11 are physical: bases 1 to 5 are organs (*indriya*) made of subtle matter (*rūpaprasāda*) derived from the four great elements (*upādāyarūpa*); bases 7 to 11 are objects (*viṣaya*) made of rough matter.

Base 6, the *manaāyatana*, is of a mental order: it is a collective term designating all forms of consciousness.

Base 12, the *dharmāyatana*, can be of a physical or mental order. It designates every object of thought, whether past, present or future, real or imaginary.

The eye perceives only the visible, the ear only sound, while the *manas* grasps, as well as its own object, the objects of the other five senses and those senses themselves. This is expressed in the formula: "The five organs each have their own object, their own domain and do not experience the object-domain of their neighbour, but the *manas* is their resort and experiences the object-domain of them all"[39].

III. Depending on the previous one, the third classification, in eighteen elements (*dhātu*), explains the workings of the consciousness[40]. In fact, the organ (*indriya*) as a substrate (*āśraya*) and the object (*viṣaya*) as
33 a seized-object (*ālambana*), give rise to consciousness (*vijñāna*). This is expressed by the formula: "Because of the eye and the visible, visual consciousness (*cakṣurvijñāna*) arises ...; because of the mind (*manas*) and the object of thought (*dharma*), mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) arises; the conjunction of the three is contact (*sparśa*); there arise together (*sahajāta*) feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*) and volition (*cetanā*)"[41].

[39] Saṃyutta, V, p. 218.
[40] Saṃyutta, II, p. 140.
[41] Saṃyutta, II, p. 72; IV, p. 33.

The eighteen dhātus should therefore be set out in the following way:

Organs	Objects	Consciousnesses
1. cakṣus	7. rūpa	13. cakṣurvijñāna
2. śrotra	8. śabda	14. śrotravijñāna
3. ghrāṇa	9. gandha	15. ghrāṇavijñāna
4. jihvā	10. rasa	16. jihvāvijñāna
5. kāya	11. spraṣṭavya	17. kāyavijñāna
6. manas	12. dharma	18. manovijñāna

Dhātus 1 to 5 and 7 to 11 are physical; dhātus 6 and 13 to 18 are mental; dhātu 12 can be physical or mental.

Unlike the *manaāyatana*, which was a factor in the previous classification, the *manodhātu* (No. 6) is formed by one of the six consciousnesses. While the first five consciousnesses (dhātus 13 to 17) have the five material organs, eye, etc (dhātus 1 to 5) as their substrate (*āśraya*), the sixth consciousness, mental consciousnes (dhātu 18), has no such substrate. Consequently, in order to attribute a substrate to it, the term *manas* or *manodhātu* (dhātu 6) is given to what is used as substrate as a "contiguous and immediate antecedent" (*samanantarapratyaya*), i.e., any of the six conscicusnesses which have just passed (*yad anantarātītaṃ vijñānam*)[42].

Just like the five *skandha*, the twelve *āyatana*, and the eighteen *dhātu* are "impermanent, painful, impersonal and changing" (*anitya, duḥkha, anātmaka, vipariṇāmadharma*)[43].

34 If all the psycho-physical phenomena of existence are stamped by impermanence and marked by suffering, it ensues that all existences in which they occur share the same defects.

Saṃsāra, or the round of rebirths, has its origin in eternity: "It is impossible to find any beginning from which beings steeped in ignorance and bound by the thirst for existence wander aimlessly from rebirth to rebirth"[44].

According to Buddhist tradition, this occurs throughout the five destinies (*pañcagati*) and the threefold world (*traidhātuka*).

The five destinies[45] are those of the hells (*naraka*), animals (*tirya-*

[42] This is the Sarvāstivādin interpretation, Kośa, I, pp. 32-3.

[43] Vibhaṅga, p. 70.

[44] Saṃyutta, II, p. 179.

[illegible] Majjhima, I, p. 73.

gyoni), ghosts (*preta*), men (*manuṣya*) and gods (*deva*). The first three are qualified as unhappy (*durgati, apāya*) and the last two as happy (*sugati*).

The threefold world[46] includes:

1. The Kāmadhātu, world of desire, or of the five senses, which includes the destinies of the hells, animals, ghosts, men and some of the gods: the six classes of the gods of the world of desire[47].

2. The Rūpadhātu, world of subtle matter, which includes heavenly beings who have been reborn into the world of Brahma and who are distributed throughout the spheres of the four ecstasies (*dhyāna*).

3. The Ārūpyadhātu, world of formlessness, which includes heavenly beings who have been reborn, in the shape of a "mental series", in the spheres of the four attainments (*samāpatti*). These spheres consist of: 1. the sphere of unlimited space (*ākāśānantyāyatana*), 2. the sphere of unlimited consciousness (*vijñānānantyāyatana*), 3. the sphere of nothingness (*ākiṃcanyāyatana*), 4. the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*) also called the Summit of Existence (*bhavāgra*).

Here, according to the Sanskrit list, is the distribution of the *gati* and *dhātu*:

35

I. Kāmadhātu	1. Naraka		
	2. Tiryagyoni		
	3. Preta		
	4. Manuṣya		
	5. Kāmadeva	1. Caturmahārājakāyika	Devaloka
		2. Trāyastriṃśa	
		3. Yāma	
		4. Tuṣita	
		5. Nirmāṇarati	
		6. Paranirmitavaśavartin	
II. Rūpadhātu	1st Dhyāna	1. Brahmakāyika	Brahmaloka
		2. Brahmapurohita	
		3. Mahābrahma	
	2nd Dhyāna	1. Parīttābha	
		2. Apramāṇābha	
		3. Ābhāsvara	
	3rd Dhyāna	1. Parīttaśubha	
		2. Apramāṇaśubha	
		3. Śubhakṛtsna	

[46] Majjhima, III, p. 63.

[47] For the enumeration of the gods, see Majjhima, III, pp. 100-3.

	4th Dhyāna	1. Anabhraka	
		2. Puṇyaprasava	
		3. Bṛhatphala	
		4. Avṛha	
		5. Atapa	
		6. Sudṛśa	
		7. Sudarśana	
		8. Akaniṣṭha	
III. Ārūpyadhātu		I. Ākāśānantya	Caturārūpya Brahmaloka
		II. Vijñānānantya	
		III. Ākiṃcanya	
		IV. Naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñā	

In the first three destinies there is more suffering than joy; in the human destiny, the two balance; in the divine destinies joy prevails over suffering. However, whatever the blisses they may entail, all existences are basically painful since they are transitory, and joys which are doomed to disappear are sufferings. Vitiated by impermanence, existences are only an infinitesimal point in the long night of suffering: "While, on this long voyage, you wandered aimlessly from birth to birth, and you groaned and you wept because you had a share in what you hated
36 and you did not have a share in what you liked, there have flowed, there have been shed by you more tears than there is water in the four oceans"[48].

THE TRUTH OF THE ORIGIN OF SUFFERING[49]. — The subject of the second noble truth is the origin of suffering (*duḥkhasamudaya*). Transitory, painful and impersonal though they may be, the phenomena of existence do not, for all that, arise by chance: their appearance and disappearance are ruled by the fixed law of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) which, in the first case, functions in direct order, and in the second, in reverse order. It amounts to the fact that birth (*janman*) is caused by action (*karman*) and that action itself is conditioned by passion (*kleśa*).*

[48] Saṃyutta, II, p. 180. See OLDENBERG-FOUCHER (quoted above n. 29), p. 220.

[49] In our opinion, the most lucid description remains that of L. de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Théorie des douze causes*, Ghent, 1916. Also see B.C. LAW, *Formulations of the Pratītyasamutpāda*, JRAS, 1937, pp. 287-92; B.M. BARUA, *Pratītyasamutpāda as a Basic Concept of Buddhist Thought*, Law Comm. Volume, Poona, 1946, pp. 574-89. The most searching Indian treatise is the *Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra* of *Ullaṅgha*, ed. V. GOKHALE, Bonn, 1930. Two particularly noteworthy western interpretations are : P. OLTRAMARE, *La formule bouddhique des douze causes*, Geneva, 1909; A. FOUCHER, *La Vie du Bouddha*, Paris, 1949, pp. 163-70.***

Action is a volition (*cetanā*), whether good or bad (*kuśala, akuśala*), which is manifested in good or bad actions of body, speech and mind. The essence of action is in the mind, and action is not truly action unless it is *saṃcetanīya*, that is, "conscious, reflected, willed", and when it is performed *saṃcintya*, consciously, with reflection and willingly.

This action necessarily yields a fruit of maturation (*vipākaphala*). This is different from its cause because since the latter is always a morally qualified action, good or bad, the fruit of maturation is always indeterminate (*avyākṛta*) from the moral point of view and consequently does not yield any further maturation.**

The fruit of maturation is, in the first place, an agreeable or painful feeling and, in the second place, an organism which makes that feeling possible. In a word, any existence, or more precisely any birth (*janman*) with the feelings it entails is fruit of maturation.

Action does not always incur immediate maturation: there are actions
37 which incur maturation in this life, others immediately after death, in the next rebirth and, finally, others even later.

All this has been well summarized in the *Aṅguttara* (III, p. 415): "What is action? — I assert that action is volition, since it is by willing that one performs an action with the body, speech or mind.

"What is the origin of actions? — Contact is the origin of actions.

"What is the variety of actions? — There are actions which mature in feeling in the hells, among animals, among ghosts, in the world of men and in the world of the gods.

"What is the maturation of action? — I say that the maturation of action is of three kinds: action matures in the present existence, in the future existence or in the course of successive births".

There are ten varieties of actions called "Wrong ways of action" (*akuśala karmapatha*)[50] which mature in the three unhappy destinies (hells, animal realm and realm of gosts): 1. murder (*prāṇātipāta*), 2. theft (*adattādāna*), 3. sexual misconduct (*kāmamithyācāra*), 4. false speech (*mṛṣāvāda*), 5. slander (*paiśunyavāda*), 6. harsh speech (*pāruṣyavāda*), 7. frivolous talk (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*), 8. covetousness (*abhidhyā*), 9. ill-will (*vyāpāda*), 10. false views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*). — In contrast, the ten "Good ways of action" (*kuśala karmapatha*) mature in the happy destinies (the realms of mankind and of the gods).

All the happy or unhappy destinies which constitute the fruit of action will disappear when that fruit is exhausted; they constitute only one step on the path of painful rebirth. So therefore, the intentional actions

[50] Dīgha, III, p. 269.

which determine the destiny of beings constitute their welfare and inheritance, an inheritance which no one can renounce:

"Deeds are the welfare of beings, deeds are their inheritance, deeds are the womb that bears them, deeds are the race to which they are related, deeds are their resort"[51].

"Neither in the kingdom of the air, nor in the middle of the sea, nor if you hide in a mountain cave, nowhere on earth will you find a place where you can escape the fruit of your bad actions"[52].

38 They are strictly personal and incommunicable : "Those bad actions which are yours were not done by your mother, or your father, or your brother, or your sister, or your friends and advisers, or your kinsmen and blood relatives, or by ascetics, or by brāhmins, or by gods. It is you alone who have done those bad actions : you alone must experience the fruit"[53].

Action which matures in suffering draws its virulent efficacity from the passion (*kleśa*) which inspires it. That is why the second noble truth asserts that suffering — the fruit of action — originates in thirst (*tṛṣṇā*), that is, desire.

However, here desire is taken in its wider sense, and there are three kinds : 1. the thirst for pleasures (*kāmatṛṣṇā*) : a desire which is roused and takes root when confronted with agreeable objects and pleasant ideas; 2. the thirst for existence (*bhavatṛṣṇā*), a desire associated with the belief in the lasting duration of existence; 3. the thirst for non-existence (*vibhavatṛṣṇā*), a desire associated with the belief that everything ends when death comes[54]. According to this concept, it is pernicious to delight in sense-objects, and even more pernicious to entertain in oneself an impossible ideal of eternal survival or utter annihilation. Buddhism constitutes the outright condemnation of personalism and materialism.

Desire taints the action of the threefold poison of craving (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*). It is the profound cause of action : "O monks, there are three causes (*nidāna*) from which actions originate : greed, hatred and delusion"[55], and, even more poetically : "Delighted by craving, maddened by hatred, blinded by delusion, dominated and perturbed, man ponders his own downfall, that of others and both together; in his mind, he experiences suffering and sorrow"[56].

We should now examine the complex mechanism which indissolubly

[51] Majjhima, III, p. 203; Aṅguttara, III, p. 186.
[52] Dhammapada, st. 127.
[53] Majjhima, III, p. 181.
[54] Vinaya, I, p. 10.
[55] Aṅguttara, I, p. 263.
[56] Aṅguttara, I, pp. 156-7.

links desire to action and action to painful rebirth. This is the system of
39 dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpada*)[57] discovered by the Buddha and given by him as the corner stone of his doctrine.

While the theory of the Not-self reduces all the phenomena of existence to entities which are transitory, painful and insubstantial, the system of dependent origination demonstrates that the appearance and disappearance of such phenomena, far from being left to chance, are ruled by a strict determinism. This origination forms a chain of twelve links (*dvādaśāṅga*) each of which conditions the next, and this conditioning is expressed by the formula : "This being, that is; from the arising of this, that arises"; and in reverse : "This not being, that is not; on the cessation of this, that ceases"[58].

1st *Avidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ* "Conditioned by ignorance are the karmic formations".

Ignorance consists of ignorance of the four noble truths[59], ignorance of the origin and disappearance of the *skandha*[60], the fourfold error (*viparyāsa*) which consists of taking for eternal what is transitory, for pleasant what is unpleasant, for pure what is impure, for a Self what has no "self" (the five *skandha*)[61].

The beginning of the causal chain, ignorance is nevertheless not without causes : it has as its nutriment (1) the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*), covetousness, ill-will, sloth and torpor, pride, doubt or scepticism, which in turn are nurtured by (2) misdeeds of body, speech and mind, which spring from (3) non-restraint of the senses, (4) a lack of precise awareness of disagreeable feelings, (5) superficial reflection (*ayoniśo manasikāra*), (6) unbelief, (7) not listening to the Dharma, (8) not frequenting the holy ones[62].

One thing is certain : ignorance is a psychological state and, contrary to some western explanations, has nothing cosmic or metaphysical.

It is the condition of the karmic formations (*saṃskāra*), namely,
40 actions of body, speech and mind : intentional actions, morally good or bad.

2nd *Saṃskārapratyayaṃ vijñānam* "Conditioned by the karmic formations is consciousness".

After death, because of actions, there appears in the mother's womb

[57] Vinaya, I, p. 1; Majjhima, III, p. 63; Saṃyutta, II, pp. 1-4, etc.
[58] Saṃyutta, II, pp. 28, 65.
[59] Saṃyutta, II, p. 4.
[60] Saṃyutta, III, pp. 162, 171.
[61] Aṅguttara, II, p. 52.
[62] Aṅguttara, V, pp. 113, 116.

the consciousness aggregate (six groups of consciousnesses) which is inseparable from the other four aggregates. This is a consciousness which is a fruit of maturation (*vipākaphala*) and, as such, indeterminate from the moral point of view (*avyākṛta*). It is the explanation of the new existence since "if consciousness, after having entered the mother's womb, were to go away, the embryo would not be born"[63].

3rd *Vijñānapratyayaṃ nāmarūpam* "Conditioned by consciousness is mentality-corporeality".

Mentality should be understood as the three mental *skandha* excluding *vijñāna* : feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*) and volitions (*saṃskāra*). By corporeality is meant form : the four great elements and derived form.

From the mental consciousness that has entered the mother's womb, proceeds the living psycho-physical complex consisting of the five *skandha*. This complex is also a fruit of maturation.

4th *Nāmarūpapratyayaṃ ṣaḍāyatanam* "Conditioned by mentality-corporeality are the six bases of consciousness".

These are the six internal (*ādhyātmika*) bases of consciousness : eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

The normal functioning of the five *skandha* requires a sensorial and mental organism, *internal* bases of consciousness, which can perceive and grasp the six external (*bāhya*) bases of consciousness : material objects (*viṣaya*) and objects of thought (*dharma*).

5th *Ṣaḍāyatanapratyayaḥ sparśaḥ* "Conditioned by the six bases is contact".

The existence of the six bases gives rise to sensorial and mental impression : the making of contact between the six organs and their respective objects. The texts say : "Due to the eye and the visible..., the mind and the object of thought, there respectively arise visual consciousness..., mental consciousness. The conjunction of the three (*trikasaṃnipāta*) is contact"[64].

41 6th *Sparśapratyayā vedanā* "Conditioned by contact is feeling".

From the contact between the organ, object and consciousness there results agreeable, disagreeable or neutral feeling, feeling which is inevitably accompanied by perception (*saṃjñā*) and volition (*cetanā*).

Like the four previous links, feeling is always the fruit of action, the morally undefined result of good or bad actions performed in the previous life. However, this feeling will cause an awakening of passion.

[63] Dīgha, II, p. 63.

[64] Saṃyutta, II, p. 72; IV, pp. 67, 86.

7th *Vedanāpratyayā tṛṣṇā* "Conditioned by feeling is thirst".

The feeling experienced by one organ or another immediately arouses an impassioned reaction for one object or another : colour, sound, odour, taste, tangibility or object of thought.

8th *Tṛṣṇāpratyayam upādānam* "Conditioned by thirst is grasping".

Grasping is exasperated desire, excess or passion which is expressed by (1) sensual grasping (*kāmopādāna*), (2) grasping false views (*dṛṣṭyupādāna*), (3) blind belief in the efficacity of vows and rites (*śīlavratopādāna*), (4) blind belief in personalist ideas (*ātmavādopādāna*)[65].

9th *Upādānapratyayo bhavaḥ* "Conditioned by grasping is [action which gives rise to] re-existence".

Bhava, literally "existence" should here be taken to mean *punarbhavajanakaṃ karma* "action which gives rise to re-existence". Exasperated grasping (*upādāna*) causes a process of activity (*karmabhava*) — good or bad intentional actions — which will determine a process of rebirth (*utpattibhava*) : a new existence, a fruit of maturation, in the realms of the Kāma-, Rūpa- or Ārūpyadhātu.

10th *Bhavapratyayā jātiḥ* "Conditioned by the action which gives rise to re-existence is birth".

As we have just seen, the process of activity culminates in a new birth : "the coming into the world, the descent, the realization of such-and-such beings (*sattva*) in one category (*nikāya*) of beings or another, the appearance of the *skandha*, the acquiring of the organs"[66].

42 In that definition, the word being (*sattva*) should not be taken literally, since Buddhism is essentially a denial of the individual or person. Birth is merely the appearance of new *skandha* : the *skandha* of a new existence.

11th *Jātipratyayaṃ jarāmaraṇam* "Conditioned by birth is old-age-and-death".

Birth leads to all the miseries of life : old-age-and-death, but also "sorrow, lamentation, suffering, grief and despair.

The causal chain, the functioning of which has just been described, therefore includes twelve links the nature and function of which are :

[65] Saṃyutta, II, p. 3.

[66] Saṃyutta, II, p. 3.

Past Existence	1. avidyā : kleśa 2. saṃskāra : karman		karmabhava
Present Existence	3. vijñāna 4. nāmarūpa 5. ṣaḍāyatana 6. sparśa 7. vedanā	vipāka-phala	utpattibhava
	8. tṛṣṇā 9. upādāna 10. bhava	kleśa karman	karmabhava
Future Existence	11. jāti 12. jāramaraṇa	vipāka-phala	utpattibhava

This table shows that the twelve-linked Pratītyasamutpāda is both double and triple[67]:

It is double because it involves a process of activity (*karmabhava*), i.e. links 1 to 2, 8 to 10, and a process of birth (*utpattibhava*), i.e. links 3 to 7 and 11 to 12. In other words, it is both cause and fruit.

It is triple because three links (1, 8 and 9) are passion (*kleśa*), two links (2 and 10) are action (*karman*), and seven links (3 to 7 and 11 to 12) are fruit of maturation (*vipākaphala*) or birth (*janman*). This shows that the circle of existence (*bhavacakra*) has no beginning; birth is due to passions and actions; passions and actions are due to birth; birth is due to passions and actions.

The table drawn up here refers to an artificially divided group of three existences in the infinite succession of existences integrated into a beginningless Saṃsāra; links 1 and 2 represent the past existence, links 3 to 10 represent the present existence and links 11 and 12, the future existence.

The system of dependent origination has often been misunderstood and, what is even more serious, misinterpreted. The Buddha had foreseen this since, while meditating on the truth he had just discovered under the tree of Enlightenment, he reflected as follows : "I have

[67] On all these points, see Kośa, III, pp. 59-61, 68.

discovered this profound truth, which is difficult to perceive difficult to understand, appeasing, sublime, transcending all thought, abstruse, which only the wise can grasp... For humanity which bustles about in the whirlwind of this world, it will be a difficult matter for the mind to embrace, this doctrine of causality, the chain of causes and effects"[68].

It nevertheless remains true that this theory constitutes the corner stone of the Buddhist doctrine : "Whoever understands it understands the Dharma and whoever understands the Dharma understands it"[69]. It alone enables one to grasp how, in the absence of any substantial entity, the phenomena of existence are governed by a strict determinism; in other words, how "suffering exists, but no one is afflicted; there is no agent, but activity is a fact"[70].

THE TRUTH OF NIRVĀṆA[71]. — The law of causality, the chain of causes and effects is a difficult thing for humanity to grasp. Just as difficult to grasp is the entry into stillness of all formations, the detachment from earthly things, the extinction of craving, the cessation
44 of desire, the end, Nirvāṇa[72]. Nirvāṇa is the subject of the third noble truth, the truth of the cessation of suffering (*duḥkhanirodha*).

If desire arouses action, and if action in turn gives rise to existence, it is enough to eliminate desire in order to neutralize action, and action thus neutralized would no longer mature in new existences. Through the cessation of birth, old-age-and-death, sorrow and lamentation, suffering, grief and despair cease : such is the cessation of the whole realm of suffering[73].

Nirvāṇa is twofold in aspect : it is the cessation (a) of desire, (b) of suffering or of existence.

a. Nirvāṇa in this world is no different from holiness (*arhattva*) :

[68] Vinaya, I, pp. 4-5.

[69] Majjhima, I, pp. 190-1.

[70] Visuddhimagga, ed. WARREN, p. 436.

[71] Cf. L. de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *The Way to Nirvāṇa*, Cambridge, 1917; *Remarques sur le Nirvāṇa*, Studia Catholica, I, 1924, p. 25; *Nirvāṇa*, Paris, 1925; *Les deux Nirvāṇa d'après la Vibhāṣā*, Ac. de Belgique, Bulletin, 2 Dec. 1929; *Le Nirvāṇa d'après Āryadeva*, MCB, I 1932, p. 127; *Une dernière note sur le Nirvāṇa*, Mél. Linossier, II, 1932, p. 329; *Documents d'Abhidharma*, BEFEO, 1930, p. 1; *Musīla et Nārada, le chemin du Nirvāṇa*, MCB, V, 1937, p. 189; Th. STCHERBATSKY, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad, 1927; E. OBERMILLER, *Nirvāṇa according to the Tibetan tradition*, IHQ, V, pp. 211-57; B.C. LAW, *Aspects of Nirvāṇa* IC, II, p. 327; E.J. THOMAS, *Nirvāṇa and Parinirvāṇa*, India Antiqua, Leiden, 1947, p. 294; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Unsterblichkeit und Erlösung in den indischen Religionen*, Halle, 1938.

[72] Vinaya, I, p. 5.

[73] Vinaya, I, pp. 1-2.

"The destruction of desire, the destruction of hatred, the destruction of delusion, that is what is called Nirvāṇa and holiness"[74]. The holy one in possession of Nirvāṇa has destroyed desire and dispelled any cause of rebirth, but the destruction of desire still leaves intact all the elements of existence called *skandha*, corporeality, feelings, perceptions, volitions and consciousnesses. The Nirvāṇa-in-this-world of a person who wins deliverance while alive is called Nirvāṇa "with residual conditioning" (*sopadhiśeṣa*).

b. Afther the death of someone who has obtained Nirvāna in this world or of a holy one, there is no longer a new existence. In fact, "the body of the holy one continues to exist even though the thirst which produces a new existence has been cut off. As long as his body lasts, so long will gods and men see him. But, when his body is broken and his life gone away, gods and men will no longer see him"[75]. This is what is called Nirvāṇa "without residual conditioning" (*nirupadhiśeṣa*). Just as a flame disturbed by a blast of wind grows dim and disappears from sight, so the holy one released from the *nāma-rūpa* (physical and mental aggregates of existence) enters into appeasement thus disappears from all sight. No one can measure him; to speak of him, there are no words; what the mind might conceive vanishes and all ways of speaking vanish[76].

45 In the world of becoming, all the elements of existence, subject to dependent origination, are both causes and caused : they are, it is said, "conditioned" (*saṃskṛta*). Nirvāṇa, which is beyond becoming, escapes the causal chain : it is "unconditioned" (*asaṃskṛta*). This absolute is asserted by several texts which say : "There is an unborn, unarisen, uncreated, unconditioned; if there was not an unborn, there would be issue for what is born, but as there is an unborn, there is an issue for what is born, arisen, created, conditioned"[77]. When considered from that point of view, Nirvāṇa is cessation (*nirodha*), calm (*śānta*), excellent (*praṇīta*) and escape or salvation (*niḥsaraṇa*)[78].

Buddhist schools and historians of religions have endlessly discussed the true nature of Nirvāṇa, advocating in turn and according to their personal tendencies, for Nirvāṇa-Existence or Nirvāṇa-Annihilation.* However, in order to enter the debate with a full knowledge of the facts,

[74] Saṃyutta, IV, pp. 251-2.
[75] Dīgha, I, p. 46.
[76] Suttanipāta, v. 1074.
[77] Udāna, VIII, 3, p. 80; Itivuttaka, p. 37; Udānavarga, ed. BECKH, XXVI, 21-4.
[78] Kośa, VII, p. 31 sq.

one must first be convinced of the impersonality and the emptiness of all forms of existence of which not one is a Self or pertains to a Self. In such conditions, if, in regard to becoming, suffering and activity are explained as having no subject or agent, in regard to the absolute, Nirvāṇa in no way implies the existence of someone who has entered Nirvāṇa :

> Suffering exists, but no one is afflicted,
> There is no agent, but activity is a fact,
> Nirvāṇa is, but whoever has entered Nirvāṇa is not,
> The Path exists, but no-one treads it[79].

THE TRUTH OF THE PATH. — That quotation leads us to the fourth noble truth the subject of which is the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering (*duḥkhanirodhagāmanī pratipad*). The noble eightfold Path defined in the Discourse of Vārāṇasī consists of three elements : morality, concentration and wisdom[80].

I. Morality (*śīla*) consists of conscious and intentional abstention from all misdeeds of body and speech and also sometimes — but not always — of mind : 1. murder, 2. theft, 3. sexual misconduct, 4.
46 falsehood, 5. slander, 6. harsh talk, 7. frivolous talk, 8. covetousness, 9. ill-will, 10. false views. It is aimed at avoiding anything which could cause another person harm. The observance of morality increases in value when it is the result of a vow or commitment : it is then called the moral restraint (*saṃvaraśīla*). Obligations vary with the states of life. As will be seen further on, the lay Buddhist conforms to the fivefold morality (*pañcaśīla*) and, when fasting, to the eightfold morality (*aṣṭāṅgaśīla*); a probationer or *śikṣamāṇā* is bound by six laws (*ṣaḍdharma*) and the novice of both sexes by ten rules (*daśaśikṣāpada*), the bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs are kept subject to the articles of their Discipline, approximately 250 for the monk and 500 for the nun. Although it is an indispensable condition for spiritual progress, morality is only the first step. What is the use of avoiding misdeeds if the heart and mind react to every appeal of passion? The second element of the Path will therefore be aimed at purifying thought.

II. Concentration (*samādhi*)* is the fixing of the mind on one point. It is basically the same as the absence of distraction (*avikṣepa*) and mental quietude (*śamatha*). In preference, it is practised during the nine successive mental abodes (*navānupūrvavihāra*) which consist of the four ecstasies (*dhyāna*) of the world of subtle form, the four attainments (*samā-*

[79] Visuddhimagga, ed. WARREN, p. 436.
[80] Dīgha, II, pp. 81, 84; Itivuttaka, p. 51.

patti) of the formless world and the attainment of the cessation of perception and felling (*saṃjñāvedayitanirodha*)[81].

By rejecting the five sense-objects and dispelling the five hindrances to meditation (covetousness, ill-will, sloth and torpor, regret and doubt), the ascetic enters the first ecstasy, endowed with reasoning (*vitarka*) and discursive thought (*vicāra*), born of detachment and which is joy and happiness. — By discarding reasoning and discursive thought, he enters the second ecstasy, inward peace, fixing of the mind on one point, free of reasoning and discursive thought, born of concentration, and which is joy and happiness. — By renouncing joy (*prīti*), he dwells in equanimity (*upekṣaka*), mindful and fully aware; he experiences happiness (*sukha*) in his body; he enters the third ecstasy which is defined by the holy ones as being equanimity, mindfulness, dwelling in happiness. — By destroying happiness and suffering, through the previous discar-
47 ding of joy and sorrow, he dwells in the fourth ecstasy which is free of suffering and happiness, and purified in renouncement and mindfulness. — Having gone beyond any notion of matter, discarding any notion of resistance and regarding any notion of plurality, he cries : "Infinite is space" and enters the sphere of unlimited space (*ākāśānantyāyatana*). — Having gone beyond the sphere of unlimited space, he successively enters the sphere of unlimited consciousness (*vijñānānantyāyatana*), the sphere of nothingness (*ākiṃcanyāyatana*) and the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*). — Finally, going beyond all that, he enters the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (*saṃjñāvedayitanirodhasamāpatti*); when he has reached that stage, his passions are destroyed by knowledge and he has won what, strictly speaking, is termed Nirvāṇa-in-this-world[82].*

The practice of concentration, contingently completed by insight (*vipaśyanā*), endows the ascetic with six higher spiritual powers (*abhijñā*), five of which are mundane and one of which is supramundane : the magic powers, the divine eye which is extremely far-reaching, the penetration of the thoughts of other people, divine hearing, the recollection of previous existences and, finally, the destruction of the impurities which, from this life onwards, ensures mental deliverance[83].

[81] Dīgha, II, p. 156; II, pp. 165, 290; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 410.

[82] Vinaya, III, p. 4; Dīgha, I, pp. 37, 73, 172; Majjhima, I, pp. 21, 40, 89, 117, 159; Saṃyutta, II, pp. 210, 216, 221; Aṅguttara, I, pp. 53, 163, 182, 242; Lalitavistara, p. 129; Pañcaviṃśati, p. 167. — For a rational explanation of this Yoga technique, see M. Eliade, *Le Yoga, Immortalité et Liberté*, Paris, 1954, pp. 174-9.

[83] Dīgha, III, p. 281. — On this subject, see P. Demiéville, *Sur la mémoire des existences antérieures*, BEFEO, XXVII, 1927, pp. 283-98. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Le Bouddha et les Abhijñā*, Muséon, 1931, pp. 335-42.

The practice of the nine successive mental abodes is far from exhausting the list of mental practices invented or adopted by Buddhism. In order not to be too incomplete, we should also point out the three concentrations which have as their object Emptiness (*śūnyatā*), Signlessness (*ānimitta*) and Wishlessness (*apraṇihita*) which exhaust the examination of the Buddhist truths in all their aspects[84].

Finally, four mental exercises, the *Brahmavihāra*, which have been known to and practised by Indian yogins at all time, are particularly
48 recommended even though, in the economy of the Path, they are somewhat incidental; they consist of projecting in all directions a mind entirely filled with benevolence (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), altruistic joy (*muditā*) and perfect equanimity (*upekṣā*), and embracing the whole world in those infinite feelings[85].

The observance of morality and the systematic purification of the mind are not enough in themselves to ensure repose, calming, Nirvāṇa to which the ascetic aspires. The intervention of a third element will lead to that end.

III. wisdom (*prajñā*) or insight (*vipaśyanā*)* produces the four fruits of the Path and attains Nirvāṇa. Wisdom as it was conceived by Śākyamuni is not a gnosis, some intuition of vague and imprecise content which might satisfy superficial minds. It is indeed clear and precise insight, the object of which consists of the three general characteristics (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) of things : "All dharmas, notably the physical and mental phenomena of existence (matter, feelings, notions, volitions and consciousnesses) are transitory (*anitya*), painful (*duḥkha*) and devoid of a Self or substantial reality (*anātman*)". These phenomena succeeding each other in series according to an invariable mechanism last only for a moment; doomed to disappear, they are painful; as such, they are devoid of all autonomy, they do not constitute a Self and do not depend on a Self. It is by mistake that we consider them as me or mine. How is it possible to be attached to those fleeting entities, which are characterized by suffering and do not concern us at all? To turn away from them by making a lucid judgement is *ipso facto* to eliminate desire, neutralize action and escape painful existence.

Not everyone who wishes attains wisdom. Left to his own forces, the ordinary man finds it difficult to accept that pleasures are vain, joys are suffering and the Self is illusory. If a wise man attempts to enlighten him, he can turn away from the light. If he allows himself to be

[84] Vinaya, III, p. 93; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 360; Aṅguttara, I, p. 299.

[85] Dīgha, II, p. 196; III, p. 220; Divya, p. 224.

convinced, his adherence, of a purely intellectual nature, is very far from that direct insight which constitutes true wisdom and which is necessary for salvation. The Buddha therefore distinguished between three and
49 even four kinds of wisdom depending on whether they originate from a teaching (*śruta*), reflection (*cintā*) or contemplation (*bhāvanā*)[86].

1. The Buddha, being omniscient and the "instructor of gods and men", has discovered and taught the noble truths. His word is truthful, perfect with regard to the meaning and the letter. It was collected and memorized by the auditors (*śrāvaka*) who repeated it "just as they had heard it". The good disciple "listens to it carefully, gives ear, seeks to understand and relies on the teaching of the Master"[87]. If he is unable to verify the truth of the teaching, he must say : "That I accept through faith" or again "The Buddha knows, but I do not know"[88].

The teaching is a precious gift. The appearance of Buddhas in this world is as rare as the blossoming of the Udumbara tree, or *ficus glomerata,* which bears fruits but which has no visible flower[89]. Of 91 cosmic periods, only three had a Buddha. Even so, when the Buddhas appear in the world and preach the doctrine, not all men are able to see and hear them. One day, Śākyamuni and Ānanda met a wretched old woman at the entrance to Śrāvastī. Moved by pity, Ānanda suggested to the Master that he approach and deliver her : "May the Buddha approach her", he said; "when she sees the Buddha with his marks, minor marks and luminous rays, she will have a thought of joy and find deliverance". The Buddha replied : "That woman does not fulfil the requisite conditions for deliverance". Nevertheless, in response to Ānanda's request, he attempted to appear before her. He approached her from the front, from behind and from the side, from above and from below, but each time, the old woman turned her back to him, lifted her head when she should have lowered it, lowered her head when she should have lifted it and, finally, covered her face with her hands. She did not even perceive the presence of the Buddha, and the Master concluded : "What else can I do? Everything is useless : there are those
50 people who do not fulfil the requiste conditions for deliverance and who are unable to see the Buddha"[90]. Privileged people to whom it is given to hear the word of the Buddha and who give him their adhesion do not

[86] Dīgha, III, p. 219.

[87] Dīgha, I, p. 230; Majjhima, II, p. 253; III, pp. 117, 133, 221; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 82.

[88] Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 5.

[89] Waldschmidt, MPS, pp. 356, 372, 394, 430; Lalitavistara, p. 105; Sukhāvatīvyūha, §2; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 39.

[90] Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 125c.

find deliverance for all that. Faith is not enough to ensure them true wisdom upon which final deliverance depends.

2. Wisdom which originates from the teaching must be completed by wisdom which arises from reflection. The latter enables one to grasp the meaning by means of the letter and to interpret the letter through the meaning. This provokes a particular and personal reaction with regard to a teaching which is purely external. Nevertheless, a purely intellectual conviction is still not true wisdom.

3. This last is wisdom resulting from contemplation. It goes straight to the thing, disregarding the letter. It is a direct and autonomous grasping of the Buddhist truth, independent of any external adjunct. As a free thinker, Śākyamuni considered personal conviction alone to be of value. "And now", he sometimes asked his monks, "that you know and think thus, will you say : We honour the Master and, through respect for the Master, we say this or that?" — "We will not do that, Lord". "What you assert, is it not what you yourselves have recognized, you yourselves seen, you yourselves grasped?" "That is exactly so, Lord"[91].

4. Direct wisdom, the only one finally to be of value, does not always move on the same plane : it can be of lower or higher nature. "There is a right but impure view, of solely meritorious value and bearing fruit solely in this world : it is the right view of wordlings who see the truth but keep away from the path laid out by the Buddha". Conversely, "there is a right view which is noble, pure, supramundane and linked to the Path; it is found in the mind which is noble, purified, joined to the Path and following the noble Path; it is wisdom, the faculty, the power of wisdom, a constituent element of enlightenment which consists of the elucidation of the doctrine, a right view which forms part of the Path"[92]. It is this direct, supramundane wisdom which gives rise to holiness and by means of which the ascetic, raised to the level of holy one or Arhat, can solemnly affirm : "I have understood the noble
51 truths, destroyed rebirth, lived the pure life, done what had to be done; henceforth, there will be no further births for me"[93].

Early scholasticism fixed the stages of the Buddhist Path, the three essential elements of which we have just studied. They are four in number, each consisting of the acquisition, then enjoyment, of the fruits of the religious life : Srotaāpatti, Sakṛdāgāmin, Anāgāmin and Arhattva[94].

[91] Majjhima, I, p. 265.

[92] Majjhima, III, p. 72.

[93] Vin., I, pp. 14, 35, 183; Dīgha, I, pp. 84, 177, 203; Majjhima, I, p. 139; Saṃyutta, I, p. 140; Aṅguttara, I, p. 165, etc.

[94] Saṃyutta, V, p. 25; Dīgha, III, pp. 227, 277.

The wordling (*pṛthagjana*) who has not entered the Path is bound by ten fetters (*saṃyojana*)[95] which chain him to the round of rebirths : 1. belief in individuality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*), 2. doubt (*vicikitsā*), 3. trust in the value of vows and rites (*śīlavrataparāmarśa*), 4. sensual desire (*kāma-rāga*), 5. ill-will (*vyāpāda*), 6. craving for existence consisting of subtle form (*rūparāga*), 7. craving for formless existence (*arūparāga*), 8. pride (*māna*), 9. restlessness (*auddhatya*) and 10. ignorance (*avidyā*). The first five fetters which tie a man to the world of desire are termed lower (*avarabhāgīya*), while the last five which tie him to the world of subtle form and the formless world are higher (*ūrdhvabhāgīya*). In contrast to the wordling, the noble disciple (*ārya*) enters and progresses along the Path by means of the successive elimination of these ten fetters[96].

Through the destruction of fetters 1 to 3, he "enters the stream" (*srotāapanna*), and is no longer subject to rebirth in the lower destinies (hells, animal realm and realm of ghosts); he is sure to be delivered and will obtain supreme knowledge.

Through the destruction of fetters 1 to 3 and the lessening of craving, desire and hatred, he becomes a "once returner" (*sakṛdāgāmin*); after having returned once more to this world, he will attain the end of suffering.

Through the destruction of fetters 1 to 5, he becomes a "non-returner" (*anāgāmin*); without coming back here, he will appear in the world of the gods and from there he will attain Nirvāṇa.

Through the destruction of all impurities (*āsravakṣaya*), he already
52 obtains in this life mental deliverance, deliverance through knowledge, which is free from impurities and which he himself has understood and realized. In one word, he becomes a holy one or Arhat and possesses a twofold knowledge : that his impurities are destroyed and that they will not arise again (*āsravakṣaya* and *anutpādajñāna*).*

Buddhist moralism. — The Buddhist Law as conceived by Śākya-muni pertains to morality and ethics rather than philosophy and metaphysics. It does not seek to solve the enigmas which arise in the human mind, but is merely intended to make man cross the ocean of suffering. As we have been able to ascertain, accession to the truth is no easy matter : it requires a long sequence of efforts in order to rectify conduct, purify the mind and attain wisdom. Man lacks time to tackle the great metaphysical problems the solution of which already preoccupied the Indians of the sixth century B.C. : are the world and the self eternal or

[95] Aṅguttara, V, p. 17.

[96] Dīgha, II, p. 92; Majjhima, I, p. 465 sq.

transitory, finite or infinite? Does the holy one still exist after death or does he disappear with it? Is the vital principle identical to the body or different from it?[97].

The Buddha has classed all these questions among the indeterminate points (*avyākṛtavastu*) concerning which he would not give an opinion. It is not because he does not know the solution, but because he considers any discussion regarding them to be useless for deliverance, dangerous to good understanding and likely to perturb minds.

A well-known passage in the *Majjhima*[98] records that Venerable Māluṅkyāputta who was bothered by the metaphysical enigma, came to the master and demanded an explanation. The Buddha received him with gentle irony : "At the time you entered my order, did I say to you : Come, Māluṅkyāputta, and be my disciple; I wish to teach you whether the world is or is not eternal, whether it is limited or finite, whether the vital principle is identical to the body or separate from it, whether the Perfect One survives or does not survive after death?" "You did not say that to me, Lord". "A man", continued the Buddha, "was struck by a poisoned arrow; his friends and relations immediately summoned a skilful physician. What would happen if the sick man were to say : I do not want my wound to be dressed until I know of the man
53 who struck me, whether he is a nobleman or a brāhmin, a vaiśya or a śūdra? Or were he to say : I do not want my wound to be dressed until I know the name of the man who struck me and to what family he belongs, whether he is tall or short or of medium height, and what the weapon that struck me is like? — How would that end? The man would die of his wound". The Buddha then concluded : "I have not explained those great problems because knowledge of such things does not lead to progress in the way of holiness, and because it would not lead to peace and Enlightenment. What leads to peace and Enlightenment is what the Buddha taught his followers : the truth of suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering. That is why, Māluṅkyāputta, what has not been revealed by me shall remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed by me is revealed".

On another occasion, while staying in the Śiṃśapa Grove in Kauśām-

[97] Dīgha, I, pp. 187-8; Majjhima, I, pp. 157, 426, 484; Saṃyutta, III, pp. 213 sq., 258; IV, pp. 286, 391; V, p. 418.

[98] *Cūla Māluṅkyāsutta* in Majjhima, I, p. 426 sq.; T 25, ch. 60, p. 804*a*; T 94, p. 917*b*; T 1509, ch. 15, p. 170*a*.

bī, the Master took some śiṃśapa leaves in his hands and said to the monks : "What do you think? Are these few leaves more numerous or are all the leaves of all the trees in the grove more numerous?" "Few are the leaves the Lord holds in his hand; very numerous are all the leaves of all the trees in the grove". "Equally, O monks, much have I learned; very little have I taught. Nevertheless, I have not acted like those teachers who are close-fisted and keep their secrets to themselves : for I have taught you what was useful to you, I have taught you the four truths; but I did not teach you what was not useful to you"[99].

Discussions of a metaphysical nature are, moreover, ferments of discord. On such problems, thinkers have the unpleasant habit of adopting definitive positions and go about repeating : "This alone is true, all the rest is false"[100], and such intransigence provokes endless arguments. For his part, Śākyamuni refused to join issue with his adversaries. He did not give his allegiance to one school, neither did he fight against any system : Whatever opinions are current in the world", he said, "the wise man does not agree with them since he is independent.
54 How could he who is not drawn to what he sees or hears become submissive?"[101]. However, independance presupposes tolerance : "It is not I who quarrel with the world, it is the world which quarrels with me. What is accepted in the world is also accepted by me; what is rejected by the world is also rejected by me"[102]. The scholar Nāgārjuna, summarizing the doctrine of the Master, concluded : "Everything is true, everything is false; everything is both true and false, both false and true : such is the teaching of the Buddha"[103].

THE MIDDLE WAY AND THE INTENTIONAL TEACHING. — It is not enough to brush aside philosophy in order to remove its dangers. Subdued minds are subject to metaphysical vertigo and, in their despair, turn to extreme solutions which are prejudicial to their welfare. The latter, as we have seen, lies in the eradication of desire in all its forms : the thirst for pleasures (*kāmatṛṣṇā*), but especially the thirst for existence (*bhavatṛṣṇā*) and the thirst for non-existence (*vibhavatṛṣṇā*).

The man who aspires after non-existence willingly believes that everything ends at death; he claims to be a nihilist and falls into the false view of non-existence (*vibhavadṛṣṭi*) : "Here below, there is no gift, no sacrifice, no oblation; good and bad actions do not incur maturation the

[99] Saṃyutta, V, p. 437.
[100] Dīgha, I, pp. 187-8.
[101] Suttanipāta, v. 897; Bodh. bhūmi, pp. 48-9.
[102] Saṃyutta, III, p. 138; cf. Madh. vṛtti, p. 370.
[103] Madh. vṛtti, p. 368.

future world does not exist; there is no mother or father; nowhere can there be found any enlightened monk or brāhmin who has truly understood the present or future world and who can explain them to others"[104]. Such a man, being a denier of moral law, will necessarily be a prey to all desires.

In contrast, the man who aspires after existence willingly believes that the soul survives the body; he calls himself a personalist and falls into the false view of existence (*bhavadṛṣṭi*), in the erroneous belief in an eternal and permanent Self. However, as long as he believes in a Self, that man cannot escape the love of pleasure or the hatred of others and, even more certainly, he can but cherish his Self, or be preoccupied with his past and his future. Like the nihilist, but in a different way, the personalist will also be a slave to desire[105].

55 Wishing to eliminate desire, the Buddha rejected both the false view of existence (*bhavadṛṣṭi*) and the false view of non-existence (*vibhavadṛṣṭi*), or again the belief in the extremes (*antagrāhadṛṣṭi*) of eternalism (*śāśvata*) and nihilism (*uccheda*) : "To say that everything exists is an extreme, to say nothing exists is another extreme; rejecting both extremes, the Blessed One teaches a middle position"[106]. On the one hand, physical and mental phenomena (*skandha*) — body, feelings, perceptions, volitions and consciousnesses — which the personalist considers as a person (*pudgala*), a living being (*jīva*), do not belong to me, I am not that, that is not my Self; therefore, the personalist view is precluded. On the other hand, those same phenomena, conditioned by action and passion, reproduce themselves indefinitely according to the immutable laws of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) which governs their appearance and disappearance; therefore, the materialist nihilistic point of view is to be rejected.

However, the doctrine of the middle as conceived by Śākyamuni cannot be taught without caution to unprepared minds. As a healer of universal suffering, rather than a teacher of philosophy, the Buddha adapted his instructions to the mental dispositions of his listeners and, although some of his teachings should be taken as having a precise and defined meaning (*nītārtha*), others only have provisional value and need

[104] Majjhima, III, p. 71.

[105] The belief in a Self is not a defiled view (*kliṣṭā dṛṣṭi*) which would lead directly to offence, for he who believes in the permanence of the soul will, in contrast, be induced to avoid bad actions punishable in hell... However, that belief is incompatible with the Buddhist spiritual life which consists of the eradication of desire.

[106] Saṃyutta, II, p. 17.

to be interpreted (*neyārtha*), since Śākyamuni often placed himself in the point of view of beings to be converted, seeking to cure rather than instruct them[107]. In order to interpret certain texts, it is necessary, along with scholasticism, to take into account the intentional teaching (*saṃdhābhāṣya*) of the Buddha[108]. To Phālguna, who believed in the existence of the soul and the person and who asked which is the being that
56 touches, feels, desires and grasps, the Buddha replied : "A stupid question! I deny that there is a being that touches, feels, desires or grasps"[109]. Nevertheless, when Vatsagotra who, having believed in the existence of the Self, no longer did so and asked if it was indeed true that the Self did not exist, the Buddha refused to answer in the negative "in order not to confirm the doctrine of monks and brāhmins who believed in annihilation"[110]. Having thus corrected such hasty and peremptory opinions, the Master taught the dependent origination of phenomena, an origination in which no eternal or spiritual principle — God or soul — intervenes, but the mechanism of which is strictly ruled by the play of causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*).

Although, in order to reform minds, the Buddha did not disdain the use of skilful means, in principle he did not resort to wonders and miracles to establish the cogency of his doctrines. Preaching alone had to suffice. The good word should germinate in the minds of the listeners and lead them to comprehension of the truths. The Master addressed himself to the minds and had no intention of striking the imaginations by means of the marvellous. The biographies of him, it is true, attribute several miracles to him : prodigies which marked his birth, Enlightenment, preaching and Nirvāṇa; and the holy towns of Śrāvastī, Saṃkāśya, Vaiśālī and Rājagṛha — to mention only the oldest — were the setting for extraordinary events. However, although the Buddha, like his fellows, performed miracles, he had no intention of establishing thaumaturgy as a means of propaganda. During a tournament of magic organized by a rich merchant in Rājagṛha, in which the stake was a cup of carved wood, the disciple Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja rose into the air and made three circuits of the town. Śākyamuni reprimanded him sharply :

[107] On the distinction between *nītārtha* and *neyārtha* sūtras, see the *Catuḥpratisaraṇasūtra*, Kośa, IX, p. 246; Kośavyākhyā, p. 704; Mahāvyutpatti, Nos. 1546-9; Madh. vṛtti, p. 43; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 125*a*; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 256; Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 138.

[108] *Saṃdhābhāṣya* : cf. Majjhima, I, p. 503; Bodh. bhūmi, pp. 56, 108, 174; Dīpavaṃsa, V, 34; Vajracchedikā, ed. Conze, p. 32; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, pp. 29, 34, 70, 125, 199, 233, 273.*

[109] Saṃyutta, II, p. 13.

[110] Saṃyutta, IV, p. 400.

"That is not the thing to do. How could you, Bhāradvāja, for a wretched wooden cup, display your extraordinary magic power before the laity? Just as a courtesan agrees to exhibit herself for a vulgar coin, so you displayed your magic powers to the laity for a wretched wooden cup. Such behaviour does not result in attracting non-believers to the
57 faith nor does it confirm believers in their belief. Henceforth, the monks will no longer display their magic powers to the laity"[111].

We have described here the doctrine of Śākyamuni according to the evidence of the canonical writings. One could point out in these early sources this or that passage which seems to deviate from the traditional positions of Buddhism. Such as, for example, the *Bhārahārasūtra*[112] in which it is said that the bearer of the burden of existence is such-and-such a venerable one, with such-and-such a name, such-and-such a family, such-an-such a clan, etc., or an pericope from the *Dīgha* and the *Saṃyutta*[113] in which one is advised to take oneself as an island and refuge. Certain Buddhist schools such as those of the Vātsīputrīyas and the Saṃmatīyas quoted them as their authority in order to introduce doctrinal deviations into Buddhism and go so far as to posit an inexpressible Pudgala which would be neither the same as the *skandha* nor different from them. However, these seemingly aberrant passages, which should be interpreted in the light of the Buddha's intentional teaching, are drowned in the mass of others in which the non-existence of the Ātman is formally affirmed.

The noble truths preached by Śākyamuni were to resist the ravages of time and progress in scholastics. They are again to be found, modified and interpreted but always categorical, in the writings of the great scholars of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, as well as Buddhaghosa, continued to explain the doctrine of the Not-self and the intricacies of dependent origination.

The persistance of the doctrinal kernel across the centuries is all the more remarkable as the era of the Buddhist revelation never came to a close. If, for some people, it ended at the time of Śākyamuni and his immediate disciples, for others it is prolonged in time and space. According to the Vinayas of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Dharma or Buddhist Law is what was uttered by the Buddha and his disciples[114]; to these two essential sources other Vinayas add

[111] Vinaya, II, pp. 112-13.*
[112] Saṃyutta, III, p. 25; Kośa, IX, p. 256; Tattvasaṃgraha, p. 130.
[113] Dīgha, II, p. 100-1; III, pp. 58, 77; Saṃyutta, III, p. 42; V, pp. 154, 163-5.
[114] T 1425, ch. 13, p. 336*a* 21; T 1442, ch. 26, p. 771*b* 22.

further revelations disclosed by sages, gods or even apparitional beings[115].
58 The scope of the Dharma thus grew in extent, for if the king Aśoka still proclaimed that "everything that was spoken by the blessed Lord Buddha is well-spoken"[116], others, reversing the terms of the proposition, ended by admitting that "everything that was well-spoken was spoken by the Buddha"[117].

IV. — THE BUDDHIST COMMUNITY

1. — THE MONASTIC ORDER

THE FOURFOLD COMMUNITY. — Not only was Śākyamuni the discoverer of a doctrine of deliverance, he was also the founder of a religious order[118] and an assembly of lay persons which, in the widest sense of the word, constituted the Saṃgha, the last of the Three Jewels (*ratna*) in which Buddhists take their refuge.

India of the sixth century B.C. was riddled with religious of every stamp, going about alone or in groups : śramaṇas, brāhmins, parivrājakas and brahmacārins. There were quite large congregations, the names of which are hardly known to us : Muṇḍaśrāvakas, Jāṭilakas, Māgaṇḍikas, Tredaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas, Devadharmikas, etc.[119]. Some of them were constituted into true orders which played their part in religious history : the Ājīvikas, followers of Maskarin Gośālīputra, the Nirgranthas or Jainas, a sect founded or reformed by the Mahāvīra Nirgrantha Jñātīputra, long disputed with the Śākyaputrīyas or Buddhists for the favour of the princes and the sympathies of the population[120].

115 Pāli Vinaya, IV, p. 15; Dharmagupta Vin., T 1428, ch. 11, p. 639*a* 16; Sarvāstivādin Vin., T 1435, ch. 9, p. 71*b* 1-2; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 2, p. 66*b*.

116 Bloch, p. 154.

117 Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 15; Pañjikā, pp. 431-2; Upadeśa, ch. 2, p. 66*b* : "Good and truthful words all come from the Buddha".

118 On the functioning of the Buddhist Saṃgha, see H. Kern, *Histoire*, II; *Manual*, pp. 73-101; H. Oldenberg, *Bouddha*, pp. 373-419; S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, London, 1924; N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, I, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 274-323; J. Filliozat, *Inde Classique*, II, pp. 597-605; R. Lingat, *Vinaya et droit laïc*, BEFEO, XXXVII, 1937, pp. 416-77; M.M. Singh, *Life in the Buddhist Monastery during the 6th Century B.C.*, JBORS, XL, 1954, pp. 131-54.*

119 List in Aṅguttara, III, p. 276.

120 On the state of beliefs and speculations at the time of Buddhism, see L. de Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens*, pp. 277-342; J. Filliozat, *Inde Classique*, II, pp. 511-16. For a description of Brāhmanic and Hindu environment : L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, I, pp. 381-445, 480-661; II, pp. 8-86; *L'Hindouisme*, Paris, 1951; *Religions of Ancient India*, London, 1953. Description of the para-Brāhmanic, Ājīvika and Jaina environment : A.L. Basham,

59 The Saṃgha or Buddhist community consists of four assemblies (*pariṣad*) : mendicant monks (*bhikṣu*), nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*), laymen (*upāsaka*) and laywomen (*upāsikā*). The religious are distinguishable from the lay followers through their robes, discipline, ideal and religious prerogatives. At the risk of being misunderstood, the existence could be posited of two distinct and often opposed Buddhisms : that of the religious and that of the laity whose intervention, not to say rivalry, has conditioned the whole history of Indian Buddhism. Although both sons of the Śākya, the monk and the layman represent divergent tendencies which, without coming into direct opposition, were to be asserted with increasing explicitness : on the one hand, the ideal of renunciation and personal holiness and, on the other, active virtues and altruistic preoccupations. The formation of the Mahāyāna at the heart of the community sanctioned the triumph of the humanity of the upāsaka over the rigorism of the bhikṣu.

THE DUTIES OF A MONK. — By founding a community of the religious, Śākyamuni intended his disciple to leave the world, tread the eightfold Path wearing the yellow robe of the monk and attain deliverance and Nirvāna. He called upon him to lead a life of renunciation and personal sanctification from which all altruistic preoccupation is practically excluded.

The discipline to which the monk voluntarily commits himself is motivated by ten rules (*daśaśikṣāpada*)* which prohibit : 1. murder, 2. theft**, 3. impurity, 4. falsehood, 5. fermented liquor, 6. a meal after midday, 7. dancing, music and entertainments, 8. garlands, perfumes and unguents, 9. luxurious bedding, 10. the use of gold and silver[121]. It should be noted that the prohibition of impurity requires complete chastity on the part of the monk.***

All possible and imaginable violations of these ten rules are detailed in
60 the ruling of the Prātimokṣa[122]. This includes approximately 250 articles

History and Doctrines of the Ājīvika, London, 1951; H. V. GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus*, Berlin 1925; W. SCHUBRING, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, Berlin, 1935; L. RENOU, *Inde Classique*, II, pp. 609-64.****

[121] Vinaya, I, pp. 83-4; Aṅguttara, I, p. 211.

[122] On the Pāli Pātimokkha, see D. MASKELL, *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, Buddhaghosa's Comm.*, London 1956; A.Ch. BANERJEE, *Prātimokṣasūtra* (of the Mūlasarvāstivādins), IHQ, XXIX, 1953, pp. 162-74, 266-75, 363-77; L. FINOT, *Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādin*, JA, 1913, pp. 466-557; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, Leipzig, 1926; N. DUTT, *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra*, IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 259-86;
60 W. PACHOW, *Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa*, Santiniketan, 1955; W. PACHOW and R. MISHRA, *The Prātimokṣa Sūtra of the Mahāsāṃghika*, Journ. of the G. Jha Res. Inst., IX, 2, 3, 4.* — On the interpretation of the terms *pārājika*, etc., see S. LÉVI, *Observations*

— the exact number varies depending on the schools — classified in eight sections :

1. Violations entailing definitive expulsion (*pārājika*) which are 4 in number : sexual intercourse, murder, theft, unjustified claims to supernormal powers.

2. Violations entailing temporary expulsion from the community (*saṃghāvaśeṣa*) which are 13 in number.

3. Undetermined offences (*aniyata*) to be judged according to the circumstances, and which are 2 in number.

4. Violations entailing the rejection of objects unduly obtained (*naiḥsargika*), which are 30 in number.

5. Violations requiring penance (*pātayanika* or *pāyantika*), which are 90 or 92 in number.

6. Faults to be confessed (*pratideśanīya*), which are 4 in number.

7. Rules of training (*śaikṣa*), which vary between 75 and 106 articles.

8. Rules for settling legal questions (*adhikaraṇaśamatha*), which are 7 in number.

Disciplinary acts. — In order to reinforce the prescriptions of the ruling, the community had recourse to a series of means of coercion. Through a procedural act determined in advance, a chapter of a larger or smaller number of monks inflicted punishments on the guilty which varied according to the gravity of the offence and the nature of the circumstances : a reproach (*tarjanīya*), placing under guidance (*niśraya*), temporary expulsion (*pravāsanīya*), reconciliation (*pratisaṃharaṇīya*), suspension (*utkṣepaṇīya*), definitive expulsion (*naśana*).

As if the ruling thus sanctioned was not severe enough, the monk could also agree to even stricter ascetic practices which are known by the name of *dhūtāṅga*[123] and which can be as many as twelve or thirteen : to use rags collected in the dust as clothing, to sleep in the open air at night, etc. He was not compelled to observe them all at the same time.

61 Leaving the world and ordination. — The order is open to all those who dispose freely of their person and who are not subject to any deleterious impediment : a crime or contagious disease. No distinctions of caste are made, although Śākyamuni preferred to recruit his monks among the "noble young people who give up the household life for that of a mendicant"[124]. The obligations assumed by the monk are not

sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme, JA, 1912, p. 503 sq.; E.J. Thomas, *Pre-Pāli terms in the Pātimokkha*, Festschrift Winternitz, Leipzig, 1933, pp. 161-6.

[123] List of the Dhūtāṅgas in Vinaya, V, pp. 131, 193; Abhisamayāloka, pp. 773-4.

[124] Vinaya, I, p. 9.

binding for all his life; he is not forbidden to leave the monastic state and return to lay life[125].

Entry into the order is achieved by means of two separate ceremonies which were often confused in the early period : leaving the world (*pravrajyā*) and ordination (*upasampadā*)[126].

A candidate cannot be admitted to the Pravrajyā before the age of eight. He acquires two patrons, a preceptor (*upādhyāya*) and a teacher (*ācārya*) whose co-resident (*sārdhavihārin*) and pupil (*antevāsin*) respectively he will become. Once he has put on the yellow robe and shaved off his beard and hair, he postrates himself before the *upādhyāya* and proclaims three times that he takes his refuge in the Buddha, the Law and the Community. After that purely unilateral act, the *ācārya* teaches him the ten rules (*daśaśikṣāpada*) which were described above and which are the basis of the monastic life. After he has left the world, the candidate is still only a novice (*śrāmaṇera*), and he will not become a regular member of the Community, a bhikṣu, until after his ordination, which cannot be conferred before the age of twenty.

The ordination (*upasampadā*) is fixed down to the smallest detail by the ritual of the Karmavācanās, and is conferred by a chapter of a minimum of ten monks (*daśavarga*). The applicant, equipped with an alms-bowl and three robes, requests ordination three times. The celebrant makes sure he is free from any impediments and enquires details of his name, age and *upādhyāya*. Then follows the ordination proper : it
62 is a *jñapticaturthakarman*, an ecclesiastic act in which the motion is fourfold. It in fact consists of a motion (*jñapti*) followed by three propositions (*karmavācanā*) concerning the admission of the motion by the chapter.*

First, the motion. — The celebrant requests the chapter : "May the community hear me : So-and-so, here present, desires, as the pupil of the venerable so-and-so, to receive ordination. If that pleases the community, may it confer ordination on him : such is the motion".

Then follow the three propositions. — The celebrant continues : "May the community hear me : So-and-so, here present, desires, as the pupil of the venerable so-and-so, to receive ordination. The community confers ordination on so-and-so, with so-and-so as preceptor. He who is of the

[125] Vinaya, III, pp. 23-7.

[126] On the ordination rituals or Karmavācanās, cf. A.Ch. Banerjee, *Bhikṣukarmavākyam*, IHQ, XXV, 1949, pp. 19-30; H.W. Bailey, *The Tumpshuq Karmavâcanā*, BSOAS, XIII, 1950; C.M. Ridding and L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā*, BSOS, I, 1917-20, p. 123; H. Härtel, *Karmavācanā*, Berlin, 1956.

opinion that ordination should be conferred..., may he remain silent. He who is of the contrary opinion, may he speak". This proposition is repeated three times. After the third proposition, if the chapter remains silent, the ordination is accepted and the celebrant declares : "So-and-so has received ordination from the community with so-and-so as preceptor. The community is of this opinion, that is why it remains silent : it is thus that I hear it"[127].

After which, in order to determine the new monk's rank, the day and the hour of his ordination are noted. He is informed of the four rules of monastic austerity (*niśraya*) which he should observe in his outward life, and he is told of the four great prohibitions (*akaraṇīya*) the violation of which would in itself exclude him from the community : sexual misconduct, theft, murder and false or self-interested usurpation of the spiritual perfections.

The career of the nun is closely modelled on that of the bhikṣu. However, before being accepted for ordination, girls aged under twenty and women with more than twelve years of married life are subjected to a probationary stage which lasts for two years. During that period the female probationer (*śikṣamāṇā*) must observe six rules (*ṣaḍdharma*) which correspond to the first six *śikṣāpadas* of the śrāmaṇera : to abstain from murder, theft, impurity, falsehood, fermented liquors and meals outside the right time[128].

At the time of her ordination, the future nun, supplied with an alms-bowl and the fivefold robe, presents herself, with her preceptress
63 (*upādhyāyikā*) and her instructress (*ācāriṇī*), first before the chapter of nuns and then before the chapter of monks, and receives ordination from this twofold assembly. The discipline to which the bhikṣuṇī is subjected is much stricter than that of the monks. Her rules consist in principle of 500 articles, twice those of the bhikṣus, but in practice their number varies between 290 and 355. Eight severe canonical provisions (*gurudharma*) place the nun in complete dependence on the monks : she cannot go into retreat in a place where there is no monk; every fortnight she must go to the community of monks and receive instruction there, but she herself can never instruct a monk nor admonish him; the ceremonies of ordination, the ending of the retreat and penance are repeated before the community of monks[129].

[127] Vinaya, I, pp. 22, 56, 95.

[128] Vinaya, IV, pp. 319-23; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, pp. 138-43.

[129] Vinaya, II, pp. 271-2.

EQUIPMENT AND LIFE OF THE MONKS.* — The Buddhist Saṃgha is a mendicant order. The bhikṣu renounces all possessions, cannot practise any lucrative career nor receive gold or silver. He expects lay generosity to provide the supplies necessary for his subsistence : clothing, food, shelter and medicines.

The bhikṣu has at his disposal three robes (*tricīvara*) : an undergarment (*antaravāsaka*), an outer garment (*uttarāsaṅga*) and a cloak (*saṃghāṭi*)[130]; in addition to those three robes, the bhikṣuṇī also wears a belt (*saṃkakṣikā*) and a skirt (*kusūlaka*)[131]. These clothes are yellow or reddish (*kāṣāya*) in colour. The monk is permitted to wear clothing given by the laity or made of rags which he has collected. Shoes are considered a luxury, but the use of fans is allowed. The monk's equipment also includes an alms-bowl (*pātra*), a belt, a razor (*vāśī*), a needle (*sūcī*), a strainer (*parisrāvaṇa*), a staff (*khakkhara*) and a tooth-pick (*dantakāṣṭha*).

The monk lives on the food which he begs daily on his morning alms-round. In silence and with lowered eyes, he goes from house to house and places in his bowl the food which is held out to him, usually balls of rice. Towards midday, his meal time, the only one of the day, he
64 withdraws in solitude and eats his food : bread, rice with water to drink. The use of spirituous drinks is strictly forbidden; that of flesh or fish is only permitted if the monk has not seen, heard or suspected that the animal was killed on his behalf[132]. *Ghee*, butter, oil, honey and sugar are reserved for the sick and can be taken as medicine[133]. A meal eaten at the wrong time, that is, between midday and the morning of the following day, entails a penance. Monks are permitted to accept invitations and have their meal in the homes of the laity[134].

As to lodging (*śayanāsana*), the monks had no fixed residence : some lived in the open air in mountains and forests, finding shelter under a tree; others, more numerous, set up their residence (*vihāra*) near a village or a town : a hut of leaves (*parṇaśālā*), a tower (*prāsāda*), a mansion (*harmya*) or a cave (*guhā*)[135]. In principle, a *vihāra* housed only a single monk; it was used in turn, then simultaneously, either as the house of a monk or the temple of a deity. The *vihāra* could be grouped in greater or lesser numbers and could shelter some tens of monks. When the

[130] Vinaya, I, pp. 94, 289.
[131] Vinaya, II, p. 272.
[132] Vinaya, I, p. 238.
[133] Vinaya, I, p. 199.
[134] Regarding the matter of food, see Vinaya, IV, pp. 70-4.
[135] KERN, *Manual*, p. 81.

complex took on importance, it was called a "convent" or "monastery" (*saṃghārāma*) and could be built of stone, bricks or wood.

During the three or four months of the rainy season (*varṣa*), generally from the full moon of the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July) to the full moon of the month of Kārttika (October-November), the Buddhist monk, like the adherents of other non-Brahmanical sects, was compelled to go into retreat (*varṣopanāyikā*) and to remain in a set place[136]. Once the retreat was over, he could continue his peregrinations, but was not forced to do so. Monastic life must have been organized early on, since the buildings put at the disposal of the community by kings and wealthy merchants needed to be administered all the year round. Each monastery of any importance had its own officer, its cellarer and its own gardener; other monks superintended the storerooms, wardrobe, water supplies, alms-
65 bowls, voting tickets (*śalākā*)* etc.; a master of novices was responsible for the śrāmaṇeras[137].

The daily life of the monk was regulated in every detail[138]. He rose very early and devoted himself to meditation. At the appropriate time, he dressed to go out, carrying his wooden bowl in his hands, he would go to the nearest village to beg for his food. Once he had returned to the monastery, he washed his feet and, a little before midday, ate his only meal of the day. After which, he settled on the threshold of his cell and gave instruction to his spiritual sons. Once that was over, he withdrew in seclusion, often to the foot of a tree, there to pass the hot hours of the day in meditation or semi-somnolence. Sunset signalled the hour for the public audience, open to all comers, to which flocked sympathizers as well as the merely curious. Nightfall brought calm to the hermitage once again. The monk took his bath, then again received his disciples and engaged in an edifying conversation with them which continued well into the first watch of the night.

Twice a fortnight, on the 8th and the 14th (or 15th), at the time of the full and new moon, the monks who resided in the same parish (*sīmā*)[139], as well as visiting monks, were obliged to assemble and together celebrate the *uposatha* (Skt. *poṣadha, poṣatha*) : a day of fasting and of particularly strict respect of the observances. The Buddhists borrowed this custom from heretical sects. Every alternate celebration of the

[136] Vinaya, I, p. 137.

[137] For details, see KERN, *Manual*, p. 83; DUTT, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, I, pp. 321-3; S. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *Quelques titres énigmatiques*..., JA, 1915, pp. 194-223.

[138] Cf. FOUCHER, *Vie du Bouddha*, p. 246, taking its inspiration from Buddhaghosa.

[139] On the demarcation of a parish, see Vinaya, I, p. 106.

uposatha concluded in a public confession between the monks. In torchlight, the monks took their places on low seats which had been reserved for them in the assembly area. The senior monk chanted an opening formula and invited his brethren to acknowledge their faults : "Whoever has committed an offence may he confess it; whoever is free of offences, may he remain silent".

He then proceeded to enumerate the 250 articles of the Prātimokṣa. After each group of faults, he questioned the monks and asked them three times if they were pure of such faults. If everyone remained silent, he proclained : "Pure of those faults are the Venerable Ones, that is why they remain silent; thus have I heard it". Anyone who was guilty and
66 kept quiet would be perpetrating a voluntary falsehood and would violate his solemn commitments[140].

Some festivities broke the monotony of the days; they varied according to the regions. However, a festivity celebrated by all the communities was that of the Pravāraṇā, at the end of the rainy season and the conclusion of the retreat[141]. This was the occasion for offering gifts to the monks, inviting them to a meal and organizing processions. After the ceremony, the laity distributed raw cotton cloth (*kaṭhina*) to the members of the community : the monks immediately made garments out of it which they dyed yellow or reddish.

The kings who accepted Buddhism, such as Aśoka, Harṣa and the sovereigns of Central Asia, sometimes summoned the community to an assembly called the quinquennial (*pañcavarṣa*) and spent on acts of liberality[142] the state revenue which had accumulated over a period of five years.

THE IDEAL OF THE MONK. — The rule which imprisons the monk in a network of detailed prescriptions tends to make him a complete renouncer : gentle and inoffensive, poor and humble, continent and perfectly trained.

He cannot take the life of any living being, and refuses to use water in which there might be the tiniest creature. Since he is unable to practise any lucrative profession, he depends on the generosity of the laity for his food and clothing. He cannot accept any gold or silver from them and, if he happens to find a jewel or some precious object, he can only touch it in order to return it to its owner.

The Buddha put him on guard against the wiles and guiles of woman,

[140] The ceremonies of the uposatha are described in Vinaya, I, pp. 102-4.
[141] Vinaya, I, p. 159.
[142] See an example of the Pañcavarṣa in Divya, p. 405.

that being "whose intelligence can be held by two fingers and for whom falsehood is like the truth, and truth like falsehood". When Ānanda asked him how one should behave towards a woman, the Buddha replied : "You should keep out of her sight, O Ānanda". "And yet, if we should see her, Master, what should we do then?" "Do not speak to her, O Ānanda". "And yet, if we speak to her?" ... "Then, take extreme care, O Ānanda"[143].

It is in this spirit that the Prātimokṣa forbids the monk to be alone
67 with a woman, to share her roof, to walk in her company, to take her by the hand, to tease her, or even exchange more than five or six sentences with her. The monk cannot accept food or clothing from a nun who is not related to him. He should, in all circumstances, adopt a correct, humble and vigilant attitude.

However, the obligations imposed on the monk, the responsabilities with which he is entrusted, are never so heavy or absorbing that they deprive him of the faculty of thought and turn him into a mere machine. Each preserves his own personality and aims towards the supreme goal according to the method of his choice. He can, like Musīla, apply himself to the discernment of things (*dharmapravicaya*) or, like Nārada, devote himself to the ascetic and ecstatic disciplines of Yoga[144]. The monks who experiment ecstasy (*dhyāyin*) and those who are attached to study should respect each other : "Few, indeed, are men who spend their time in bodily touching the Immortal Element (i.e. Nirvāṇa). Few also are those who see profound reality by penetrating it through *prajñā*, intelligence"[145].

It is possible that the exclusive search for personal holiness is not always conducive to endowing the monk with a charitable heart, making him benevolent towards his brothers and devoted to the unfortunate. Nevertheless, in the mass of disciplinary prescriptions, here and there an article with a truly human resonance can be discerned. Once when Śākyamuni was going the rounds of the monastery, he found a monk who was suffering from an internal disorder, lying in his own urine and excrement. Since he was no longer of any use, his colleagues took no further care of him. The Buddha washed him with his own hands, changed his bedding and placed him on the bed. Then, addressing the monks, he said : "O mendicant monks, you no longer have a father or

[143] Dīgha, II, p. 141.

[144] Saṃyutta, II, p. 115. — Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Musīla et Nārada : le Chemin du Nirvāṇa*, MCB, V, 1936, pp. 189-222.

[145] Aṅguttara, III, p. 355.

mother who can take care of you; if you do not take care of each other yourselves, who else will? Whoever wishes to take care of me should take care of the sick"[146].

68 For whoever wishes to eliminate desire down to its root, brotherly charity itself is not without danger. It is up to each to work for his own sanctification without attending or paying attention to his neighbour. It is not by any means through love for his brothers that the bhikṣu finds his joy and happiness, but rather in the observance of vows and rules, in study, meditation and the penetration of the Buddhist truths :

"So when will I live in a mountain cave, alone, whithout companions, with an intuition of the instability of all existence? When will that be my fate? When is it, wise one, that in my clothing made of rags, my yellow robe, not calling anything my property and free of desires, annihilating craving and hatred and delusion, I will joyfully live on the mountain? So when is it that, perceiving the instability of my body which is a nest of murder and disease, tormented by old-age-and-death, when, free from fear, will I dwell alone in the forest? When will that be my share? The lovely places, the mountains and rocks fill me with ease. It is there that it is good for me, the friend of meditation, who strive towards deliverance. It is there that it is good for me, the monk, who aspire to true benefits, who strive towards deliverance"[147].

Not without some disdain, the monk leaves to the laity the practice of the active virtues, which are just advantageous enough to ensure wealth and long life during future rebirths. Personally, he confines himself to the passive virtues of renunciation and imperturbability, which alone lead him to holiness in this world and, beyond this world, to the cessation of suffering, to the end of saṃsāra and to Nirvāṇa.

THE ABSENCE OF AN AUTHORITY. — Such were the holy ones whom the Buddha had trained when he entered repose. We should add, since it was to affect the whole history of Buddhism, that he left them without a master or hierarchy. He believed that man cannot constitute a refuge for man, that no human authority can be usefully exerted over minds, and that adherence to the doctrine should be exclusively based on personal reasoning, on what one has oneself acknowledged, seen and grasped. In

[146] This episode, which is one of the most famous, appears in many sources : Vinaya, I, pp. 301-2; Dhammapada Comm., I, pp. 319-322; *Gilgit Man.*, III, part 2, pp. 128-30; T 125, ch. 40, p. 766*b*; T 154, ch. 3, p. 89*b*; T 160, ch. 4, p. 342*b*; T 211. Ch. 2, p. 591*b*; T 1421, ch. 20, p. 139*c*; T 1425, ch. 28, p. 455*a*; T 1428, ch. 41, p. 861*b*; T 1435, ch. 28, p. 205*a*; T 1451, ch. 17, p. 283*b*; T 1509, ch. 8, p. 119*c*; T 2087, ch. 6, p. 899*b*; T 2127, ch. 3, p. 306*a*; T 2122, ch. 95, p. 985*c*.

[147] Theragāthā, v. 1062 sq. See OLDENBERG-FOUCHER (quoted above n. 29), p. 367.

69 fact, says a Buddhist text, when one relies on reasoning and not on the authority of a man, one does not stray from the meaning of reality because one is autonomous, independent of others, when faced with rationally examined truths[148].

In the Buddhist monasteries, particular duties were entrusted to the monks who were capable of fulfilling them, but this did not confer on them any authority over their brothers. The only precedence allowed was that of seniority calculated from the date of ordination. Some monks, it is true, did indeed make claims and asserted their rights to the best seat, the best water and the best food. Some quoted as their authority the caste to which they had belonged before entering the order, others pleaded their knowledge of the writings and their talent as preacher; yet others believed they had rights because of their supernormal powers or because of their advance along the spiritual paths. The Buddha refused to entertain their views and, in order to curb the ambitions of those childish men, narrated the apologue of the Tittirabrahmacarya to them[149] : Three animals inhabiting a fig-tree on the slopes of the Himālaya, a pheasant, a monkey and an elephant, lived in anarchy. They cast back their memories to see which among them was the oldest, and it was the pheasant. The other two animals immediately decided to show deference, respect and veneration to him and to conform to his advice. The elephant placed the monkey on its head, the monkey took the pheasant on its shoulder, and they went from village to village preaching the respect due to great age. The Master invited his monks to conform to the pious conduct of those animals and not to make claims among themselves except that in the case of respect for seniority.

If the Buddha refused to establish a functional hierarchy in the monasteries, still less did he intend to give the whole community a spiritual leader. Seeing him old and aged, his cousin Devadatta offered to replace him at the head of the Saṃgha : "Lord", he said, "attend calmly, to the delightful meditation of the Law and entrust the congregation to my keeping; I will care for it". Śākyamuni rejected this self-
70 interested offer : "I would not even entrust the congregation to Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Even less to you, Devadatta, who are of no account and so contemptible"[150].

Shortly before his Master's decease, gentle Ānanda expressed the hope

[148] Bodh. bhūmi, pp. 108, 257.

[149] É. Lamotte, *La conduite religieuse du faisan dans les textes bouddhiques, Muséon*, LIX, 1946, pp. 641-53.

[150] Vinaya, II, p. 188.

that the Blessed One would not leave this world before giving his instructions to the community and having designated a successor. The Buddha answered him in substance : What does the community expect of me, O Ānanda? Never having wished to direct it or subject it to my teachings, I have no such instructions for it. I am reaching my end. After my decease, may each of you be your own island, your own refuge; have no other refuge. By acting in that way you will set yourselves on the summit of the Immortal[151].

Left alone by their Master, the disciples had to continue the work already begun by themselves and devote to the doctrine alone all the attention they had paid to the Buddha. Śākyamuni, on his death-bed, still found the strength to sum up his thought : "It may happen", he said to Ānanda, "that this thought occurs to you : The word of the Master will no longer be heard; we no longer have a Master. Things should not be seen in this way : The Law which I expounded and the discipline which I established for you will be your master after I am gone"[152].

Ānanda had grasped the wish of the Buddha for, after the latter's decease, he explained to the Brāhmin Gopaka : "No monk has been especially designated by the Venerable Gautama or chosen by the congregation and named by the elders and monks to be our refuge after the disappearance of the Buddha and the authority to which we could henceforth resort.... Nevertheless, we are not without a refuge : we have the Law as a refuge"[153].

In fact, after the Buddha's decease, the community was a flock without a shepherd : no legitimate authority presided over the destinies of the order. Subsequently, certain schools did indeed draw up lists of patriarchs who legitimately transmited the Law they claimed to guard. However, this is an apocryphal tradition which the community as a whole never accepted. The Law and discipline being the only inheritance
71 left by the Buddha to his disciples, the only way of exerting an effective influence over the order was to annex them and monopolize their teaching. Attempts of this kind were made : the main and most successful one was that of Mahākāśyapa who, after the decease of the Master, claimed to have recorded the words and prescriptions of the Buddha. Nonetheless, as will be seen further on, his work of codification was not accepted by all the brethren and some continued to preserve the

[151] Dīgha, II, p. 100.
[152] Dīgha, II, p. 154.
[153] Majjhima, III, p. 9.

Law in their memories, not as Kāśyapa and his cohorts had recorded it, but as they themselves had heard and obtained it from the lips of the Blessed One. Kāśyapa and people like him had no spiritual weapon at their disposal to bring the recalcitrant ones round to their views. Indeed no one had forgotten that the Master had categorically refused to endow the Saṃgha with an authority and, during the long history of Buddhism, nobody thought of forcing himself upon the congregation as a spiritual leader. When disputes arose among the brethren over points of doctrine or discipline, attempts at reconciliation were resorted to. If these failed, the brethren separated and each party held to its own position. Hence, at the heart of early Buddhism, a number of separate schools or sects were created. In the course of time, the dispersion of the Saṃgha across vast spaces merely accentuated the fragmentation of the Community. Nevertheless, the wisdom of the monks as well as their tolerance prevented rivalries from taking on a bitter nature and ending in religious warfare. Disputes never went further than an academic stage. No matter what their particular adherence may have been, the bhikṣus continued to associate with each other and to offer each other the greatest hospitality.

2. — THE LAY FELLOWSHIP

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAITY. — The order of monks occupies the first place in the Buddhist writings, but the pious lay fellowship, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*, played at least important a part in its history[154]. It was not that they benefited from any special solicitude on the part of the Buddha. On the contrary : since he was devoted to a very pure ideal
72 of renunciation, the Blessed One reserved his favours for those who gave up family life in order to embrace the condition of a religious mendicant and he felt only moderate esteem for those who remained in the world and led the life of a householder (*gṛhin, gṛhapati*) clothed in the white robe (*avadātavasana*) of the layman. It has rightly been remarked that in other religious orders, such as that of the Jainas, the lay frequently associated much more closely with the monks than was the case among the Buddhists : the weakness of the links between bhikṣu and upāsaka is one of the reasons which contributed to the final disappearance of Buddhism in India, while Jainism is still alive there.

[154] On this subject, see H. OLDENBERG, *Bouddha*, pp. 419-425; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Les fidèles laïcs ou Upāsaka*, Ac. de Belgique, Bulletin, 1925, pp. 15-34; *La Morale bouddhique*, Paris, 1927, pp. 58-60; N. LAW, *Early Buddhism and Laity*, Studies in Indian History and Culture; N. DUTT, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, pp. 207-38, 275-313.

INSTITUTION OF THE FELLOWSHIP. — The institution of the fellowship of the upāsaka is due to a chance occurrence. According to tradition, it preceded the establishment of the Saṃgha in time. Śākyamuni had just attained Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā, when two merchants, Trapuṣa and Bhallika, passed nearby. A deity informed them that Śākyamuni had just become a Buddha and suggested that they went to pay their homage to him. The merchants complied and offered Śākyamuni some cakes of rice and honey. The Buddha took the food which was presented to him, making use of a wooden bowl made out of the four bowls which had been brought to him by the four World Guardians. Once the meal was over, the merchants prostrated themselves at the Buddha's feet and said to him : "Lord, we take refuge in the Buddha and in the Dharma; consider us henceforth as upāsakas who, until their life's end, have taken refuge". The Master acquiesced and gave the merchants some relics of hair and nails, saying to them : "Make a stūpa over this hair and these nails. Stones will appear of which you can make use"[155]. Having returned to Bactria, the merchants built, at some distance from the capital, two reliquaries which are reputed to be the first two stūpas[156].

The Buddha had his reasons for accepting the allegiance of Trapuṣa and Bhallika. The Buddhist religious, like their colleagues in the non-Brahmanical sects, could not survive without the willing assistance of
73 the Indian population. By definition the monk is a mendicant (*bhikṣu*) : he cannot possess anything and the practice of a lucrative activity is forbidden to him. He must live on the charity of the laity which, in India, was never refused him. For an Indian, indeed, the *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa*, the *pravrajita*, whatever his beliefs and practices, is an excellent "field of merit" (*puṇyakṣetra*), causing the alms which are sown in it to fructify an hundredfold. On the other hand, the monk responds to the generosity shown him by consenting benevolently to give religious instruction; the "gift of the Law" (*dharmadāna*) compensates for the "material gift" (*amiṣadāna*).

"They render you great services, O bhikṣu, the brāhmins and householders who give you clothing, alms, seats, beds and remedies. You also render them great services when you teach them the Good Law and the

[155] Vinaya, I, p. 4; Aṅguttara, I, p. 26; Udāna Comm., p. 34; Jātaka, I, p. 80; Manorathapūraṇī, I, p. 382; Mahāvastu, III, p. 303; Lalitavistara, p. 381 sq.; Divyāvadāna, p. 393; Buddhacarita, XIV, 105; Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 32, p. 801*a*; Mahīśāsaka Vin., T 1421, ch. 15, p. 103*a*; Dharmaguptaka Vin., T 1428, ch. 31, p. 781*c*; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 5, p. 125*a*.

[156] Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 1, p. 873*a*.

pure life (*brahmacarya*). Thus, through your mutual help, it is possible to practise the religious life, which causes one to cross the transmigration and puts and end to suffering. By relying on each other, householders and those who live the homeless life can cause the prospering of the Good Law. The latter men are sheltered from need, since they receive clothing and the rest; the former, having practised the Law in this world, the path which leads to the happy destinies, delight in the world of the gods who are possessed of the pleasures"[157].

THE IDEAL AND VIRTUES OF THE LAITY. — The ideal pursued by the upāsaka is inferior to that of the bhikṣu. The monk aims at Nirvāṇa and, in order to attain it, wearing the yellow robe, cultivates the noble eightfold Path (*ārya aṣṭāṅgikamārga*) the essential elements of which are morality (*śīla*), mental concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). He works actively at his personal sanctification and his own deliverance, whithout having to worry about his neighbour. The upāsaka, however, aspires for the heavens, for a good rebirth in the world of the gods or that of mankind. The way which leads to this is not the noble eightfold Path which leads to Nirvāṇa, but the practice of the virtues which enabled the deities (*devatā*) to leave this world below in order to go and be reborn in their respective heavens. The virtues are demanded not only of the bhikṣu in particular but of the "noble disciple" (*ārya śrāvaka*) in general, and are described in several sūtras, notably in the discourse on
74 the three kinds of uposatha[158]. They are five in number : faith (*śraddhā*), morality (*śīla*), generosity (*tyāga*), learning (*śruta*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).*

1. The faith (*śraddhā*) required from the laity is not a more or less forced mental adherence to a group of given truths, it is an inward disposition by virtue of which "the mind is calmed, joy arises and mental defilements vanish"[159]. Its object consists of the Three Jewels : the Buddha, his Law and his Community, and also the high value of the discipline imposed on the laity.

The creed of the *upāsaka* therefore consists of four points : "Possessed of unfaltering faith in the Buddha will I be : he, the Blessed One, is the holy one, the supreme Buddha, the knower, the learned one, the blessed one, he who knows the worlds, the supreme one who tames and guides those who are not tamed, the preceptor of gods and mankind, the Blessed Lord Buddha. — Possessed of unfaltering faith in the Law will I

[157] Itivuttaka, p. 111.

[158] These are the five virtues of the noble disciple, whether religious or lay : Majjhima, I, p. 465; III, p. 99; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 250; Aṅguttara, I, p. 210; IV, p. 270.

[159] Aṅguttara, I, p. 207.

be : well proclaimed by the Blessed One is the Law. It is a thing that is completely obvious; it does not need time; it says to itself 'Come and see'; it leads to welfare in their heart of hearts it is recognized by the wise. — Possessed of unfaltering faith in the Community will I be : in accordance with good conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One; in accordance with right conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One, in accordance with true conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One; in accordance with fair conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One, the four pairs, the eight classes of believers such is the Community of the Blessed One, worthy of respect, worthy of offerings, worthy of alms, worthy of being saluted with joined hands, the best field of merit in the world"[160].

To this admiration for the Three Jewels should be added the highest esteem for the obligations incumbent on the laity : "Obligations which are undamaged and intact, free from any blemish or defilement, liberating, praised by the wise, which do not dull the desire for future life nor the belief in the efficacity of rituals, which generate contemplation".

Adherence to the Buddhist faith in no way compels the adept to reject his ancestral beliefs or repudiate the religious practices customarily
75 performed in his circle. By means of one of those compromises of which India supplies so many examples, each person is allowed to venerate, in addition to the Three Jewels, the deities of his own region, caste or choice and to worship them in the appropriate way. Therefore we will see, in the course of history, some excellent Buddhists continuing their adoration of spirits, Nāgas and Suparṇas, Yakṣas, Vajrapāṇi, Females and Fairies. Householders, the benefactors of the Community, were to remain faithful to the divinities of their class : Kuvera, the deity of wealth; Hārītī, the goddess of fecundity; the tutelary Couple, etc. The higher castes were always to call upon the great Vedic and Brahmanic gods : Indra, Brahmā, Māra, etc.[161]. The advent of Buddhism did not lead to the "twilight of the gods". Śākyamuni did not combat the deities of pagan Hinduism. He admitted that "revered and honoured by man, the divinities in turn revere and honour him"[162]. He refused to condemn the practices of paganism as a whole : bloody sacrifices which led to the death of living beings are to be deprecated, but peaceful offerings which do not involve cruelty are to be recommended; certain rites originating in pure superstition, ritual baths, etc., are practically valueless[163]. What

[160] Saṃyutta, IV, p. 304. See OLDENBERG-FOUCHER (quoted above n. 29), p. 339.

[161] For details, see A. FOUCHER, *Art gréco-bouddhique*, II, pp. 7-210.

[162] Vinaya, I, p. 229; Dīgha, II, p. 88; Udāna, p. 89.

[163] Aṅguttara, II, pp. 42-3; Saṃyutta, I, p. 76; Dhammapada, v. 141; Suttanipāta, v. 249.

is most important is to put each thing in its place : alms given to pious monks are superior to worship to the devas; the taking of refuge in the Three Jewels is superior to alms-giving; the supreme achievement of sacrifice is the taking up of the religious life[164]. Just as the Buddha condemns a monk's exclusive attachment to vows and rites (*śīlavrataparāmarśa*), so he also forbids the lay person plain superstition (*kotūhalamaṅgala*)[165]. Obviously, funerary rites cannot guarantee heaven for an assassin, since "the bad deeds that man has committed bear their fruit : they attach themselves to the feet of the foolish"[166], and rites can do nothing in such a case.

It remains nonetheless true that the upāsaka, whose religious instruc-
76 tion leaves much to be desired, will rarely break away from the popular circle into which his roots are plunged and establish a kind of compromise between the Buddhist Dharma and the superstitions of paganism. This was the main cause of the absorption of Buddhism into the ambient Hinduism.

2. The second virtue of the upāsaka is morality (*śīla*), the observance of natural laws or the avoidance of offence.

Originally, it seems that one became an upāsaka merely by taking refuge in the Three Jewels, by a solemn act of faith in the Buddha, the Law and the Community. When asked how one becomes an upāsaka, the Buddha replied : "Mahānāman, one becomes an upāsaka by the mere fact of taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha"[167]. In the oldest texts, we can see that the candidate takes his refuge in the Three Jewels and asks that in future he be considered as an upāsaka who has taken refuge[168].

Soon, however, besides taking refuge, the upāsaka also commits himself to observe certain rules of morality, most often the fivefold morality. This caused the scholar Haribhadra to say : "One is an upāsaka because one has taken the threefold refuge, or because one also observes the five rules (*pañca śikṣāpada*)". Hence, there are two kinds of upāsaka according to the two readings in the Vinaya : "May the master consider me as an upāsaka who has taken the threefold refuge", or else :

[164] Dīgha, I, pp. 145-7.

[165] Kośa, IV, p. 135, n. 2, p. 189, n. 3; Dīgha, III, p. 180; Ninth Rock Edict, Bloch, pp. 113-14.

[166] Dhammapada, v. 71.

[167] Aṅguttara, IV, p. 220; Saṃyutta, V, p. 395; Sumaṅgala, I, p. 234.

[168] Vinaya, II, p. 157; Dīgha, I, p. 85; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 113; Aṅguttara, I, p. 56; Kośavyākhyā, p. 376, 11.31-2.

"May the master consider me as an upāsaka who has taken the threefold refuge and the five rules"[169].

The lay person has the free choice of committing himself to observe the five rules of morality (*pañcaśīla*) or only one of them, the eightfold morality (*aṣṭāṅgaśīla*) or even the ten rules (*daśa śikṣāpada*).

The five rules of the lay person correspond to the first five of the ten rules of morality of the religious : to abstain from taking life (*prāṇātipāta*), theft (*adattādāna*), sexual misconduct (*kāmamithyācāra*), false
77 speech (*mṛṣāvāda*), the use of fermented drinks (*surāmaireya*)[170]. It should be noted that the third rule forbidding sexual misconduct is to be understood in a different way depending on whether it applies to the religious or to the layman. Complete chastity is expected of the former, while the latter only renounces sexual misconduct particularly adultery.

It sometimes happened that upāsakas made a choice among these five rules : the *ekadeśakārin* observed one; the *pradeśakārin*, two or three; the *yadbhūyaskārin*, four; the *paripūrṇakārin*, five[171]. It also happened that certain laymen considered the third rule as an obligation to complete chastity and they abstained from any relation with their own wives : they were called *samucchhinnarāga*.

The upāsaka could also take the eightfold morality[172]. He then committed himself to remain for a day and a night under the discipline of fasting (*upavāsa*). This consisted of eating only one meal a day before noon and of observing eight complementary precepts forbidding murder, theft, incontinence, falsehood, the use of intoxicants, luxurious furnishing, flowers and perfumes, singing, dancing and entertainments. The fast was traditionally fixed on six specific days a month (the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, 30th)[173]. Popular in origin, it went far back into the past and was observed by the great majority of Indian orders before being adopted by the Buddhists[174]. In imitation of the heretics, the Buddha

[169] Abhisamaya Āloka, ed. WOGIHARA, p. 331 : *Triśaraṇagamanāt pañcaśikṣāpadaparigrahāc copāsakaḥ tathopāsiketi dvidhā bhedaḥ : triśaraṇaparigṛhītam upāsakaṃ māṃ ācāryo dhārayatu, tathā triśaraṇgataṃ pañcaśikṣāpadagṛhītam upāsakaṃ māṃ ācāryo dhārayatv iti Vinaye dvidhāpāṭhāt.*

[170] Aṅguttara, IV, p. 220; Saṃyutta, V, p. 395.

[171] *Mahānāmasūtra* quoted in Kośavyākhyā, p. 377; Mahāvyutpatti, Nos. 1609-13; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 158c.

[172] Aṅguttara, I, pp. 211-12; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 124, p. 647*b*; Kośa, IV, pp. 64-9.

[173] WATTERS, I, p. 302; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 26, n. 2; P. DEMIÉVILLE, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, p. 77; Nowadays in Sri Lanka, the *aṭa-sil* (aṣṭāṅgaśīla) is observed on *pōya* (uposatha) days, on four days a month; cf. W. RĀHULA, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 265.

[174] On the origin of this, see the Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 160*a-c* which refers to the *Caturdevarājasutta* of the Aṅguttara, I, pp. 142-5, and a cosmogonical sūtra.

ordered his monks to devote those same days to the joint recitation of the rules, the reading of texts and preaching[175].

Finally, there were upāsakas who lived in the world as if they were not doing so. They remained celibate and added to the obligations of fasting the rule not to touch either gold or silver. In practice, they
78 observed the ten rules of the novice and the monk : they were therefore called upāsakas "observing the ten rules" (*daśaśikṣāpadika*)[176].

The morality of the lay person does not consist in the sole fact of avoiding offence, but in the formal decision to avoid it. As with the religious, it is a question of a "morality of commitment" (*samādānaśīla*) which confers on him a "restraint" (*saṃvara*) and creates within him the quality of upāsaka. This will endure until his death provided he does not lose it through bodily and vocal actions contrary to its nature.

The disciplinary texts have fixed the ceremonial of Taking Refuge (*Dīgha*, I, p. 85; *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 113; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 56; *Vinaya*, II, p. 157), Taking the five rules (*Shih sung lü*, T 1435, ch. 21, p. 149*c*; *Shih sung chieh mo*, T 1439, p. 496*a*,; *Ta chih tu lun*, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 159*c*), and Taking the eightfold morality (*Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 211-12; IV, pp. 251, 255-6; *Shih sung chieh mo*, T 1439, p. 496*b*). Despite its solemnity, it simply consists of a unilateral act through which the candidate commits himself, in the presence of the Buddha, a monk, or even another upāsaka, to observe a particular discipline until the end of his life (*yāvajjīvam*). The Community does not participate, unlike the ordination (*upasampadā*) of the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī which takes place in the presence of the chapter and which the community sanctions by means of the legal procedure of the *jñapticaturthakarman*.

Yet another point distinguishes the layman from the monk. Each fortnight, during the celebration of the uposatha, the bhikṣu is expected to confess his violations of the Prātimokṣa ruling and to accept the penalty imposed upon him. No obligation of this type is incumbent on the upāsaka. Nevertheless, the rule which maintains that "an offence confessed becomes slighter" is valid about for him as well as for the religious. If questioned about fault the guilty one must avow it : to deny it would be violating the fourth rule of morality which forbids falsehood[177]. The Licchavi Vaḍḍha, having falsely accused the bhikṣu Dabba Mallaputta of having seduced his wife, acknowledged his offence as an offence and vowed not to repeat it. The Buddha "removed his

[175] Vinaya, I, pp. 101-2.
[176] Visuddhimagga, ed. Warren, p. 13; Sumaṅgala, I, p. 235 sq.
[177] Kośa, IV, p. 82.

offence" (*atyayaṃ pratigṛhṇāti*) and congratulated him : "He is a gain for the Law who acknowledges his offence, confesses it and commits himself not to do it again"[178]. However, as far as we know, there is no
79 example of an upāsaka being questioned about his general faults. He is merely reproached for offences or losses he might have caused the Community. Only eight faults are taken into account : preventing monks from obtaining alms, causing them harm, depriving them of lodgings, insulting them, causing dissension among them, slandering the Buddha, the Law or the Community. If the upāsaka acknowledges his fault and promises to mend his ways, he is granted pardon; if not, the monks "turn the alms-bowl" upside down (*pattaṃ nikkujjanti*), that is, refuse to accept any gift from him : a punishment to which no Indian remains insensible[179].

3. The faith and morality demanded of the lay person are eclipsed by the third virtue, which is in some way his justification : generosity (*tyāga*) : "It is good continually to distribute rice-gruel for whomever desires joy, whether he aspires for heavenly joys or sighs after human happiness"[180].

The texts have compiled a list of meritorious material deeds (*puṇya-kriyāvastu*) which are recommended to the laity. They are seven in number : 1. giving land to the congregation, 2. building a monastery on it, 3. furnishing it, 4. allocating revenue to it, 5. assisting strangers and travellers, 6. tending the sick, 7. in cold weather or at times of famine, giving the congregation food and sweetmeats[181].

Rising above purely self-interested preoccupations, the Buddhists congratulate sovereigns who carry out great works of public utility : providing water supplies in the desert, planting trees to provide fruit and coolness, providing bridges and ferries, giving alms. Through such pious works, merit increases day and night and one is certain to be reborn always among gods and mankind[182].

Theoreticians have elaborated a whole ethics of giving. Its value varies depending on the importance of the thing given, the donor's intention, the circumstances of the gesture, but also and in particular the moral
80 quality of the beneficiary. A son of the Śākya, an Arhat in particular, is

[178] Vinaya, II, pp. 124-7.

[179] Vinaya, II, p. 125.

[180] Vinaya, I, p. 21.

[181] Chung a han, T 26, No. 7, ch. 2, p. 427*c*; Tseng i a han, T 125, ch. 35, p. 741*c*; *Mahācundasūtra* in Kośavyākhyā, pp. 353-4.

[182] Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 4, p. 261*a*; Chu tê fu t'ien ching, T 683, p. 777*b*; compare the second Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, BLOCH, pp. 94, 170.

the best field of merit, the supreme recipient of alms. Nevertheless, it is not forbidden to be charitable to the non-Buddhist religious, to criminals or even to animals. However, it should not be forgotten that, in poor soil, a good seed bears little fruit or none at all[183].

The upāsaka cannot disregard the spiritual welfare of his brothers. In imitation of the bhikṣu who, through his preaching, dispenses the best of all gifts, the gift of the Law, the lay person is expected to inspire good thoughts in those who are in pain or suffering. His help will go especially to the sick and dying. Buddhists, like Indians in general, attach great importance to the last thought, the "thought (at the time) of dying" (*maraṇacitta*), since that is what will determine the "thought (at the time) of conception" (*upapacitta*) and consequently the new existence of the deceased. Thus, we see the mother of Nakula comforting her dying husband and inspiring him with feelings of joy and peace :

"Do not die anxious in mind", she said to him, "the Blessed One does not approve of such a death. Do you fear that after you are gone I will not be able to feed our children? I am a skilled spinner of cotton and it will not be difficult for me to ensure the running of the household. Or, do you believe that I will go to another house after your death? You know as well as I do that for sixteen years we have practised chastity at home. Or that I will have no further desire to see the Bhagavat, to see the monks? After your death, more than ever, I will desire to see them. Do not think that, after your death, I will no longer observe the rules of Buddhist morality perfectly, that I will lose inward calmness of mind. With regard to the religion, I am possessed of penetration, confidence, absence of doubt, absence of scepticism and perfect serenity"[184].

The Buddha taught his cousin the upāsaka Mahānāman the way to prepare the faithful for death. First, they should be reassured and consoled : "You possess intelligent faith in the Buddha, the Law and the Community and the moral rules dear to the holy ones". Then he is requested to renounce his parents, wife and sons, sense-pleasures and even the blisses of the lower and higher paradises : "You must leave
81 your family, so reject all concern regarding them; human pleasures are fleeting, so do not be attached to them; the joys of the paradises including the Brahmā heaven are transitory and linked to the idea of the Self, raise your thoughts higher : apply them to the destruction of the Self"[185].

Worship (*pūjā*) and devotion (*bhakti*)*, which are particular forms of

[183] On this hierarchy of *puṇyakṣetra*, see Majjhima, III, pp. 254-5.*
[184] Aṅguttara, III, pp. 295-8.
[185] Saṃyutta, V, pp. 408-10.

giving, are especially incumbent on the laity. When Ānanda asked him what should be done with regard to his mortal remains, the Buddha replied : "Do not concern yourself, Ānanda, with the honours to be paid to the mortal remains of the Tathāgata. Please attend only to your own salvation. There exist, Ānanda, among the nobles, brāhmins and, among householders, wise men who have faith in the Tathāgata and who will pay suitable homage to the remains of the Tathāgata"[186]. The objection that worship is deprived of all merit under the pretext that there is no one to receive it is untenable. Indeed, at the time of his Parinirvāṇa, the Buddha accepted in advance all the gifts presented to stūpas, caityas and places of pilgrimage[187]. Furthermore, if a gift engenders merit when someone receives it, there is no reason why it should not be fruitful when no one receives it[188]. Nevertheless, the question gives rise to controversy, and the sects were to debate the respective value of gifts presented to the Buddha, to stūpas and caityas and, finally, to the Saṃgha[189].

4-5. The texts do not especially emphasize the other two virtues required of the lay person : learning (*śruta*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).

A householder, involved in the troubles of his time, cannot be expected to grasp "the profound truth, which is difficult to perceive, difficult to understand, sublime, abstruse and which only the wise can grasp". A monk can aspire to be a great scholar (*bahuśruta*), but a lay person will never be more than a petty scholar, a *śruta*.

He will acquire this learning from well educated monks and by following carefully the sermons. We can cite the example of the householder named Ugga who, when serving a monk, served him perfectly and, when listening to his words, listened attentively and not absent mindedly[190].

While not emphatic over details, the wisdom (*prajñā*) required of the laity nevertheless relates to the most important aspects of the Buddhist truths : an at least theoretical knowledge of the rise and fall of things (*udayatthagāminī paññā*) and the noble penetration (*ariyā nibbedhikā*) concerning the complete destruction of suffering (*sammâdukkhakhaya*)[191].

THE INSTRUCTION OF THE LAITY. — That faith, morality and generosity are indeed the cardinal virtues of the Buddhist laity is evident from the

[186] Dīgha, II, p. 141.
[187] Kośa, IV, p. 156.
[188] Kośa, IV, p. 245.
[189] A. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, p. 269.
[190] Aṅguttara, IV, p. 211.
[191] Aṅguttara, IV, p. 271.

disciplinary code which the Buddha composed for the benefit of householders and which is known by the name of the *Siṅgālovādasuttanta*[192].

On the advice of his father and in accordance with the Vedic prescriptions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gṛhyasūtra*, the young Siṅgāla revered the cardinal points and the deities appointed to guard them : Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati. While not condemning those superstitious practices outright, Śākyamuni enjoined him to revere and respect his immediate entourage and the persons who, in the present life, served to orientate the activity of every well-born man : parents, teachers, wife and children, friends and companions, servants and craftsman and, finally, religious leaders and brāhmins. Natural law itself defines the duties which man owes those various categories of persons.

The pious layman will also abstain from any immoral action, particularly murder, theft, sexual misconduct and falsehood. He will combat inwardly bad tendencies which are the bases of misconduct : craving, hatred, delusion and fear.

Finally and above all, he will watch over his material interests in such a way as to keep intact his means of providing for the needs of his family, friends and the noble community of the religious. He will carefully avoid any corruption or imprudence which might threaten his fortune and lead him to ruin : intoxication, nocturnal excursions, visits to fairs, a passion for gambling, the company of bad friends and, finally, idleness.

The observance of natural virtues, most especially the virtue of alms-
83 giving will lead the lay person, not to the destruction of suffering and to Nirvāṇa, but "to victory (*vijaya*) and success (*āraddha*) in this world and in the other" : after his death, he will be reborn into a happy but not final destiny.

The teaching imparted to the laity was in keeping with that ideal. The bhikṣus who aspired to tranquillity, knowledge, Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa will be instructed in the noble truths in three articles and twelve parts; the upāsakas, who are content with the blisses of this world and the heavens of the other world, will be taught the rudiments of faith and the principles of natural law or of lay morality.

It seems that from the outset Śākyamuni and the great disciples refrained from revealing the whole of the Buddhist Law to the upāsakas,

[192] *Siṅgālovādasuttanta*, in Dīgha, III, pp. 180-93; Ch'ang a han, T 1, ch. 11, p. 70; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 33, p. 638; Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 48, p. 353*a*; T 16 and 17.

or at least it was only to the bhikṣus that they expounded it "to the best of their ability" (*sakkaccam*).

When he was ill, the rich banker Anāthapiṇḍada, one of the greatest benefactors of the church, called the wise Śāriputra to him and the latter, in order to comfort him, expounded on disgust for sense-objects. At the end of the sermon, the banker broke into tears and remarked : "I have revered the Master for a long time, and this is the first time that I have heard this religious discourse (*dhammī kathā*)". Śāriputra replied : "That is because such expositions are not explained to the laity, to those dressed in white, but only to the religious". Anāthapiṇḍada then asked that complete teaching of the Law be imparted to the laity too, for "there are sons of good family who, through not having heard the Law, are lost, and who could become full (*aññātāro*) understanders of the Law"[193].

The reticent attitude taken by the Buddha cannot be explained by a wish to reserve the truth for a privileged few. He had no pretensions to esoterism for he was not like those heretical masters who practise the *ācāryamuṣṭi*, close their fists and refuse to teach. On the contrary, he opened to all the doors to immortality. Nevertheless, he learned from experience that not all men are capable of grasping the minutest subtleties of the Law and that to teach it indiscriminately to all classes of society was not worthwhile. The Master explained himself on this point. One day Asibandhakaputta asked him the reason why the Buddha, who has pity on all beings, teaches the Law to the best of his
84 ability only to some and not to others. The Master replied : "There are good, mediocre and bad fields. The farmer who wishes to sow, sows in the good field; after having sown in the good field, he sows in the mediocre one; he may or may not sow in the bad field, since that field at least provides nourishment for animals. Likewise, I teach my Law and the perfect religious life to the bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs, who constitute a good field, to the upāsakas and upāsikās who are a mediocre field : they all have their island, their resting-place, their protection and their refuge in me. Similarly, I also teach my Law and the religious life to members of heretical ascetic sects, which constitute a bad field; and why? If they understand at least one word, that will be of great use to them". Making use of another comparison, the Master compared the religious to an uncracked and non-porous pitcher; the lay person to an uncracked but porous pitcher; and the heretic to a cracked and porous pitcher[194].

[193] Majjhima, III, p. 261.
[194] Saṃyutta, IV, pp. 314-17.

However, for the use of the laity eager to learn all the truths of the faith, a complete and progressive summary was instituted and received the name of gradual teaching (*anupūrvikathā*). It began with three discourses concerned respectively with giving, morality and heaven : the first emphasized the advantages of renunciation, the second revealed the harm, vanity and defilement of desires; the third mellowed, liberated, exalted and appeased the mind of the listener. Then followed the teaching of the Law proper (*dharmadeśanā*) which is the culminating point for the Buddhas : suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path to its cessation; it led the listener to the very centre of the doctrine, namely, that "everything that has arising as its law also has perishing as its law"[195]. When required and in order to illustrate their lessons, the monks painted images of the "wheel of rebirths" (*saṃsāramaṇḍala*) in the entrance-halls of the monasteries. Within the wheel, divided into six sections, were representations of the six destinies of the beings of this world : the hell-born, animals, pretas, mankind, asuras and gods. All round were the twelve *nidāna* shown by symbols. At the centre of the wheel, craving, hatred and delusion were depicted — represented by a dove, a snake and a pig — the driving power of the round of rebirths. The whole was enveloped in the claws of a grimacing demon which is "impermanence" (*anityatā*). Two stanzas were inscribed below :

"Start now, make an effort, apply yourselves to the Law of the Buddha..."[196]. A monk who was specially appointed to this task was entrusted with explaining to the faithful this vivid representation of the holy doctrine, placed at the entrances to monasteries.

All the same, the gradual teaching was never imposed on all upāsakas indiscriminately and in fact affected only a minority of the laity. Religious propaganda at the time of Aśoka was not focused on the noble truths, but on the general principles of natural law. In vain would one look in Aśoka's inscriptions for the profound ideas and basic theories of Buddhism : they neither mention the four noble truths, nor the eightfold Path, nor the doctrine of dependent origination, nor even the supernormal attributes of the Buddha. They merely describe the

[195] It could be said that the gradual teaching (*anupurvikathā*) was to the laity what the *Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra* was to the religious. Its text was fully fixed, as it appears from several sources : Vinaya, I, pp. 15, 18; II, pp. 156, 192; Dīgha, I, p. 110, II, p. 41; Majjhima, I, p. 379; II, p. 145; Udāna, p. 49; Milinda, p. 228; Sumaṅgala, I, p. 277, 308; Divya, pp. 616-17.

[196] Divyāvadāna, p. 300; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1442, ch. 34, p. 811*b*; L.A. Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 102, 108; Foucher, *Vie du Bouddha*, p. 354; J. Przyluski, *La Roue de la Vie à Ajaṇṭā*, JA, 1920, pp. 313-31.

precepts of universal morality as they had already been formulated for the use of the laity in the canonical writings : *Lakkhaṇa* and *Siṅgālovāda* of the Dīgha and the various *Gahapativagga* of the Majjhima, Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara[197]. The Buddhist missionaries themselves, when setting out on the spiritual conquest of India, sought less to instruct their listeners in the truths of the faith than to attract their adherence by means of homilies, with little dogmatic scope, but suitable for terrifying the minds and striking the imagination : descriptions of the pangs of death and the torments of the hells, stories of ghosts, edifying tales and fables[198]. The principal aim of these missions was not to tear the Indian population away from its ancestral beliefs and superstitious practices,
86 but to secure for the congregation of the Sons of the Śākya a growing number of dedicated sympathizers (*prasādita*) and generous donors (*dānapati*).

Householders who adhered to Buddhism did not forswear their former convictions as such. Few sought to penetrate the mysteries of a doctrine formulated by monks for other monks. As long as they had taken refuge in the Three Jewels and generously presented the congregation with clothing, alms, seats, beds and medicines, they considered they had completely fulfilled their duties. Secular life made it, if not impossible, at least very difficult to practise the virtues required of a monk : mortification, chastity, poverty, composure and meditation. They had to bring up a family, give orders to servants, manage and enlarge their fortunes. They gained in active virtues what they lost in passive ones and, in their opinion, the former were equivalent to the latter. Admirable as the monk devoted to working at his personal sanctification may be, he is nonetheless a socially unproductive being, a sublime egoist. The layman who makes sacrifices for his family, succours his fellows, erects temples, builds monasteries and renders to the Buddha, to his relics and to his spiritual sons the worship which is due to them, redeems, through his pity and devotion (*bhakti*), the meagre satisfactions which he legitimately allows his senses and heart. If the monk who strives for holiness (*arhattva*) conforms to the Buddhas's law (*dharmānucārin*), is not the layman, through his generosity, patience and vigour, even closer to Śākyamuni who, in the course of his former lives, carried charity to its perfection (*pāramitā*)? Is it legitimate to reserve for the monk alone the

[197] *Lakkhaṇasuttanta* in Dīgha, III, pp. 142-72; *Siṅgālovāda*, ibid., III, pp. 180-93; *Gahapativaggas* in Majjhima, I, pp. 339-413; Saṃyutta, II, pp. 68-80; Aṅguttara, IV, pp. 208-35.

[198] See the titles of the sermons preached by the missionaries of Moggaliputtatissa : Dpv., Ch. VIII; Mhv., Ch. XII : Samantapāsādikā, I, pp. 66-7.

right to definitive deliverance, Nirvāṇa, and only to promise the layman a good rebirth in the world of the gods and of mankind?

RESPECTIVE RIGHTS OF THE RELIGIOUS AND THE LAITY.* — This question arose early on for the theoreticians of Buddhism. The monks wanted to reserve for themselves at least a part of the fruits of the religious life (*śrāmaṇyaphala*), particularly that of holiness (*arhattva*) and Nirvāṇa. Conversely, the laity fought to ensure themselves rights equal to those of the religious.

It was accepted from the beginning that the attainment of Nirvāṇa constitutes the ideal, close or distant, of all Buddhists indiscriminately : "Just as the river Ganges slopes, slants and proceeds towards the ocean,
87 so the congregation of Gautama, the laity as well as the religious, slopes, slants and proceeds towards Nirvāṇa"[199].

It was furthermore accepted without controversy that the layman living at home can reap the first three fruits of the religious life and accede to the state of srotaāpanna, sakṛdāgāmin and anāgāmin :

"By means of the severing of the three fetters (false view of the self, doubt and superstition), the upāsaka is a srotaāpanna, is not subject to rebirth in the lower destinies, is sure of deliverance and destined to win supreme enlightenment. By means of the severing of the three fetters and the lessening of craving, hatred and delusion, the upāsaka is a sakṛdāgāmin : after having returned once to this world, he will attain the end of suffering. — By means of the severing of the five gross fetters (false view of the Self, doubt, superstition, covetousness and ill-will), he is an anāgāmin, born spontaneously (into the world of the gods) and there attaining Nirvāṇa : he is not destined to come back from that world"[200].

However, the crucial point is to know whether the upāsaka can accede to Arhatship, the fourth and last fruit of the religious life. The Buddha refused to adopt a definite position : "Regarding that matter", he said to Todeyaputta, "I make distinctions (*vibhajyavāda*), I am not categorical (*ekāṃśavāda*) : in a lay person as in the religious, I blame bad conduct"[201]. Two things should be remembered : holiness is the same for everyone, but it is difficult to attain by those who remain in the world.

That holiness is the same for all appears from various scriptural passages : "The layman as well as the monk, if he is of good conduct (*samyakpratipatti*), i.e., possessed of the eight branches of the Path,

[199] Majjhima, I, p. 493; Saṃyutta, V, pp. 134, 244.
[200] Majjhima, I, pp. 467, 490-1.
[201] Majjhima, II, p. 197.

precisely because of that good conduct, achieves great success as to method, law and good (*ārādhako hoti ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ*)"[202]. Furthermore, "there is no difference in the matter of deliverance (*vimukti*) between an upāsaka and a bhikṣu whose mind is freed from impurities"[203]. The *Aṅguttara* knows of some twenty lay people, Trapuṣa and Bhallika at their head, who attained the End (*niṣṭhā*), the
88 Immortal (*amṛta*) without ever having taken up the religious life[204]. The *Saṃyutta* admits that respect for worthy people, hearing the Good Law, correct reflection and conformity with the precepts of the Law — qualities which are within reach of the laity as well as the religious — suffice to ensure the winning of the four fruits of the Path, including Arhatship[205]. A curious sutta in the *Majjhima* seems to make comprehension of the noble truths, the destruction of the impurities and the attainment of Nirvāṇa depend solely on the practice of the *brahmavihāra* which, as we know, are not of Buddhist invention[206].

If, however, a few upāsakas placed in particularly favourable conditions reached holiness and deliverance, it should not be concluded from this that there was no need to take up the religious life. By the very fact that he remains in the world, the disciple of the Buddha proves that he is not free from corruption since, were he so, "he would not remain at home and eat as he pleases"[207]. The householder who has heard the Law and has faith in the Tathāgata should say to himself : "Household life is a hindrance and the path of passions; life outside is liberty. It is not easy for whoever remains at home to observe the brāhma life in its absolute fullness, in its absolute purity, polished like a conch. Now then, I wish to have my hair and beard shaved off, put on the yellow robe and leave the family, passing from the home to the homeless life"[208]. The wise man, says the *Suttanipāta*, should renounce the world : "May he, leaving son and wife, father and mother, wealth and harvest, friends and objects of desire, wander alone like a rhinoceros. May he say to himself : Family life is a bond; there is little happiness, little enjoyment, much pain, in it; it is a fish-hook. May he wander alone like a rhinoceros"[209].

[202] Majjhima, II, p. 197; Saṃyutta, V, p. 19.
[203] Saṃyutta, V, p. 410.
[204] Aṅguttara, III, p. 451.
[205] Saṃyutta, V, pp. 410-11.
[206] Majjhima, I, pp. 36-9.
[207] Majjhima, I, p. 91.
[208] Dīgha, I, p. 63.
[209] Suttanipāta, v. 60 sq.

Indeed, the religious life offers immense advantages to those who aspire after salvation : full details are given in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*[210].

89 Such a moderate and, let us admit it, wise attitude adopted by the Buddha and the early writings regarding the problem of the condition of life could not entirely satisfy the laity who wanted equal rights with the religious. Their aspirations were supported by certain schools. The northern school of the Uttarāpathakas asserted without any restriction or reservation that there was holiness (*arhattva*) for the laity : one could become a holy one while remaining bound to lay condition and by retaining lay characteristics[211]. This proposition was disputed by the Theravādins of Ceylon.

Not content with asserting their equality, the laity passed to the offensive by claiming that the Arhat, of whom the religious wanted to retain the monopoly, was subject to regressing from holiness. This thesis was adopted by five known schools : the Saṃmatīyas, Vātsīputrīyas, Sarvāstivādins, Mahāsāṃghikas and Pūrvaśailas[212].

More than a hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa, a certain Mahādeva put forward five heterodox propositions which were the origin of the Mahāsāṃghika schism : There are Arhats, he said, who are led astray by others, subject to ignorance, exposed to doubt, saved by others and for whom the Path occurs because of speech. These theses aimed directly against the holiness of the religious were immediately adopted by the Mahāsāṃghikas, Pūrvaśailas, Bahuśrutīyas, Cetiyas and Haimavatas. They were disputed by the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, Saṃmatīyas, Vātsīputrīyas and Mahīśāsakas[213]. The rejoinder of the Theravādins can be found in the *Kathāvatthu* (I, pp. 163-95), and that of the Sarvāstivādins in the *Jñānaprasthāna* (T 1543, ch. 10, p. 819*b*; T 1544, ch. 7, p. 956*b*).

The emergence of the Mahāyāna established the triumph of lay aspirations*. The Mahāyānists substituted for the old ideal of personal holiness followed, after death, by entry into Nirvāṇa, a new ideal wholly imbued with altruism : the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) associated with the wish for supreme and perfect Enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) and having as its object the welfare and happiness of all creatures. In order to attain this goal, the Mahāyānist commits himself to the bodhisattva path : for three, seven or thirty-three countless

[210] Dīgha, I, pp. 47-86.
[211] Kathāvatthu, I, p. 267.
[212] Bareau, *Sectes*, p. 291.
[213] Id., *ibid.*

90 periods, he passes through the stages (*bhūmi*) of a long career during which he practises in an ever more lucid and benefactory manner the six or ten perfections (*pāramitā*) required of his state : giving, morality, patience, vigour, ecstasy and wisdom. It is no longer a question for him of destroying his own passions, for such a purification would have the disadvantage of his attaining Nirvāṇa prematurely, but of ensuring, by means of the practice of the perfections, the happiness of all beings. So it is voluntarily that the bodhisattva delays his entry into Nirvāṇa or, to be more exact, establishes himself in Nirvāṇa "as if he does not dwell there" (*apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa*) in order to continue his liberating activity.

The bodhisattva career is open to all : as much to the laity and even more so to the religious. Unlike the old sūtras of the Tripiṭaka compiled mainly for the edification of the bhikṣus, the *Vaipulyasūtra* of the Mahāyāna are addressed to "sons and daughters of good family" (*kulaputra* and *kulaputrīyā*).

In the field of religious discipline, the distinction between the monk and the lay person tends to disappear. What is of importance for the bodhisattva — whether he lives at home (*gṛhastha*) or has left the world (*pravrajita*) — is less the strict observance of the rules than this altruistic intention in applying them. Thus, while in the Hīnayāna, capital offences (murder, theft, etc) entail excommunication whatever the motive, in the Mahāyāna they do not entail it if they have been committed for the benefit of others. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* submits that the bodhisattva who, through skilful means, perpetrates a transgression against nature (*prakṛtisāvadya*) is not only free of offence, but also wins great merit[214].

Success in the bodhisattva career is not linked to the condition of life. The sūtras of the Māhāyana often begin by enumerating particularly venerable great bodhisattvas : the list generally exceeds twenty. If we are to believe the *Upadeśa*, among those twenty-two bodhisattvas, the first sixteen, beginning with Bhadrapāla, were laymen, only the other four, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, etc., were monks[215].

91 The theoreticians of the Mahāyāna ended by denying any importance to morality (*śīla*) as such and to restraint (*saṃvara*) in life which is basically morality of commitment (*samādānaśīla*).

"The bodhisattva should fulfil the perfection of morality by basing himself on the non-existence of sin and good action" (*śīlapāramitā paripūrayitavyā āpatty-anāpatty-anadhyāpattitām upādāya*)[216]. Nāgār-

[214] Bodh. bhūmi, pp. 165-6 : *asti ca kiṃcit prakṛtisāvadyam api yad bodhisattvas tadrūpeṇopāyakauśalena samudācarati yenānāpattikaś ca bhavati bahu ca puṇyam prasūyate.*

[215] Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 7, p. 111*a*.

[216] Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, ed. N. Dutt, p. 18, l.10.

juna justifies this concept : To speak of the non-existence of sin and good action", he explains, "is not a false view. If one examines carefully the nature of things and one practises concentration on emptiness (*śūnyatāsamādhi*), one sees, with the eye of wisdom, that sin does not exist; if sin does not exist, its opposite, good action, does not exist either"[217]. This higher vision is not an incentive to wrongdoing, quite the opposite! It is the door to deliverance. To quote Nāgārjuna again : "The bodhisattva who knows the true significance of all Dharmas (*sarvadharmabhūtanayapratisaṃvedin*) does not perceive morality (*śīla*) and even less so, immorality (*dauḥśīlya*). Even though, for various reasons, he does not trangress against morality, he attaches even more importance to entering the Door to deliverance named Emptiness (*śūnyatāvimokṣamukha*)"[218].

In such conditions, the choice of a condition of life destined to protect morality has no more than a minimal importance. The superiority of the religious life which is extolled so much in the Hīnayāna is a prejudice from which the bodhisattva should free himself. This is evident from the *Bhūmisaṃbhāra*, an important section of the *Prajñāpāramitā* which has often been translated into Chinese and is commented upon at length in the *Upadeśa*[219].

The bodhisattva who is in the first stage should practise the preparation for the ten stages (*daśabhūmiparikarma*)*, particularly the constant leaving of the world (*abhīkṣṇaṃ naiṣkramya*) : "In all his existences, without changing his mind, he leaves home and enters the religion of the Tathāgata, without anyone being able to prevent him"[220]. However, on
92 reading the commentary, one gets the impression that for the bodhisattva this religious vocation is purely platonic and that it is not necessarily followed up. Indeed, the candidate merely meditates on the dangers and disadvantages of secular life and the advantages of the religious life.

However, when he reaches the fifth stage, the bodhisattva shuns the company of the laity (*gṛhīsaṃstava*) : "Passing from Buddha-field to Buddha-field, in his life as a religious, he always leaves home, shaves his head and wears the kāṣāya"[221].

[217] Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 14, p. 163*c*.

[218] Ibid., ch. 49, p. 415*b* 12.

[219] Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, pp. 214-25; Śatasāhasrikā, ed. Ghosa, pp. 1454-73; Chinese translations, T 220, ch. 415 pp. 82*b*-88*c*; T 221, ch. 4, pp. 27*a*-29*b*; T 222, ch. 7, pp. 196*b*-199*a*; T 223, ch. 6, pp. 256*c*-259*c*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 49-50, pp. 409*c*-419*c*.

[220] Pañcaviṃśati, p. 218, 1.6 : *Yat sarvajātiṣv avyavakīṛno 'bhiniṣkrāmati tathāgataśāsane pravrajati na cāsya kaścid antarāyo bhavati.*

[221] Ibid., p. 220, 11.12-13 (corrected text) : *Yā bodhisattvasya pravrajitajanmeṣu buddhakṣetrād buddhakṣetraṃ saṃkramāṇasyābhīkṣaṃ niṣkramaṇatā muṇḍanatā kāṣāyavastranivāsanatā.*

Finally, in the seventh stage, the bodhisattva, fully realizing the twofold emptiness of beings and things, eliminates twenty prejudices among which figures attachment to false views concerning the Community (*saṃghaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśa*), because the specific nature of the Saṃgha is unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) and invisible (*adṛṣṭa*)[222]. From this higher point of view, there is no longer any difference between the religious and the laity for the very good reason that they are both non-existent.

From the higher point of view which is that of the Mahāyāna, every contradiction disappears.

[222] Ibid., p. 222, 11.11-12 (corrected text) : *Saṃghaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśo na kartavyaḥ saṃghanimittasyāsaṃskṛtatvād adṛṣṭatvāc ca.*

93 CHAPTER TWO

THE MAGADHAN PERIOD

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD. — The term Magadhan can be applied to the period which extended from 546 to 324 B.C. and which is characterized by the constant growth of the kingdom of Magadha under the successive dynasties of the Haryaṅkas (546-414), Śiśunāgas (414-346) and the Nine Nadas (346-324). Despite the palace dramas which regularly bathed the throne in blood, the princes had the interests of the state at heart and built up piecemeal an extensive kingdom which included the territories of the Vṛjis and Kosala in the north, Kuru-Pañcala and the Mathurā region in the west, the territories of the Avanti (Mālwā), Haihaya on the Narmadā and of Aśmaka on the Upper Godāvarī in the centre and south-west, Bengal and Kaliṅga in the east. The religious zeal of the princes was not as great as was their political consciousness; however, some of them showed sympathy for the Buddhist Order and favoured its development : Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru (after his accession to the throne), Udāyin, Muṇḍa and Kālāśoka.

Religious history cannot overlook two regions which had not yet been touched by Buddhist propaganda at the Magadhan period, but which were later to become two important holy lands : Uttarāpatha and the island of Ceylon.

Uttarāpatha, a region in the north-west, and its capital Takṣaśilā, the seat of an ancient university, formed, at an early date, an influential centre of Indian culture. According to a late and probably apocryphal tradition, its king Pukkusāti had known the Buddha in the sixth century and been converted. However, if this fact is true, the royal example was not followed by the mass of the population, and three more centuries were required for the Good Law to be implanted in the region. In the meantime, the north-west was drawn into a rapid succession of events :
94 the Achaemenid conquest and occupation (559-336); a lightning raid by Alexander (327-324), and quarrels among the Diadochi (325-305). It was only in 305, after the failure of Seleucus' campaign against Candragupta, that the north-west returned to the mother-country and again entered the orbit of the Indian empire.

Towards the end of the sixth century, the island of Ceylon was occupied by an Āryan colony, which originated in Lāṭa (Gulf of Cambay), and superimposed itself on the primitive population of the

Veḍḍas. These Siṃhala, as they were called, were governed from 486 to 250 by five successive kings who organized the island, gave it a capital, Anurādhapura, and prepared it to receive the message of Śākyamuni which the missionary Mahinda was to bring to it.

During the Magadhan period, the Buddhist Community, of which the main centre was still the region of the Middle Ganges, settled down slowly but surely. Its first successes were far from spectacular and hardly surpassed those of the rival orders of the Nirgranthas, Ājīvikas, Jaṭilakas, Tedaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas or Devadhārmikas.

The first concern of the nascent community was to codify the teaching of the Buddha and to give the Order a well-defined doctrine and discipline. Tradition attributes this undertaking to two Buddhist councils which followed each other at a century's interval : the Council of Rājagṛha, which convened the very year of the Buddha's decease (486), compiled the Dharma and Vinaya; that of Vaiśālī, which was held in 386 or 376, condemned the laxist tendencies which had permeated some of the parishes. However, the records devoted to these councils are riddled with improbabilities, anachronisms and contradictions; in the course of history, they were exploited to very different ends. It remains nonetheless a fact that the work done by the early disciples (*sthavira*) during the two centuries which followed the Nirvāṇa supplied the original community with a law (*dharma*) and a set of rules (*prātimokṣa*) which were more or less definitive : a sacred trust which constituted the common heritage of the schools which were to develop later.

It was on this basis that the canonical writings were elaborated, but their compilation required many centuries and was still not completed in the fifth century of the Christian era. Each sect claimed to possess its own code of writings and attempted, without always succeeding, to institute it by exploiting the common doctrinal fund, while enriching it
95 with more or less authentic new compositions. This work was not carried out systematically, but with much classifying and reclassifying of the texts.

A history of Buddhism should also take into account the predictions which circulated very early on in the Community regarding the future disappearance of the Good Law, for it was accepted by the disciples of Śākyamuni that after a greater or lesser period the Buddha's Doctrine would finally deteriorate and disappear, only to be rediscovered and expounded again by the Buddhas of the future. These pessimistic forecasts concerning the vanishing of the Dharma and the circumstances which might accompany it are lacking in coherence. Nevertheless, they

arose in the minds of believers and, because of that, deserve to be recorded and analyzed.

Śākyamuni had refused to designate a successor to preside over the destinies of the order he had founded. Indeed, Buddhists never acknowledged the authority of a single infallible leader.

Each community, however, had its own masters, preceptors (*upādhyāya*) and instructors (*ācārya*) who were entrusted with conferring ordination on young recruits and guiding them along the paths of religious perfection. The monks of Ceylon have preserved, or compiled, a list of the "Vinaya Chiefs" (*vinayapāmokkha*) and "Masters of scholastics" (*abhidhammācāriya*) who succeeded one another in Magadha from the time of the Nirvāṇa until that of Aśoka, but they make no mention of "Masters of the Law" (*dharmācārya*), who were supposed to have received and transmitted the sacred trust of the doctrine. This list was to be compiled later, by the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins from the north-west, about the second century A.D. It was widely distributed, particularly in Kaśmīr and China, but did not however compel recognition from all the sects of the continent.

I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

1. — MAGADHA, FROM 546 to 324 B.C.

MAGADHAN DYNASTIES[1]. — 1. Sinhalese sources dating from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. : *Dīpavaṃsa* (Ch. III and V), *Mahāvaṃsa*

[1] For a description of historical facts, the reader can refer to the general and compendious histories among which may be mentioned : E. RAPSON, *Ancient India*, Cambridge, 1914; V. SMITH, *The Oxford History of India*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1923; *The Early History of India*, 4th ed. Oxford, 1923; E. RAPSON and others, *The Cambridge History of India*, I. *Ancient India*, Cambridge, 1922 (with a rich bibliography); L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens, l'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J.-C.*, Paris, 1924; *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes et Yue-tche*, Paris, 1930; *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kaniṣka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes*, Paris, 1935; P. MASSON-OURSEL and others, *L'Inde Antique et la Civilisation indienne*, Paris, 1933; J. ALLAN and others, *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Cambridge, 1934; H.G. RAWLINSON, *India, a Short Cultural History*, London, 1937; *A Concise History of Indian People*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1946; S. LÉVI, *L'Inde Civilisatrice, Aperçu historique*, Paris, 1938; R. GROUSSET and others, *L'Asie Orientale des origines au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1941; A. FOUCHER, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, 2 vol., Paris, 1947; L. RENOU, J. FILLIOZAT and others, *L'Inde Classique*, 2 vol., Paris, 1947-53; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Geschichte des indischen Altertums* (Bruckmanns Weltgeschichte), Munich, 1950; L. RENOU, *La civilisation de l'Inde Antique*, Paris, 1950; N. SASTRI and others, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Benares, 1952; R.C. MAJUMDAR and others, *Advanced History of India*, 5th ed., Calcutta, 1950; *The History and Culture of Indian People* : I. *The Vedic Age*, 2nd ed., London, 1952; II. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 2nd

96 (Ch. II, IV and V) and *Samantapāsādikā* (I, pp. 72-3) count 218 years between the Buddha's decease and the consecration of Aśoka (486-268 B.C.), 316 years between Bimbisāra's accession and the death of Aśoka (546-230 B.C.). During the period, it is thought that four royal houses and thirteen sovereigns succeeded one another on the throne of Magadha.

	Sovereigns	Years of rule	Era of the Nirvāṇa	Anc. Era (B.C.)
I.	1. Bimbisāra	52	60 before – 8 before	546-494
	2. Ajātasattu	32	8 before – 24 after	494-462
	3. Udayabhadda	16	24-40	462-446
	4. Anuruddha			
	5. Munda	8	40-48	
	6. Nāgadāsaka	24	48-72	438-414
II.	7. Susunāga	18	72-90	414-396
	8. Kālāsoka	28	90-118	396-368
	9. Ten sons of 8	22	118-140	368-346
III.	10. Nine Nandas	22	140-162	346-324
IV.	11. Candagutta	24	162-186	324-300
	12. Bindusāra	28	186-214	300-272
	13. Aśoka before consecration	4	214-218	372-268
	after consecration	37	218-255	268-231

97 However, in the genealogy of the *Samantapāsādikā* (I, p. 73) and its Chinese recension (T 1462, ch. 2, p. 687*b* 2), the eighth sovereign

ed., Bombay, 1953; III. *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954; A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954.

Other works, limited to given periods, will be referred to in the following pages.

Two dictionaries of proper names constitute an important source of historical or legendary information : G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, 2 vol., London, 1937-38; C. Akanuma, *Indō-Bukkyō Koyūmeishi Jiten* (Dictionary of Proper Names in Indian Buddhism), Nagoya, 1931. Mention must also be made of two large Japanese encyclopaedias : Oda Tokunō, *Bukkyō Daijiten* (Great Dictionary of Buddhism), Tokyo, 1917; Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō Daijiten* (Great Encyclopaedia of Buddhism), Tokyo, 1931.

For the Magadhan period which is the subject of the present chapter, also see H. Jacobi, *Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāṇa und die politische Entwicklung Magadhas zu jener Zeit*, SPAW, 1930, pp. 557-68; R.K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilisation from the earliest times up to the establishment of the Maurya Empire*, London, 1936; B.C. Law, *The Magadhas in Ancient India*, London, 1946; S.C. Chatterjee, *Magadha Architecture and Culture*, London 1942; D.S. Triveda, *The Pre-Mauryan History of Bihār*, JBORS, XXXVIII, 1952, pp. 147-84.

Kālāsoka is merely given as "Asoka, son of Susunāga"; he appears under the name of Kālāsoka only on pages 33 and 72 of the Pāli text, and on page 687*a* 24 of the Chinese. Since Kālāsoka appears only in the Sinhalese sources, we can, as did P. Demiéville, have doubts about his existence[2].

Although the Sinhalese tradition was adopted by Burmese Buddhists, it was not so firmly established as has generally been believed. Thus Buddhaghosa, who subscribed to it in his *Samantapāsādikā*, discarded it in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (I, p. 153). Indeed, in that work the order of succession of the first six sovereigns is as follows : Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Udaya, Mahāmuṇḍa, Anuruddha and Nāgadāsa.

2. Buddhist sources in Sanskrit which as we have seen claim that Aśoka reigned in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, nevertheless count twelve sovereigns within the short space of a century, i.e., from 368 to 268 B.C. This is notably the case for *The Legend of Aśoka* (*Divya*, p. 369; T 2042, ch. 1, p. 99*c*. Also cf. T 99, ch. 23, p. 162*a*; T 2043, ch. 1, p. 132*b*) :

98 1. Bimbisāra
2. Ajātaśatru
3. Udayibhadra
4. Muṇḍa
5. Kākavarṇin
6. Sahālin
7. Tulakucin
8. Mahāmaṇḍala
9. Prasenajit
10. Nanda
11. Bindusāra
12. Susīma

This genealogy contains errors and omissions : it classifies Prasenajit, king of Kosala, among the sovereigns of Magadha, and does not mention the Maurya Candragupta. Its fifth sovereign Kākavarṇin is known to the *Purāṇa* by the name of Kākavarṇa, which is an epithet meaning "crow-coloured" and one might wonder whether the Sinhalese chroniclers were not referring to him by placing a Kālāśoka "Aśoka the Black" beside the great Aśoka, the Maurya.

Another Sanskrit source, which also places Aśoka in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, supplies a series of badly classified facts and chronological indications which are quite different from the Sinhalese chronicles. This is the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 321-6; 353-79; 413-39) :

1. Bimbisāra
2. Ajātaśatru
3. Udāyin (reigned 20 years)

[2] Cf. P. Demiéville, *A propos du concile de Vaiśālī*, TP, XL, pp. 265-7 in the notes; a different option in J. Filliozat : *Les deux Aśoka et les Conciles bouddhiques*, JA, 1948, pp. 191-5.

4. Aśoka Mukhya (acceded to the throne 100 years after the Buddha, lived for 100 years and ruled for 87 years)
5. Viśoka (succeeded the last-named and ruled for 76 years)
6. Śūrasena (reigned 17 years)
7. Nanda (lived for 67 years)
8. Candragupta
9. Bindusāra (reigned until he was 70 years old).

This source mixes all the given facts : the first three sovereigns belong to the house of the Haryaṅkas (546-414 B.C.); numbers 5 and 6, to the house of the Śiśunagas (414-346 B.C.) if Viśoka and Śūrasena are respectively identified with Kālāśoka and his eldest son Bhadrasena of the Pāli sources; number 7 represents the Nanda dynasty (346-324 B.C.); numbers 8, 9 and 4 represent the first three Mauryas.

3. Neither the Jaina nor brahmanical tradition confirm the Buddhist sources, whether Pāli or Sanskrit.

99 In his *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*[3], the Jaina historian Hemacandra, from the end of the eleventh century A.D., lists only seven sovereigns :

1. Śrenika
2. Kūṇika
3. Udāyin
4. Nine Nandas
5. Candragupta
6. Bindusāra
7. Aśoka

Śreṇika is the forename of Bimbisāra, and Kūṇika, that of Ajātaśatru. The same author dates the accession of Candragupta in the year 155 after the death of Mahāvīra[4] which occurred, it is believed, in 468 B.C. Therefore, according to this datum, which confirms the Kahāvali of Bhadreśvara[5], Candragupta would have mounted the throne of Magadha in 313 B.C. However, another Jaina author, Merutuṅga, in his Vicāraśreṇī, situates the accession sixty years later, i.e., in 253 B.C.[6].

According to the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 21-2, 24-5, 28), fourteen sovereigns mounted the throne of Magadha, but over a period of 517 years.

1. Śiśunāga (40 years)
2. Kākavarṇa (36)
3. Kṣemadharman (20)
4. Kṣatraujas (40)
5. Bimbisāra (28)
6. Ajātaśatru (25)
7. Darśaka (25)
8. Udāyin (33)
9. Nandivardhana (42)
10. Mahānandin (43)
11. Mahāpadma and his 8 sons (100)
12. Candragupta (24)
13. Bindusāra (25)
14. Aśoka (36)

[3] Ed. Jacobi (Bibl. Ind.), I, 22 sq.; VI, 22 sq.; 231 sq.; VIII, 1 sq.; 297 sq., IX, 14 sq.
[4] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, VIII, 339.
[5] Ed. Jacobi, p. XX.
[6] Id., *ibid.*

Since it is impossible to reach a decision about these contradictory attestations, we will follow here the Sinhalese chronology, but with distinct reservations concerning the existence of a Kālāśoka and the 218 years which supposedly separated the Nirvāṇa from the consecration of Aśoka.

THE HARYAṄKAS (546-414 B.C.). — According to the *Buddhacarita* (XI, 2), the first kings of Magadha belonged to the illustrious Haryaṅka family. It achieved the unity of the Gangetic empire, but tarnished its reputation by numerous crimes : in order to accede to power more quickly, the crown princes regularly put their fathers to death : an uncontrollable but well established tradition.

100 1. *Śreṇika Bimbisāra* (60-8 before the Nirvāṇa; 546-494 B.C.) was the contemporary of the Buddha and of Mahāvīra. He came to the throne when aged 15 and had his residence in Rājagṛha-Girivraja where he founded a new town, as the earlier one had constantly been destroyed by fire. He contracted marriages with the ruling families of the Madras, Kosala and Vaiśālī. His Kosalan wife brought him as dowry a village in the district of Vārāṇasī which produced a revenue of one hundred thousand pieces of money. He defeated King Brahmadatta and annexed Aṅga (Bengal) to his crown. He was on friendly terms with King Pukkusāti of Taxila, whom he instructed in the doctrine of the Buddha. His son Ajātaśatru threw him into prison where he died of starvation; Queen Kosaladevī's death followed soon afterwards.

2. *Kūṇika Ajātaśatru* (during the period covering 8 years before to 24 years after the Nirvāṇa; 493-462 B.C.)[7] in his youth patronised Devadatta, the schismatic cousin of the Buddha, built the monastery of Gayaśīrṣa for him and took part in his plots against the Buddha's life. Later, however, seized with remorse, he sought out the Blessed One and apologized to him : the Master expounded the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* to him and pardoned him. From then on, Ajātaśatru showed himself sympathetic towards Buddhism.

As a result of the odious murder of his own father Bimbisāra, Kosala and the Vṛjis leagued together against him. Battle was first engaged against Kosala. After initial successes, Ajātaśatru was beaten and taken prisoner but his uncle Prasenajit, king of Kosala, freed him, gave him the hand of his daughter Vajrā in marriage and acknowledged his possession of the village in the district of Kāśī which had served as a

[7] E. MATSUMOTO, *On a Narrative of King Ajātaśatru in the Kucha Frescoes*, Kokka, No. 566, Jan. 1938.

pretext for the war. Dethroned by his son Virūḍhaka, Prasenajit sought refuge with Ajātaśatru, but died of exhaustion before he was able to reach him. Ajātaśatru arranged a fine funeral for his uncle, but did not disturb his cousin Virūḍhaka who had just ascended the throne of Kosala.

The war waged by Ajātaśatru against the Vṛji confederation, which included in particular the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and the Mallas of Kuśinagara and Pāvā, continued for many years. The pretext for it was either the refusal of Ceṭaka, king of Vaiśālī, to restore to Ajātaśatru a
101 necklet which had once belonged to Bimbisāra, or a dispute which had arisen between the Licchavis and Ajātaśatru over the joint exploitation of a diamond mine on the banks of the Ganges[8]. The very year of the Buddha's decease, Ajātaśatru's ministers, Varṣakāra and Sunidha, had, on the right bank of the river, fortified the village of Pāṭaligrāma which was later to become the capital of the kingdom under the name of Pāṭaliputra[9]. Varṣakāra warned the Buddha of the aggressive intentions of his king. In order to resist the attack of his neighbour from the south, King Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī called to arms the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśī and Kosala together with the Licchavis and Mallas. However, dissension was sown among his troops by the minister Varṣakāra who, like a new Coriolanus, had pretended to pass to the enemy. Finally, Vaiśālī was taken by means of the catapults and heavy chariots of the Magadhans, and the Vṛji territory was attached to Ajātaśatru's possessions.

From the time of his conversion the king increased his marks of attachment to the Buddha and his disciples. His ministers had to take the greatest precautions when informing him of the Blessed One's decease. On pretext of protecting the king from the fatal effects of a bad dream, they placed him in a tank "filled with the four sweetnesses", then told him the sad news. The king fainted, and had to be plunged into a further two tanks and the announcement repeated before the king realized the extent of the misfortune[10]. His despair was extreme; in tears he recalled the virtues of the Buddha and visited the places which the Buddha had sanctified by his presence. Not without difficulty, he obtained a portion of the Buddha's relics from the Mallas of Kuśinagara, and took them back to his capital Rājagṛha where he had them enclosed in a stone stūpa. Two months later, during the Buddhist council held in Rājagṛha, he gave his royal support to the Elders and ensured their subsistence.

[8] Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, Appendix, p. 7; Sumaṅgala, II, p. 516.

[9] Vinaya, I, p. 228; Udāna, p. 87; Dīgha, II, p. 72 sq.

[10] On this episode, see E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Lebensende des B.*, pp. 252-4.

The death of the first two masters of the Law, Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda, which took place during his reign, was a further cause of sorrow for Ajātaśatru. Despite his keen desire to do so, he was unable to be present at their last moments, but he visited the Kukkuṭapāda where
102 the former had entered Nirvāṇa and erected a stūpa over the portion of the relics left by the second. It seems that Mahākāśyapa died shortly after the council of Rājagṛha (486 B.C.), and Ananda the year which preceded the death of the king (463 B.C.). In 462 Ajātaśatru, the patricide, in turn succumbed at the hands of his son Udāyin or Udayabhadra : forseeing this turn of events, he had attempted in vain to make his son take up the religious life.

3. *Udāyin* or *Udayabhadra* (24-40 after the Nirvāṇa; 462-446 B.C.) exercised a vice-royalty in Campā before acceding to the throne which he occupied for sixteen years. The Jaina sources agree with the *Purāṇa* in attributing to him the founding of the town of Pāṭaliputra or Kusumapura on the right bank of the Ganges, at the confluence of the Sona, in the fourth year of his reign (458 B.C.) : this city was to remain the capital of the Magadhan empire for many centuries. Udāyin was at war with the kingdom of Avanti which, at the time, had been enlarged by the addition of the territory of Kauśāmbī : the hostilities which began under his father Ajātaśatru did not end until some fifty years later with the triumph of Śiśunāga over the king of Avanti. The Buddhists claim that Udāyin had accepted the doctrine of the Buddha and had it written down[11] : the tradition is difficult to verify but should not be discarded *a priori*.

4-5. *Anuruddha* and *Muṇḍa* (40-48 after the Nirvāṇa; 446-438 B.C.). Anuruddha assassinated his father Udāyin and in turn fell at the hands of his son Muṇḍa. The latter's wife was Bhadrā. When she died, the king's grief was so acute that, at the request of the treasurer Piyaka, the Thera Nārada, abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma, went to Pāṭaliputra to comfort Muṇḍa. That pious encounter confirmed the king in his Buddhist faith.

6. *Nāgadāsaka* (48-82 after the Nirvāṇa; 438-414 B.C.) killed his father and ruled for twenty-four years. His subjects, who grew weary of his behaviour, rebelled against him and replaced him by a capable minister, known by the name of Śiśunāga.

Although the house of the Haryaṅkas was favourable to their religion, the Buddhists were severely censorious of that race of patricides.

[11] Mmk., v. 324 : *Tasyāpi suto rājā Ukārākhyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ | bhaviṣyati tadā kṣipraṃ śāsanārthaṃ ca udyataḥ | tad etat pravacanaṃ śāstu likhāpayiṣyati vistaram.*

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions the visit paid by Ajātaśatru to the
103 Buddha in order to obtain pardon and support, and gives details of the vicissitudes of the war of the relics, but this is only in order to recall the Buddha's prophecies regarding the difficult beginnings of his religion : "After my decease", he is reported to have said, "the masters of the world will kill each other from father to son; the bhikṣus will be engrossed in business affairs and the people, victims of greed. The laity will lose their faith, will kill and spy on one another. The land will be invaded by Devas and Tīrthikas, and the population will place its faith in the brāhmins; men will take pleasure in killing living beings and they will lead a loose life" (vv. 236-48). The same text emphasizes that Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, also ruled over Aṅga, the Vārāṇasī region and, to the north, as far as Vaiśālī (vv. 321-2).

The episodes which affected the beginnings of Buddhism in its relationship with the kings of Magadha very soon attracted the attention of artists. The ancient school of sculpture in the second century B.C. produced a great many representations of the encounters between Bimbisāra and the Buddha, the due apology and conversion of Ajātaśatru, as well as various episodes in the war of the relics in which that king played the leading part[12]. The same themes were also exploited by the artists of Gandhāra and Amarāvatī.

In the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., the memory of the ancient kings of Magadha was still young in India. During his journey to the holy places, the pilgrim Fa-hsien recorded the traditions according to which Ajātaśatru had, in his youth, sent a drunken elephant against the Buddha, built a new city in Rājagṛha and assembled half of Ānanda's relics on the banks of the Ganges[13]. Two centuries later, Hsüan tsang mentions no less than two roadways constructed by Bimbisāra in the area of Rājagṛha, in the Yaṣṭivana and on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata, for the sole purpose of having better access to the Buddha[14]. The master of the Law also knew of the old tradition which attributed the founding of New Rājagṛha sometimes to Bimbisāra and sometimes to Ajātaśatru[15]. To the west of the Veṇuvana, he saw the stūpa which the latter had erected over his share of the Buddha's relics[16].

104 THE ŚIŚUNĀGAS (414-346 B.C.). — According to the evidence of the

[12] *Mon. of Sāñcī*, I, pp. 109, 217-19.
[13] LEGGE, pp. 76, 81, 82.
[14] WATTERS, II, pp. 146, 148, 151.
[15] WATTERS, II, p. 162.
[16] WATTERS, II, p. 158.

Sinhalese chronicles, this dynasty included among its ranks Śiśunāga, Kālāśoka and the Ten Sons of Kālāśoka. K.P. Jayaswal[17] suggests identifying Kālāśoka with the Viśoka of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (v. 413), and one of his ten sons with the Śūrasena of the same source (v. 417). It will be noted that the Jaina historians make no mention of this dynasty, that the *'Legend of Aśoka'* in Sanskrit replaces it with three sovereigns whose family is not named (Kākavarṇin, Sahālin and Tulakucin), it will also be noted that the Purāṇas place the Śiśunāgas before the Haryaṅkas and, finally, that the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* situates Viśoka and Śūrasena after Aśoka the Maurya. This chronological uncertainty in no way authorizes a comparison, however tempting, between the Kākavarṇin of the Purāṇas and of the 'Legend of Aśoka' and the Kālāśoka of the Pāli chronicles[18].

The latter give Kālāśoka as the patron of the second Buddhist council which was held in Vaiśālī in the year 100 or 110 of the Nirvāṇa, but, according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha (p. 41), those meetings took place under the protection of a king of Licchavi origin called Nandin. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Sinhalese chroniclers entirely invented a Śiśunāga, Kālāśoka, in order to harmonize two traditions from different sources : one, of continental origin, according to which a Buddhist council was held in Vaiśālī in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, and the other, of Sinhalese origin, which mentions a council which took place in Pāṭaliputra in the year 236 of the Nirvāṇa, under Aśoka the Maurya. Such chroniclers would therefore have duplicated the Aśoka Maurya by assuming the existence, 136 years before his time, of an Aśoka of the Śiśunāga family. They called him "Black Aśoka" (Kālāśoka), taking their inspiration from the *Purāṇas* in which the name Kākavarṇa designates the son of Śiśunāga. Buddhist sources in Sanskrit, such as *The Legend of Aśoka* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which give Aśoka the Maurya as ruling in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa and know nothing whatever about the council of Pāṭaliputra, had no need of such subterfuge.

1. *Śiśunāga* (72-90 after the Nirvāṇa, 414-396 B.C.). — Siśunāga, whom a popular uprising placed on the throne of Magadha, was, according to the *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* (p. 155), the son of a Licchavi rāja and a courtesan. The *Purāṇa* (P., p. 21) inform us that he settled his son in
105 Vārāṇasī and made Girivraja (Rājagṛha) his capital. However, the Burmese tradition has it that, in memory of his mother, he transferred

[17] *Imperial History of India*, Lahore, 1934, p. 14.
[18] J. Filliozat, *Les deux Aśoka*..., JA, 1948, p. 194.

his residence to Vaiśālī and that from then on Rājagṛha lost ist rank of capital which it was never to regain[19]. Pursuing the policy of absorption inaugurated by Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, Śiśunāga "destroyed all the prestige" of the Pradyotas of Avanti and thus annexed Mālwa to his crown.

2. *Kālāśoka* (90-118 after the Nirvāṇa; 396-368 B.C.). — Kālāśoka, the son of Śiśunāga, transferred his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra, but made Vaiśālī one of his residences. It was there that a laxist movement broke out among the Vṛjis, monks from Vaiśālī, who took great liberties with the monastic discipline. At first the king supported them but, when his sister Nandā intervened, he transferred his patronage to the orthodox monks; a council took place with his consent at the Vālikārāma in Vaiśālī in the year 100 of the Nirvāna (386 B.C.) and the Vṛjis were declared to be in the wrong. It should be remembered that, according to Tāranātha, this council was held during the reign of a King Nandin of Licchavi origin.

Some historians have identified Kālāśoka with Kākavarṇa or Kākavarṇin in the *Purāṇa* and the *Legend of Aśoka*. The latter reigned for thirty-six years and, in the words of the *Harṣacarita* (p. 199), met with a violent death : a dagger was plunged into his throat when he was not far from his city.

Kālāśoka has also been compared to Viśoka who is mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (v. 413), but the latter succeeded Aśoka the Maurya and died of a fever after having venerated the Buddha's relics for seventy-six years. These "wild" identifications do not help to solve the problem.

3. *The ten sons of Kālāśoka* (118-140 after the Nirvāṇa; 368-346 B.C.). — They reigned jointly for twenty-two years and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p. 98) gives their names : Bhaddasena, Koraṇḍavaṇṇa, Maṅgura, Sabbañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Korabya, Nandivaddhana and Pañcamaka. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (v. 417) knows of a Śūrasena who has been compared to Bhaddasena : he had stūpas erected as far as the shores of the Ocean and ruled for seventeen years. The *Purāṇa* (P., p. 22) also note among the Śaiśunāgas a Nandivardhana who succeeded Udāyin and reigned for forty years.

THE NINE NANDAS (346-324 B.C.). — According to the Sinhalese sources, the Śiśunāga dynasty was overthrown by a brigand who
106 usurped the throne and established the house of the Nine Nandas which remained in power for twenty-two years. The *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p. 98)

[19] P. BIGANDET, *Vie ou Légende de Gaudama*, Paris, 1878, p. 346.

gives their names : Uggasena-Nanda, Paṇḍuka-Nanda, Paṇḍugati-Nanda, Bhūtapāla-Nanda, Raṭṭhapāla-Nanda, Govisāṇaka-Nanda, Dasasiddhaka-Nanda, Kevaṭṭa-Nanda and Dhana-Nanda : the latter was killed by Candagutta with the help of Cāṇakka, and his throne was seized.

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 422-8) knows of only one Nanda whom it gives as succeeding Śūrasena : this King Nanda was to reign in Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra), have a large army and enjoy great power. He was known as the Chief of the Peasants (*nīcamukhya*) probably because of his low birth. He had been prime minister, but had usurped the kingship by magical means. He lived surrounded by proud and demanding brāhmins to whom he was lavish with his gifts; however, on the entreaties of a "spiritual friend" he did not refuse the Buddhists his favours : he had twenty-four vihāras constructed and richly endowed the precious relics of the Buddha. Among his friends and counsellors were two grammarians of brāhmin origin but favourable to Buddhism : Pāṇini, the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and Vararuci, known for a treatise on metrics (*Śrutabodha*) and a Prakrit grammar (*Prākṛtaprakāśa*). Towards the end of his reign, Nanda alienated the sympathy of his ministers but, he died of a disease at the age of sixty-seven, a rare privilege for a Magadhan king.

The information supplied here can be completed by Indian and foreign sources.

The Kharāvela inscription at Hāthigumphā tells us that in the fifth year of his reign King Kharāvela of Kaliṅga extended a canal, which had been inaugurated 300 years earlier by King Nanda, from the Tanasuliya highway to his capital[20]. While visiting the five stūpas erected by Aśoka over the remains of the Buddha's relics in Pāṭaliputra, Hsüan tsang learned of a fanciful rumour, put about by disciples of little faith, according to which those stūpas contained the five treasures of King Nanda (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*b*).

The *Purāṇa* (P., 25-6) assign to the Nine Nandas a duration of 100
107 years : 88 years to Mahāpadma-Nanda, founder of the dynasty, 12 years to his eight sons the eldest of whom was Sukalpa. Mahāpadma-Nanda was the son of Mahānandin, the last representative of the Śiśunāga dynasty, and of a śūdrā. He exterminated all his neighbours, noble kṣatriyas from the surrounding area : Aikṣvāku of Kosala, Pañcāla of Doāb, Kāśeya of Vārāṇasī, Haihaya of the Narmadā, Kaliṅga of Orissa, Aśmaka of the upper Godāvarī, Kuru of Thānesar, Maithila of the

[20] B.M. Barua, *Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela*, IHQ., XIV, 1938, p. 476.

district of Muzaffarpur, Śūrasena of the Yamunā and Mathurā, Vīthotra on the borders of Mālwā. Mahāpadma-Nanda's victory brought śūdras of low caste to the throne, which they held for a century. The brāhmin Kauṭilya (alias Cāṇakya) was to uproot them all and they were replaced by the Mauryas.

According to the Jaina sources, the Nine Nandas directly succeeded Udāyin, the son of Ajātaśatru, and occupied the throne of Magadha from 468 to 313 B.C., i.e., a duration of 155 years; after that time, they were overthrown by Cāṇakya on behalf of Candragupta (*Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, VIII, 339). Nanda, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of a barber and a courtesan (*ibid.*, VI, 231-2). His empire extended as far as the oceans.

Some inscriptions of Mysore, dating from later (thirteenth century), attribute to the Nandas the possession of Kuntala, a territory including the southern part of Maharashtra and the portions adjoining the states of Hyderabad and Mysore[21]. Actually the Nandas got no further south than the valleys of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā.

When Alexander the Great reached the Hyphasis (Beās) in 326 B.C., the king of the Indians or, to use the eastern term, the king of the Gangaridae ("Inhabitants of the Ganges") and the Prasioi (from *Prācya* "Easteners"), was none other than the last Nanda, named by the classical historians as Xandrames or Aggrammes. This is the Dhana-Nanda of the Sinhalese sources, the son of Ugrasena-Nanda according to the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, of Mahāpadma-Nanda according to the *Purāṇa*. If the comparison is correct, his name Xandrames-Aggrammes would go back to a Sanskrit original of Augrasainya "Son of Ugrasena", and not to Candramās as is most often claimed. Quintus Curtius (IX, 2, 6-7) supplies facts about this Dhana-Nanda and his father, the usurper, which are quite similar to those given by the Jaina and
108 Buddhist traditions : "Aggrammes (Dhana-Nanda Augrasainya) who ruled, not only lacked nobility, but was of a lowly condition (i.e., a śūdra); for his father (Mahāpadma-Nanda), a barber, whose daily earnings barely prevented him from dying of hunger, had seduced the queen by his charming external appearance. She gained for him the friendship of the prince who was ruling at that time and was the last representative of the Śiśunāga house; he treacherously killed the prince and then, pretexting a regency, he appropriated the sovereignty; after he had assassinated the king's children, he had a son who is the one now reigning (Dhana-Nanda), a prince who is disliked and scorned by his

[21] Raychaudhuri, *Political Hist.*, p. 235.

compatriots, and who remembered his father's condition rather than this own"[22].

Alexander's historians, Diodorus of Sicily (XVII, 93, 2), Pliny the Elder (VI, 68), Quintus Curtius (IX, 2, 3-4) and Plutarch (*Life of Alex.*, LXII), disagree over the number of armed forces at the disposal of the king of the Gangaridae and Prasioi, but that army, in accordance with Indian custom, was indeed composed of four different types of troops (*caturaṅgabala*) :

	Infantry	Cavalry	Chariots	Elephants
Diodorus	200,000	20,000	2,000	4,000
Pliny	60,000	30,000	?	9,000
Quintus Curtius	200,000	20,000	2,000	3,000
Plutarch	200,000	80,000	8,000	6,000

According to the same historians, these particulars were given to Alexander by Phegeus, an Indian prince who ruled over a territory downstream from Kāngra on the Hyphasis. However, the meeting between Alexander and Phegeus is merely a myth and the point of departure for the legend according to which Alexander is supposed to have gone as far as the Ganges[23]. The information which Phegeus is supposed to have supplied is, moreover, incorrect, as it situates the kingdom of the Gangaridae and Prasioi *on the other bank* (πέραν, *ad ulteriorem ripam*) of the Ganges. Arrian (*Anabasis of Alexander*, V, 25, 1) who made use of better sources than the above-mentioned historians, knew nothing whatever of a meeting between Alexander and Phegeus; what the Macedonian conqueror did learn regarding the Hyphasis was of little importance : "On the other side of the Hyphasis, the land is
109 fertile, the men good tillers, valiant warriors, wisely administered from the interior : most of them are governed by aristocrats, and the latter ask nothing of them that is not appropriate. These native inhabitants possess a number of elephants much superior to that of other Indians; these elephants are large in size and valorous". The more detailed information recorded by the other historians and which they attribute to Phegeus is probably taken from the reports supplied later by the ambassadors of the Seleucids at the Maurya court.

The Nandas are known to history for their fabulous wealth : in the work which he devoted to Cyrus the Elder, king of Persia (559-530), the

[22] Tr. based on BARDON.
[23] Cf. W.W. TARN, *Alexander the Great*, II, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 280-4.

Athenian Xenophon (430-355), reports that Cyrus, who needed money to raise a new army, asked the king of India for funds through the intermediary of a Chaldaean embassy (*Cyropaedia*, III, 2, 25). This seems to indicate that the Greece of the fourth century B.C. already attributed great opulence to the Indian rājas.

2. — UTTARĀPATHA

In the sixth century B.C., the fifteenth and sixteenth Great Regions which were not part of the Madhyadeśa constituted the Region of the North (Uttarāpatha) or, to be more exact, the North-West[24]. It was inhabited by the Gandhāras, Kambojas and Yonas to whom Aśoka was later to refer in his fifth and sixth rock edicts (BLOCH, pp. 103, 130). Ancient Gandhāra extended along both banks of the Indus, embracing to the west the present-day district of Peshāwār, capital Puṣkarāvatī, and to the east the district of Rāwalpiṇḍi, capital Takṣaśilā. Further north, the Kambojas covered the south-western part of Kaśmīr and Kāfiristān : the *Mahābhārata* (VII, 4, 5) in fact associates them with the city of Rājapura, situated in Punch by Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 888*a*). As for the Yonas of the sixth century, they were represented by a small colony of Greeks who claimed to have been taken to India by Dionysus and settled in Nysa somewhere in Bajaur, a mountainous region of Yāghistān (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 1-2; VI, 2-3; *Ind.*, I, 5; V, 9). According to an old Buddhist sutta in the *Majjhima* (II, p. 149) among the Yonas and
110 Kambojas, as well as in the other frontier-regions, there were only two castes, masters and slaves : a master could become a slave and vice versa; the *Jātakas* (VI, p. 208) attributed wild and detestable customs to the Kambojas. Furthermore, Kamboja is regularly mentioned as the "homeland of horses"(*aśvānām āyatanam*), and it was this well-established reputation which possibly earned the horse-breeders of Bajaur and Swāt the epithet of Aspasioi (from Old Pers. *aspa*) and Assakenoi (from Skt. *aśva* "horse").

However that may be, from the sixth to the third century B.C., Uttarāpatha lived through an eventful history which caused it to pass from the hands of the Indian king Pukkusāti to the power of the Achaemenid Persians, of Alexander the Great and, finally of the Diadochi.

PUKKUSĀTI, KING OF GANDHĀRA (sixth century B.C.). — In the sixth century before the Christian era, the capital of Gandhāra was Takṣaśilā.

[24] See N. DUTT, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, Lucknow, 1957.

This town, which was to be moved twice in the course of history, at that time occupied the site of Bhiṛ Mound. Located on the great road connecting Bactria to the Indian peninsula, it was a privileged bartering place for ideas as well as merchandise. As the seat of the first Indian university, there flocked to its walls, from Magadha, Lāṭa, Kurukṣetra and the land of the Śibis, many young people wishing to study the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences, or to learn medicine, magic and rituals. The admission fees were high and, generally were as much as a thousand pieces of gold. The student was quartered with a master who forced him to do domestic work during the day; in the evening, he took his courses and devoted himself to study. It often happened that, once his instruction was completed, the pupil married one of his master's daughters.

At the time of the Buddha, the king of Takṣaśilā was Pukkusāti, whose history we learn from a late and partly apocryphal tradition[25]. He was on friendly terms with Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, and communicated with him by means of caravaneers. One day Pukkusāti sent Bimbisāra eight precious garments enclosed in lacquered caskets. In return the king of Magadha decided to initiate his friend in the Buddhist doctrine : he had a description of the Three Jewels and some characteristic texts of the Law engraved on gold plates. Those plates, placed in
111 precious caskets, were sent in procession to Pukkusāti. When the king of Gandhāra had acquainted himself with them, he renounced the world, cut off his hair and beard and wore the yellow robe of the monk. Desirous of meeting the Master, he went to Rājagṛha where he expected to find him; the Buddha who was then residing in Śrāvastī agreed to go and meet him. He engaged the old king in conversation and preached the *Dhātuvibhaṅgasutta* for his benefit[26].

Other traditions, which we will study further on, attribute to Śakyamuni a long journey in Uttarāpatha and ascribe to his contemporaries, the Śākyas who had escaped Virūḍhaka's massacre, the founding of the kingdoms of Uḍḍiyāna, Himatala, Sāmbī and even Bāmyān. Like the history of the Gandhāran king Pukkusāti, these traditions must be considered apocryphal. Indeed, in the sixth century B.C., Achaemenid Persia had seized Uttarāpatha from the rest of the Indian world and drawn it into its own orbit.

North-West India under the Achaemenids (559-336 B.C.)[27]. —

[25] Majjhima Comm., V, p. 33 sq.

[26] Majjhima, III, pp. 237-47; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 42, p. 690*a*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 25, p. 242*c*.

[27] Besides general works, also see R.C. Majumdar, *Achaemenian Rule in India*, IHQ,

From the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, at least part of Uttārapatha fell into the hands of the Achaemenids and was included in the complex of the eastern satrapies of the Persian empire. Cyrus (559-530 B.C.) attempted to invade the Indian territory, but the difficulties of the road soon forced him to beat a retreat after having lost the major part of his army : it was with only seven soldiers that he regained his own states (Strabo, XV, 1, 5; XV, 2, 5; Arrian, *Anab.*, VI, 24, 3). Nevertheless, according to Pliny the Elder (VI, 92), he conquered Kapiśa and destroyed the capital Kāpiśī, i.e. Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and the Pañjshir in Kohistan. The region was inhabited by the Indian peoples of the Aṣṭakas and Aśvakas, the Astakenoi and Assakenoi of the Greek historians, who, "surrendered to the Persians, and brought Cyrus tributes from their land, which Cyrus commanded" (Arrian, *Ind.*, I, 1, 1-3).

112 Having thus become master of the Trans-Hindūkush, known as Para-Uparaesana by the Persians, Paropanisadae or Paropamisadae by the Greeks, Cyrus had little trouble in seizing the kingdom of Gandhāra, which was to appear among the possessions of his successor.

According to the inscription of Bahistān (ca 520-518), Darius (522-486 B.C.) held, through the favours of Ahuramazda but also doubtless by paternal heritage, twenty-three provinces, the nineteenth of which was Gadāra or Gandhāra (Kent, p. 117). He soon undertook to enlarge his Indian domain, for already in the year 519 "he wanted to know where the river Indus flowed into the sea; he therefore sent by boat some men whom he trusted to bring him back the truth, among others Scylax of Caryanda. Those men left Caspatyrus or Kaspapyrus (Kāśyapapura, near present-day Multān on the Indus) and the land of Paktyike (Pathān); they sailed downstream towards the dawn and the rising sun (actually southwards) until they reached the sea (the Indian Ocean); then, navigating westwards, in the thirtieth month, they reached that very place from which the king of Egypt had sent out the Phoenicians, in order to make a voyage to Libya, ... After they had completed that voyage, Darius subdued the Indians and made use of that sea" (Herodotus, IV, 44)[28].

This victory over the Indians, which occurred before 515, gave Darius

XXV, 1949, pp. 153-65; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Rule of the Aechemenids in India*, IHQ, XXV, 1949, pp. 184-204; *The tribal Immigrations in Achaemenid India*, IHQ, XXV, 1949, pp. 263-74; *Foreign Notices of Achaemenid India*, IHQ, XXVI, 1950, pp. 17-26; *The Achaemenids and India*, IHQ, XXVI, 1950, pp. 100-17.

[28] Tr. from Legrand.

possession of the province of Sindh on the lower Indus. Indeed, the province of Hiduš was henceforth to appear, alongside Gadāra, in the list of the Achaemenid satrapies on the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis E, Naqš-i-Rustam A, Susa E and M (Kent, pp. 136, 137, 141, 145) and of his successor Xerxes at Persepolis [redacted] (Kent, p. 151).

By comparing the list of the Achaemenid satrapies supplied by these inscriptions with the enumeration of the *Nomoi* or fiscal circumscriptions which are to be found in Herodotus (III, 90-4), we obtain the following picture with regard to the oriental satrapies and the tribute they turned over to the treasury[29] :

The 16th province, three hundred talents, comprised Parthia (Parthava), Aria (Haraiva), Khorasmia (Uvārazmī) and Sogdiana (Suguda).

The 14th province, six hundred talents, formed Drangiana (Zraka) and included the Sarangoi (Zaraka) and Thamanaioi of Drangiana, the
113 Sargartioi (Aśagarta) of the Iranian desert, the Utioi (Yutija) of Carmania and the Mukoi (Maka) of the coastal region to the east of the straits of Ormuz (Moghistān, Makran).

The 12th, three hundred and sixty talents, included Bactria (Bāxtriš), and doubtless also Margiana (Margu) as far as the Aigloi, an unknown people.

The 7th, one hundred and seventy talents, extended from the sources of the river Kābul to the Beās, and included Kapiśa and Gandhāra with the populations of the Sattagudai (Thataguš) of the Ghazni region, the Gandaroi (Gadāra) of the present-day districts of Peshāwār and Rāwalpiṇḍi, the Dadikai of Dardistān and the Aparutai, perhaps to be compared with the modern Afridis.

The 15th, two hundred and fifty talents, consisted of the Sakai, or more precisely, the Sakai Amurgioi (Saka Haumavarga) of Seistān mentioned by Herodotus at book VII, ch. 24, the Kaspioi also called Kasperaoi by Ptolemy (VII, 43-7) and who are the Kassapiya or Kassapapurīya of the lower Punjab in the region of Multān; finally, although they are not named, the Arachotoi of Arachosia (Harauvatiš), the modern province of Kandahār.

The 17th, four hundred talents, coincided with Makran (Maka) and included the Parikanioi of Gedrosia (Balūchistān) and the Asiatic Aethopes along the coast.

Finally, the 20th province, that of the Indoi of the Sindh (Hindu), alone poured into the treasury three hundred and sixty talents of

[29] All this is according to A. Foucher, *Les satrapies orientales de l'empire achéménide*, AIBCR, 1938, pp. 336-52; *Vieille Route de l'Inde*, pp. 195-9.

powdered gold "a tribute comparable to that of all the other provinces combined", which in reality represented 4,800 silver talents compared with the 9,540 or 9,880 paid by the other Nomoi. Nevertheless, Indian gold, called *pipīlika* because it was extracted from the sand by ants (*Mbh*, II, 52, 4; Herod., III, 102; Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 4, 3), did not come from the Sindh region but, according to Strabo (XV, 1, 44), who cites Megasthenes and Nearchus, from the land of the Dards, present-day Dardistān.

Darius, engaged in unknown territory, led ill-fated campaigns against the Scythians, the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the Greeks which culminated in the disaster of Marathon.

On his accession to the throne his successor, Xerxes (485-465 B.C.), was confronted with a revolt of a satrapy, where *devas*, the sworn enemies of Mazdeism, were revered, and which we have every reason to consider of Indian origin. In the inscription at Persepolis H, Xerxes
114 declares : "When I became king, there was among the lands over which I ruled one that was in revolt. Eventually, Ahuramazda brought me aid; through his favour, I crushed that land and brought it back under control. And among those lands, there was a place where false gods (*daeva*) were previously venerated. Later, through the favour of Ahuramazda, I destroyed that sanctuary of demons and made this proclamation : "Demons shall no longer be venerated". Wherever demons were venerated before, I respectfully venerated Ahuramazda and Arta" (Kent, p. 151).

The great Persian army which was mobilized by Xerxes against continental Greece and gave battle at Thermopylae (480) and Plataeae (479) contained contingents raised from the oriental satrapies, particularly Indians. According to Herodotus (VII, 64-67, 86), we find among the latter the Indians of the Sindh, clothed in vegetable wool, armed with cane bows and iron-pointed arrows made of reeds, and commanded by the Iranian Pharnazathres; the Gandharoi and Dadikai from Gandhāra and Dardistān, equipped like the Bactrians with Median head-gear, cane bows and short spears, and commanded by Artyphius; the Kaspioi from Lower Punjab dressed in skins, armed with cane bows and swords, under the command of Ariomardus; finally, the Paktyikoi of Pathān, equipped in the same way as the preceding ones and commanded by Artayntes. The Indians and Kaspioi also supplied contingents of cavalry armed like foot-soldiers : they led saddle-horses and chariots harnessed to horses and wild asses.

Towards the end of the fifth century, Ctesias of Cnidos, who resided for seventeen years (from 415 to 397 B.C.) at the Persian court as

physician to Darius II and Artaxerxes Mnemon[30], published a collection of fables about India and Persia[31] which prove that, at the time, India still remained a land unknown to the Mediterranean world. Some of these fables are to be found in ancient Indian books, and Ctesias did not invent them but accepted them uncritically.

Under the last Achaemenids, Persia's grip on the oriental satrapies relaxed, and the Indian provinces recovered their independence, in practice if not in theory.

115 THE INDIAN STATES UNDER DARIUS III CODOMAN (336-330 B.C.). — The armies of the last Darius, which fought at Arbela or Gaugamela against Alexander the Great (331 B.C.), also contained Indian contingents; however it is significant that the latter were not commanded by satraps of their own nationality, but by the governors of neighbouring districts. This fact is clarified by Arrian (*Anab.*, III, 8, 3-4) who declares : "Aid was brought to Darius by all the Indians neighbouring on the Bactrians as well as the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdians : all of them were led by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria... Barsaentes, the satrap of Arachosia, led the Arachotoi and the Indians known as Highlanders".

The information supplied by the historians of Alexander shows that, in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., the Indian provinces of the North-West were practically autonomous. Here according to Diodorus of Sicily (XVII), Quintus Curtius (VIII-IX), Plutarch (*Vita Alex.*, LVII-LXVIII) and Arrian (*Anab.*, IV-VI), completed by Strabo (XV), is the record of those Indian states[32] :

I. On the river of Kābul (Kubhā, Kophes or Kophen) and the southern upper valleys watered by the Kunār (Khoes), the Pañjkora (Gaurī, Gouraios), and the Swāt (Suvastu, Soastos or Souastos), were to be found :

(1-3) The territory of the Aspasioi, the country of the Gouraioi and the kingdom of the Assakenoi. They were highlanders who formed a single tribe but, those in the west spoke an Iranian dialect and, those in the east, an Indian dialect. They were great horse-breeders, and were called Aspaka in Iranian, Aśvaka in Sanskrit (from *aspa* and *aśva* "horse"), in Greek Aspasioi, Assakenoi and Hupasioi, i.e. Hippasioi, in

[30] Diod., II, 32, 4; Plut., *Vita Artax.*, XXI.

[31] The work has been recapitulated by Photius in his Summaries. See R. HENRY, *Ctésias, la Perse, l'Inde*, Brussels, 1947.

[32] RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History*, pp. 244-59, completed by B.C. LAW, *Hist. Geography*.

Strabo (XV, 1, 17; XV, 1, 27). Those of them who lived on the banks of the Gaurī were given the name of Gouraioi. Pāṇini (IV, 1, 110) notes in the same region some Āśvāyana (variant of a gaṇa, Āśvakāyana, Āśmāyana), and coins bearing the legend Vaṭāśvaka (CCAI, p. 264) can be attributed to them. The capital of the Assakenoi was called Massaga (Maśakāvatī?) by the Greeks. King Assakenos, the son of a certain Cleophes, and brother of Eryx and Aphikes, possessed an army of 20,000 cavalrymen, 30,000 infantrymen and 30 elephants (Arrian, *Anab.*, IV, 25, 5).

116 (4) The Greek (?) colony of Nysa, somewhere in Swāt near Kohi-Mor. It was governed by President Akouphis, assisted by an aristocracy of 300 members. "Those Nusaioi are not of Indian race; they are descendants of the invaders who followed Dionysus (to India) : either Greeks who had been disabled in the wars which Dionysus led against the Indians, or also natives whom, at their request, he had settled with the Greeks" (Arrian, *Ind.*, I, 4-5). We have seen earlier that a sutta from the *Majjhima* (II, p. 149) records some Yona (Greeks) in Uttarāpatha and attributes to them, as well as to their neighbours the Kāmbojas, a social organisation which is completely alien to India.

(5) Peucelaotis (Puṣkarāvatī, present-day Chārsadda), the old capital of western Gandhāra before the founding of Peshāwār in the second century A.D. It was governed by the hipparchus Astes whose name is connected with the toponym Hasht-nagar which designated eight cities bordering the Swāt in the district of Peshāwār.

II. The autonomous kingdoms and states of the Upper Punjab separated by the rivers Indus (Sindhu, Indos), Jhelum (Vitastā, Hydaspes), Chenāb (Asiknī or Candrabhāgā, Acesines), Rāvi (Paruṣṇī or Irāvatī, Hydraotes), Biās (Vipāś or Vipāśā, Hyphasis), Sutlej (Śutudrī, Zaradros or Hesydrus).

(6) The kingdom of Taxila (Takṣaśilā-Bhiṛ Mound) between the Indus and the Jhelum, the princes of which supported Alexander. The Taxiles presented the conquering Macedonian with 200 silver talents, 3,000 head of cattle 10,000 sheep and 30 elephants (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 3, 5), and his son Omphis (Ambhi) gave him gold crowns and 80 talents of silver coin (Quintus Curtius, VIII, 12, 15). Strabo (XV, 1, 28) and Plutarch (*Vita Alex.*, LIX) compare that kingdom with Egypt both with regard to the extent of the territory, the abundance of pasture-land and the wisdom of its princes.

(7-8) Further to the north, in the present-day districts of Hazāra on the one hand, and Punch and Nowshera on the other, the kingdoms of

Arsaces (the Uraśārājya of the *kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions, Konow, p. 89) and Abisares (Atisāra of the *Mbh.*, VII, 93, 44).

(9) Between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, the kingdom of Porus the Elder, a descendant of the Pūru or Paurava of the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (XIV, 27) and the *Mahābhārata* (II, 27, 14-16). He vigorously resisted Alexander, with an army of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300
117 chariots and 200 elephants according to Arrian (*Anab.*, 15, 4), of 50,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 1,000 chariots and 130 elephants according to Diodorus of Sicily (XVII, 87, 2), of 30,000 infantry, 300 chariots and 85 elephants according to Quintus Curtius (VIII, 13, 6). The kingdom, which corresponded to the modern districts of Guzrāṭ and Shāhpur, contained, in the words of Strabo (XV, 1, 29), approximately 300 cities.

(10) A neighbour of Porus, but still between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, the autonomous state of the Glausai or Glauganikai (Glaucukāyana of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 90) included a great number of villages and 37 cities from 5,000 to over 10,000 inhabitants (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 20, 4).

(11) Between the Chenāb and the Rāvi, the kingdom of Porus the Younger, which occupied the eastern part of the Gandaris mentioned by Strabo (XV, 1, 30).

(12-13) On the eastern bank of the Rāvi, the autonomous peoples of the Adraistai and the Kathaoi. The Adraistai, whose capital was named Pimprama, were perhaps the Adṛja mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VII, 159, 5) among the tribes of the North-West, unless their name Araṭṭa merely means "those who have no king" (Skt. Arāṣṭraka). The Kathaoi, whose stronghold was Sangala (which has nothing in common with Śākala or Siālkot, between the Chenāb and the Rāvi), are known to Pāṇini (II, 4, 20) by the name of Kantha, and to the *Mahābhārata* (VIII, 85, 16) by that of Krātha. In Sanskrit, Kaṭha means "hard".

(14-15) The kingdoms of Sopeithes or Sophytes and of Phegelas or Phegeus situated, the former somewhere to the east of the Jhelum, and the latter — if he is not a fictitious person —, between the Rāvi and the Beās. Some coins of a king Saubhūti have been found in Taxila with the head of a prince on the obverse and the image of a cock on the reverse. As for Phegelas, he possibly belonged to that royal race of kṣatriyas mentioned by the name of Bhagala in the Gaṇapathā.

III. The states of the Middle Punjab, on the confluences of five rivers comprising :

(16-17) The Sibai or Sibi and the Agalassoi, at the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenāb. The former, under the name of Śiva or Śibi, are well-known to the Vedas and Buddhist and Brāhmanical literature; their capital Śibipura is mentioned on a Shorkot inscription (EI, XVI, 1921,

p. 16). The Agalassoi possessed an army of 40,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry (Diod., XVII, 96, 3).

(18-19) The Sudrakai and the Malloi, to the south of the confluence
118 of the Jhelum and Chenāb, represented the Kṣudraka of the *Mahābhārata* (II, 52, 15; VII, 70, 11) and the Mālava of Indian history. Diodorus of Sicily (XVII, 98, 1) attributes to them an army of 80,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 700 chariots; Quintus Curtius (IX, 4, 15), of 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots.

(20-22) On the Lower Chenāb and between the confluence of that river with the Rāvi and their junction with the Indus respectively, the Abastanoi (var. Sambastai, Sabarcae, Sabagrae), the Xathroi and the Ossadioi. The Abastanoi are the Ambaṣṭha mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21), the *Mahābhārata* (II, 52, 15), Pāṇini (IV, 1, 74), the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* (p. 21), and the *Jātakas* (IV, p. 363). They formed a democracy and possessed, according to Diodorus (XVII, 102, 2), an army of 60,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 500 war chariots. The Xathroi are identified with the impure class of the Kṣatri referred to by the *Laws of Manu* (X, 12); the Ossadioi have been compared to the Vasāti of the *Mahābhārata* (VII, 20, 11; 91, 38; VIII, 44, 47).

IV. The province of Sindh on the Lower Indus consisted of a whole series of states and principalities :

(23-24) On the two banks of the Indus, to the south of the confluences of the rivers of the Punjab, the Sodrai (Sogdoi) and the Masianoi. The Sodrai are most probably the Śūdra of the epic, a people closely associated with the Ābhīra of Sarasvatī (Patañjali, I, 2, 72; *Mbh.*, VII, 20, 6; IX, 37, 1).

(25) The kingdom of Musicanus (Mūṣika? Mauṣikāra?), the richest of the region, the capital of which has been identified with Alor in the district of Sukkur. Although strictly subjected to the influence of the brahmins, the population was characterized by special customs which, according to Strabo (XVII, 1, 34), were not dissimilar to those of the Dorians of Sparta and Crete.

(26) The monarchy of Oxycanus or Porticanus whose subjects, named Preasti by Quintus Curtius (IX, 8, 11), recall the Proṣṭha of the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 9, 61).

(27) The principality of Sambus (Śambhu or Sāmba), a mountainous region near the kingdom of Musicanus. The capital Sindimana has not been identified with certainty.

(28) Patalene on the Indus delta the capital of which Pattala, called Tauala by Diodorus (XVIII, 104, 1), occupied the present-day site of

Brahmaṇābād. Like ancient Sparta, it was governed by two kings, subject to the authority of a Council of Elders.

119 At the beginning of the fourth century, the Indian kingdoms and republics escaped the control of the Achaemenid suzerain. The rivalries which set them against each other made them an easy prey for the conquering Macedonian, Alexander the Great.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA (327-324 B.C.)[33]. — Having vanquished Darius III Codoman in the battles of Issus (334) and Gaugamela (331), Alexander continued his progression eastwards and, in 330, reached the southern slopes of the Hindūkush, where he founded, at Parvān in Kohistān of Kābul, Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus. Having devoted two years to the pacification of Bactria and Sogdiana, in 327 he undertook the conquest of India or, to be more precise, "the region which extends eastward from the Indus" (Arrian, *Ind.*, II, 1). He set out from Bactria, crossed in ten days the Afghan massif, passed through Bāmyān and reached Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus which he had founded, on the southern slope. Three further stages led him to Lampaka (Laghmān), where he concentrated his troops in Nicaea, a temporary encampment to be found between the villages of Mandrāwar and Chahār-bāgh. He ordered Hephaestion and Perdiccas, with the main part of the Macedonian forces, to descend the Kābul valley in order to seize Peucelaotis or Puṣkarāvatī, the ancient Gandhāran capital. Alexander himself subdued the highland tribes of the Aspasioi and Assakenoi and seized Massaga, the capital of the latter. He laid siege to the fortress (*āvaraṇa*) of Aornus located above Una, between the Swāt and the Indus, and accepted the submission of Peucelaotis. Once he had captured Aornus, he launched another attack on the Assakenoi and advanced as far as the Indus. There he received a visit from Āmbhi, king of Takṣaśilā, who renewed the homage which his father had paid earlier to
120 the Macedonian conqueror, and provided a contingent of 700 cavalry as well as ample supplies.

In the spring of 326, Alexander crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats

[33] Other than general works, see also W.W. TARN, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1948; G. GLOTZ, etc., *Alexandre et l'hellénisation du monde antique*, Paris, 1938; pp. 139-68; A. STEIN, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, London, 1929; S. LÉVI, *Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents indiens*, Mémorial S. Lévi, Paris, 1937, pp. 413-23; R. FICK, *Die b. Kultur und das Erbe Alexanders des Grossen*, Leipzig, 1933; F. ALTHEIM, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, Halle, 1947, I, pp. 177-217; R.S. TRIPATHI, *Alexander's Invasion of India : a revised Study*, IHQ, XVI, 1940, pp. 538-59; J. FILLIOZAT, *Alexandre et l'Inde*, L'information historique, IX, 4, Jul-Aug. 1947, pp. 142-3; É. LAMOTTE, *Alexandre et le bouddhisme*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50, I, pp. 147-62.

constructed by his lieutenants in Udubhāṇḍa (Ohind, Uṇḍ). He entered Takṣaśilā peacefully where Ambhi joined him with a contingent of 5,000 men. On the opposite bank of the Hydaspes, the Indian king Porus was waiting for him at the head of a powerful army, firmly determined to prevent him from passing. However, Alexander crossed the river by surprise, either at Jalālpur or, more probably at Jhelum, and routed the Indian army after a furious battle. Porus, who was injured in the fighting, submitted to Alexander. The latter celebrated his victory by founding, on either side of the Hydaspes, the towns of Nicaea on the west bank and Bucephala on the east bank. After a raid against the Glausai or Glauganikai, and the surrender of Abhisāra and Porus the Younger, Alexander crossed the Acesines and the Hydraotes and, after heavy fighting, conquered the fortified town of Sangala. He was ready to cross the Hyphasis and encounter the forces of the Gangaridae and Prasioi, when his soldiers mutinied and forced him to retreat.

The Macedonian army crossed the Hydraotes and the Acesines again and halted on the Hyphasis where a fleet was equipped. Porus was given the command of the territories situated between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis. Alexander then descended the Hydaspes to its confluence with the Acesines, overcame the Sibi and Agalassoi, and concentrated his forces at the confluence of the Acesines and Hydraotes.

In January 325, Alexander, having subdued the Malloi and other tribes of the Middle Punjab, sailed down the Indus with his army and fleet. Musicanus, the king of Alor, came to pay him homage but shortly after rose against him : he was immediately seized and crucified. At Shikarpur, Alexander sent part of his troops back to Susiana under the command of the general Craterus : the latter reached his goal by the road via Kandahār and Seistān. Continuing southwards, Alexander came to Pattala in the Indus delta, the western and eastern arms of which he explored succesively. In September 325, the order was given for the final departure : Alexander, at the head of some 10,000 men, travelled through Gedrosia along the Makrān coast; Nearchus, leading a flotilla of a thousand units, followed the coast of the Oritae and
121 Makrān towards the Persian Gulf. The three armies linked up in Susiana in the spring of 324. A year later Alexander died and his Indian possessions, like the rest of his empire, were soon dismembered.

Among the twenty-odd Alexandrias founded by the Macedonian during his conquest of the Asiatic world, eight were situated in the oriental provinces of the ancient Achaemenid empire : Alexandria of Margiana (Merv), of Aria (Herat), Prophthasia in Seistān, Alexandria in Makarena or of the Oritae, Alexandria of Arachosia (Ghazni) also

called πρὸς Πέρσας or ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, Alexandria-Bactra, Alexandria in Sogdiana on the Oxus (Termez) and Alexandria-Eschate on the Jaxartes (Khodjend), also known as Alexandria of Scythia. On the territory of native Indian-speakers, there were Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus (Parvān amidst the Paropamisadae), Nicaea and Alexandria-Bucephala on the Jhelum in the domains of King Porus, Alexandria-Iomousa on the Chenāb, and possibly also — for it is doubtful whether they existed — two Alexandrias on the Indus[34].

Alexander maintained for his own profit the old provinces of the Achaemenid empire and generally entrusted their government to local inhabitants, assisted and supervised by Macedonian strategoi and episcopoi[35]. The oriental satrapies on the Iranian border were four or six in number :

1. Parthia-Hyrcania, capital Zadracarta, was administered by Amminapes, assisted by the Macedonian episcopos Tlepolemus, before it was handed over to its old governor Phrataphernes, whose loyalty to Alexander never failed.

2. Aria, capital Herat, first remained under the command of two native princes Satibarzanes and Arsaces and then passed, after they revolted into the hands of Stasanor of Soloi who kept it, with the addition of Drangiana, until after 323.

3. Arachosia, or the region of Ghazni, was successively directed by Menon (330-325) and Sibyrtius (325-317) : the latter, a host and friend of the historian Megasthenes, added to it the Oritae territory and Gedrosia.

4. Parapamisus, where Alexander had founded his Alexandria-under-
122 the Caucasus, remained in the hands of the indigenous dynasts, the Persians Proexes and Tyriespes, then the Sogdian Oxyartes, the father of Roxane, Alexander's wife.

5. Bactria-Sogdiana, augmented by Margiana, passed successively into the hands of the Persian Artabazus (329), the Macedonian Amyntas, then, after the assassination of the latter by his soldiers (325), of the general Philippus : powerfully fortified, for a long time this satrapy sheltered important Graeco-Macedonian garrisons whose insubordination caused serious difficulties to Alexander and his successors.

The Indian possessions of Alexander included three satrapies and two Indian kingdoms which were nominally independent :

1. Situated to the west of the river, the satrapy of the Upper Indus

[34] Details in W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II, p. 455.

[35] For a list of Alexander's satraps, see H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopogr. Grundlage*, Munich, 1926, p. 276.

consisted of Peucelaotis (Kābul valley), the land of the Assakenoi as well as many principalities. In 327, its government was entrusted to the Macedonian Nicanor who retained it for two years. Small indigenous states subsisted under faithful leaders : Sangaius (Sañjaya) of Puṣkarāvatī, Kophaius or Cophaeus of the region of Kābul, Akouphis of Nysa, Assagetes (Aśvajit) and Sissikottos (Śaśigupta) who was in charge of the district of the Assakenoi. However, strong Macedonian garrisons were established at Bazira (Bīr-Kōt), Ora (Udegrām) and on the Aornus (Pīr-Sār).

2. The satrapy of the Middle Indus, which was also created in 327, included the indigenous kingdoms of the Taxiles Āmbhi, of Spitaces as well as the territory of the Malloi and the Oxydrachai at the confluence of the Acesines and the Indus. It was entrusted to Philippus, the son of Machatas, assisted by a Thracian garrison, who governed the region jointly with the king of Taxila. After the assassination of Nicanor by the Assakenoi in 326, Philippus annexed the district of the Upper Indus to his satrapy. However, Philippus fell at the hands of his Greek mercenaries. Alexander, who was then in Carmania, wrote entrusting the guardianship of the territory to the Indian Taxiles until a new satrap was nominated; the Macedonian Eudemus was appointed as commander of the Macedonian garrison.

3. The satrapy of the Lower Indus, which was organized in 325, covered the district of Sindh and included the ancient kingdom of the Sodrai, the principalities of Musicanus, Oxycanus and Sambus, as well as Patalene, one king of which was named Moeres. Its command was entrusted to Peithon, the son of Agenor, and to Oxyartes, who were also in charge of the surveillance of the coastal region.

123 Outside this organization, Alexander kept two independent kingdoms to the east of the Hydaspes : those of Porus and Abisares.

The first was created in 326 after the victory of the Hydaspes. Alexander returned to Porus his former possessions to which he soon added the territory of the Glausai or Glauganikai between the Hydaspes and the Acesines (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 19, 3; V, 20, 4), the states of Porus the Younger between the Acesines and the Hydraotes (Id., *ibid.*, V, 21, 4), as well as other regions situated more to the east. Before leaving India, Alexander, in the presence of his hetairoi and indigenous ambassadors, established Porus as king of all the Indian territories he had conquered : seven nations and more than two thousand cities (Id., *ibid.*, VI, 2, 1).

The kingdom of Abisares, located in Punch and the region of

Nowshera, was maintained by Alexander after the wholly platonic submission of its king (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 8, 3; V, 20, 5; V, 29, 4).

INDIA UNDER THE DIADOCHI (323-305 B.C.)[36]. — After the death of Alexander which took place on June 13th 323, North-West India was involved in battles which opposed the Diadochi against each other.

It is said that as Alexander lay dying he had declared : "My generals will give me a bloody funeral". In fact, from the day of his death, blood flowed and war almost broke out. The Macedonian generals agreed, however, to recognize as kings Arrhidaeus, a bastard of Philip of Macedonia, and Alexander Aigos, an infant son of Alexander. General Perdiccas, to whom the Macedonian conqueror had bequeathed his ring, received, together with the title of chiliarch, the regency of the kingdom. The other generals received provinces to govern. In Asia, Antigonus Monophthalmus received Phrygia; Eumenes, Cappadocia, and Peithon, Media. In Europe, Antipater obtained Macedonia and Greece, and Lysimachus, Thracia. Finally, in Africa, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, acquired Egypt.

1. During the distribution of the satrapies which took place in 323, Perdiccas maintained the *status quo* in the oriental border-lands. Phrata-
124 phernes retained Parthia-Hyrcania, Stasanor of Soloi Aria-Drangiana, Sibyrtius Arachosia-Gedrosia, Oxyartes (the father of Roxane), the Paropamisadae, and Philippus Bactria-Sogdiana. The two Indians, Taxiles and Porus, remained in possession of the kingdoms which Alexander had given them (Diod., XVIII, 3).

However, the Greek settlers in Bactria, who had already rebelled in 325, started fresh agitations. Instigated first by Athenodorus, then by the Aenean Philo, they insisted on returning to their mother-country across the Asiatic continent. Perdiccas ordered the satrap of Media, Peithon, to repress the uprising. Peithon had no trouble in quelling the rebels but, contrary to the instructions he had received, he tried to spare them in the secret hope of enrolling them in his own troops. The latter thwarted the plans of their general by suddenly massacring all the mutineers. The Greek element was therefore forced to remain in Bactria, and it was only in the middle of the third century B.C. that it was able to free itself from Macedonian authority (Quintus Curtius, IX, 7, 3-11; Diod., XVII, 99, 6; XVIII, 7, 1-9).

The authoritarian attitude taken by Perdiccas in all circumstances alienated some of his colleagues, particularly Antigonus, Antipater and

[36] For details, see M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *Social and economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 3 vol., London, 1941; E. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938; W.W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1951, pp. 1-70.

Ptolemy. Eumenes was practically the only one to remain loyal to him. During a campaign in Egypt, Perdiccas was assassinated in his tent by two rebellious officers : Peithon of Media and Seleucus, the commander of the hipparchy of hetairoi. Eumenes, victorious in Asia, was not able to prevent the dissidents from joining up at Triparadisus in Syria on the upper Orontes. With the agreement of Antigonus and Ptolemy, Antipater of Phrygia received full powers and proceeded with a second distribution of the satrapies : the partition at Triparadisus (321).

2. According to the measures taken by Antipater, Cappadocia which had belonged to Eumenes passed to Nicanor; Seleucus received Babylonia, while Peithon regained Northern Media. Some changes took place in the eastern Iranian borderlands : Parthia fell to Philippus who abandoned Bactria-Sogdiana to Stasanor of Soloi; Stasandrus of Cyprus received Aria and Drangiana (Diod., XVIII, 39). The situation remained unchanged in the territories of Indian tongue and civilization : Oxyartes continued, in the Paropamisadae; the domain of Peithon, the son of Agenor, who had received from Alexander the satrapy of the Lower
125 Indus, was reduced to the "region" of India, adjacent to the Paropamisadae". As for the Indian kingdoms of the Indus and Hydaspes, they remained respectively in the hands of Taxiles and Porus "because it was impossible to oust them" (Diod., XVIII, 39, 6). Therefore, less than six years after the Macedonian conquest, the Indian kingdoms had only very slight links with the occupying authorities, links which were maintained by a Macedonian garrison under the command of Eudemus.

Relinquishing part of his authority, Antipater entrusted Antigonus of Phrygia with the command of the royal army and ordered him to continue the fight against Eumenes and the remaining partisans of Perdiccas. Antigonus met Eumenes in Cappadocia in the plain of Orkynia and, having forced him to retreat, besieged him in the fortress of Nora, but without being able to capture him personally. The death of Antipater, which occurred in 319, only intensified the struggle between the Diadochi.

3. The dying Antipater had withheld power from his son Cassander and had chosen an old soldier, Polyperchon, as his successor. Cassander, who considered himself wronged, declared war against the new regent. He allied himself with Antigonus of Phrygia, Ptolemy of Egypt and Lysimachus of Thrace, and also won over to his cause Peithon of Media and Seleucus of Babylon. In contrast, Polyperchon was supported in Asia by Eumenes who concentrated troops in Susiana.

A series of events led the satraps of the higher regions to embrace Eumenes' cause. Peithon, the satrap of Media, usurping the function of

a plenipotentiary strategos, had Philippus, the satrap of Parthia executed, and replaced him by his own brother Eudamus. Fearing a similar fate, the governors of the higher regions formed a league against him and responded to the call made by Eumenes for assistance. They succeeded in assembling approximately 18,700 infantry, 4,600 cavalry and 120 elephants to join the army of Eumenes in Susiana (317).

According to Diodorus of Sicily, these are the contingents supplied by the various satraps : Stasandrus (Aria-Drangiana-Bactria) : 1,500 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. — Sibyrtius (Arachosia) : 1,000 infantry, 116 cavalry. — Androbazus, lieutenant of Oxyartes (Paropamisadae) : 1,200 infantry, 400 cavalry. — Tlepolemus (Carmania) : 1,500 infantry, 700 cavalry. As for the strategos Eudemus who, since 324, commanded the
126 Macedonian garrison on the Middle Indus, he killed King Porus, whose states extended along the east bank of the Jhelum, and seized the Indian elephants which had distinguished themselves at the battle of the Hydaspes; thus he arrived with a contingent of 3,000 infantry, 500 cavalry and 120 elephants (Diod., XIX, 14).

The only one who did not embrace Eumenes' cause was Peithon, the son of Agenor, who since 324 held command of the satrapy of the Lower Indus, but who, at the time of the partition of Triparadisus, held only a strip of territory neighbouring on the Paropamisadae to govern. He too left his territory but, it seems, in order to join up with the forces of Antigonus, the rival of Eumenes (Diod., XIX, 56, 4).

Freed from the foreign troops which had occupied them, the Indian kingdoms of the Punjab returned to the mother country, and the Indian emperor Candragupta immediately added them to his crown (317 B.C.).

The support of the higher satrapies was not able to ensure victory for Eumenes. After two indecisive battles, in 317 and 316 in Paraecene and Gabiene, he was betrayed by his own argyraspides and delivered to the enemy. Now that he was master of Eumenes' person and of his whole army, Antigonus seized Antigenes, the leader of the argyraspides who had betrayed his own lord, had him enclosed in a casket and burnt alive. He also put to death Eudemus, the murderer of Porus, who had led the elephants from India. As for Eumenes, who was held to secrecy, he sought a method of saving him. Nevertheless, he finally yielded to the entreaties of the Macedonians who demanded a pitiless punishment and Eumenes was strangled in his prison (Diod., XIX, 44).

Determined to be sole master in Asia, Antigonus also rid himself of the friends who until then had supported his cause. Peithon of Media, who was implicated in an attempted military uprising, was summoned before a court martial, condemned and executed; his satrapy was given

to the Median Orontopates and to the strategos Hippostratus (Diod., XIX, 46). Seleucus, the satrap of Babylon, was accused of extortion and forced to flee to Egypt where he took refuge with Ptolemy; Babylonia passed into the hands of Peithon, the son of Agenor, who had earlier been the satrap of the Lower Indus (Diod., XIX, 56).

For the third time since the death of Alexander, Antigonus undertook the partition of the higher satrapies (316 B.C.). He kept Carmania for Tlepolemus and Bactria for Stasanor "since it was not easy to expel those men from their provinces". He retained Oxyartes, the father of
127 Roxane, at the head of the Paropamisadae "since much time and a strong army would have been needed to oust him". Reconciled with Sibyrtius, he confirmed him in his satrapy of Arachosia. It was only in Aria that he was able to make new nominations : that of Evitus, soon followed by Evagoras (Diod., XIX, 48). It will be noticed that, at this last partition, there is no further question of either the two Indian kingdoms or the satrapies on the Indus. In fact, those territories, having reverted to the Indian empire of Candragupta, broke loose from the authority of Antigonus.

4. The successes which Antigonus achieved in Persia, and which were soon to be followed by the conquest of Northern Syria (315 B.C.), brought the other Diadochi out in league against him. On the instigation of Seleucus, Ptolemy of Egypt, Lysimachus of Thrace, Cassander of Macedonia and Greece formed a coalition and sent Antigonus an ultimatum which he repulsed with disdain.

In the spring of 312, Ptolemy and Seleucus won a decisive victory at Gaza over the armies of Antigonus which were commanded by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, and Peithon, son of Agenor, satrap of Babylon. Demetrius was routed and Peithon was left among the dead.

Without waiting any longer, Seleucus, escorted by 800 infantry and 200 cavalry, pushed eastwards and entered Babylonia where the population received him joyfully. He then stormed the fortress of Babylon, put Nicanor, the military administrator of the higher satrapies, to flight and killed Euagrus, the satrap of Persia, in a night battle. Seleucus treated all those who had surrendered with kindness and, having become master of a great army, easily seized Susiana and Media (Diod., XIX, 90-2). These spectacular successes mark the start of the Seleucid era which began in Babylonia on 1st Nisan 311-310, i.e. April 311.

5. In order to restore the Indo-Iranian possessions of Alexander for his own profit, Seleucus had to reconquer the upper regions of Eastern Iran and wrest Punjab and Sindh from Chandragupta.

The first part of the programme was achieved in 311. Nicanor, while

in flight, warned Antigonus by letter of the successes gained by Seleucus, and Antigonus, alarmed about the higher satrapies, sent his son Demetrius to Babylonia, to create a diversion. This short-lived raid did not deter Seleucus from his projects (Diod., XIX, 100). He seized Media and other higher satrapies and with his own hand killed their military
128 administrator, Nicanor (Appian, *Syriaca*, LV). The Indus again became, but only for a short time, the frontier between Iran, held by Seleucus, and the Indian empire of Candragupta : "Seleucus", says Appian, "ruled over Mesopotamia, Armenia, Cappadocia of the Seleucid, the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Tapurians, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Hyrcania and all the neighbouring peoples as far as the Indus, peoples whom Alexander had already conquered, with the result that the major part of Asia, in the period which followed Alexander, was bordered by that river" (*Syriaca*, LV).

Seleucus was to fail in the second part of his programme : the reconquest of the Punjab and Sindh which, for ten years from 327 to 317, had been part of the Alexandrian possessions, before it returned to the mother country after the departure of the strategos Eudemus and the satrap Peithon, son of Agenor. Candragupta had immediately added those territories to his crown.

Bent on reconquering them, about 305-304, Seleucus organized an expedition into open Indian territory : "Having crossed the Indus, he waged war on Andrakottos (Candragupta), the king of the Indians located around that river, until he had concluded a treaty of friendship (φιλία) and a matrimonial alliance (χῆδος) with him" (Appian, *Syriaca*, LV).

Strabo (XV, 2, 9), confirmed by Plutarch (*Vita Alex.*, LXII), states that "Seleucus Nicator ceded [the contested territories] to Sandracottus as a guarantee of a matrimonial covenant (ἐπιγαμία) and in exchange for 500 elephants". It is generally believed, since Bouché-Leclerq, that this covenant authorized mixed marriages between the Hellenes and the Bactrians and guaranteed the social position of the Graeco-Macedonians who had remained in the Indian territories recovered by Candragupta[37].

From two passages by the geographer Eratosthenes (third century B.C.) quoted by Strabo (XV, 1, 10; XV, 2, 9) and supported by Pliny the Elder (VI, 78) it would appear that Seleucus returned to his rival all or part of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia and Gedrosia together with

[37] Bouché-Leclerq, *Hist. des Séleucides*, I, pp. 29-30; E. Bikerman, *o.l.*, p. 24; A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 450; Bazin-Foucher, *JA*, 1938, p. 505.

some districts of Aria. According to A. Foucher, the new frontier followed roughly the 62nd degree longitude east of Paris[38].

129 The new demarcation line was, at least theoretically, to remain unchanged for the major part of the Maurya era and was only violated about the year 200, during the eastward thrust of King Euthydemus of Bactria. In the meantime, religious propaganda was able to proceed unmolested, and most of the districts of the North-West rallied to Buddhism.

As for Seleucus, once his eastern frontier was laid down, he joined up with the separatist generals who were in league against Antigonus. The victory at Ipsus in 301, where the elephants supplied by Candragupta performed wonders, gave him access to the sea across Syria and Cilicia. Finally, he conquered Asia Minor with the victory of Curopedium gained over Lysimachus (281). He entered Europe and was about to ascend the throne of Macedonia when he was assassinated in 280 by Ptolemy Keraunos.

3. — CEYLON FROM 486 TO 250 B.C.

Sinhalese chronicles. — The sources in Pāli which were compiled in Ceylon in the course of time constitute a source of prime importance for the history of Buddhism[39]. They contain a complete list, with indications of dates, of the thirteen sovereigns who, from Bimbisāra to Aśoka (546-230 B.C.), succeeded one another to the throne of Magadha, and of the 186 kings who, from Vijaya to Sirivikkamarājasīha (486 B.C.-1815 A.D.), ruled in Ceylon.

Written in Pāli verse, the *Dīpavamsa* (22 Chapters) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (37 Chapters) cover the period from the beginnings of Buddhism to the reign of Mahāsena (486 B.C.-349 A.D.). The *Dīpavaṃsa* was compiled at the end of the fourth century by one or more anonymous authors; the *Mahāvaṃsa*, slightly later in date, is sometimes attributed to the monk Mahānāman. The *Samantapāsādikā*, a commentary on the Pāli Vinaya and written by the master Buddhaghosa in the fifth century,

[38] A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde*, p. 208.

[39] Cf. *The Dīpavaṃsa*, ed. and tr. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879; *The Mahāvaṃsa* tr. by W. Geiger, London, 1934 (addendum by G.C. Mendis, Colombo, 1950); *Samanta-Pāsādikā* (Nidānā) tr. P. Godahewa, Matara, 1954.

On the value of these chronicles, see M. Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, II, pp. 210-26; B.C. Law, *Hist. Pāli Lit.*, I, pp. 517-96; *On the Chronicles of Ceylon*, Calcutta, 1947; G.C. Mendis, *The Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon*, Un. of Ceylon Review, IV, 1946, pp. 1-24. For Sinhalese output in general, see G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Lit. of Ceylon*, London, 1928.

contains an introduction giving a summary of ecclesiastical history from its origins up to the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa, sixth king of Ceylon
130 (250-210 B.C.). The three works have a common source in the old glosses in Sinhalese, the *Porāṇatthakathā*, preserved until then in the Mahāvihāra monastery in Anurādhapura : they consisted of notes of a philological and exegetical nature, but also contained some historical information.

A *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* or commentary upon the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled between 1000 and 1250, provides some additional details on early events.

During the Middle Ages, further chapters were added, at least four times, to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and this additional supplement was called the *Cūḷavaṃsa* :

1. Chapters 38-79, stretching from the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the 59th king, to that of Parakkamabāhu I, the 137th king (ca. 362-1186), written in the thirteenth century by the Thera Dhammakitti.

2. Chapters 80-90, beginning with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, 138th king, and ending with that of Bhuvanekabāhu IV, 161st king (1186-1350), chapters added at the end of the fourteenth century by an anonymous author.

3. Chapters 91-100, covering the accession of Parakkamabāhu V, 162nd king, up to the death of Kittisirājasāha, ca. 1350-1782, a section written in the eighteenth century by the Thera Tibboturāve Sumaṅgala.

4. Chapter 101, relating the last two reigns, was composed and added to the 1877 edition of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* by H. Sumaṅgala and Batuwantudawa. It was during the reign of Rājādhirājasīha that the Capitulation of Colombo took place (15 February 1796) and the island passed from the hands of the Olanda (Dutch) to those of the Ingisiri (English).

Monastery archives and semi-legendary writings concerning famous relics were added, thus completing the data of the chronicles on specific points. Hence the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* by Upatissa (eleventh century) is the Pāli translation of a Sinhalese work describing the arrival of the Bodhi Tree in Ceylon. The *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* by Dhammakitti (thirteenth century) is a verse adaptation of a Sinhalese chronicle which tells of the transportation of one of the Buddha's teeth from Kaliṅga to Ceylon. The *Thūpavaṃsa* by Vācissara (thirteenth century) is a poem describing in particular the erection of the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhapura thanks to the intervention of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* is the history of a monastery renowned for the charity of King Sirisaṅghabodhi who gave a poor man his own head upon which a rival
131 had set a price. Composed at the end of the fourteenth century or the

beginning of the fifteenth, the *Nikāyasaṃgraha* supplied later details on the composition of the canonical texts and the history of the Buddhist sects. Finally, with regard to the duration of the Sinhalese reigns, it is advisable to compare the data of the chronicles with certain family archives such as the *Rājāvaliya*, the *Pūjāvaliya* or the *Rājaratnākara*. Even more important are the Sinhalese inscriptions in which appear, the names of a large number of kings in their most common form[40].

All the Sinhalese literature bases its calculations on the era of the Nirvāṇa, which was fixed as from the twelfth century in 543 or 544 B.C. However, this is contradicted by another Sinhalese tradition, which is even older and counts 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and the consecration of Aśoka in 268 B.C. This, as we have seen, would place the former event in 486 B.C. Such a discordance makes the traditional chronology precarious and it needs to be continually rectified with the aid of synchronisms. Furthermore, the veracity of the chronicles has been much debated : they proliferate in miracles, assemble all kinds of legends, present ancient facts in a forced light and on many points only express the viewpoint of the monks of the Mahāvihāra. They nevertheless contain a number of authentic recollections which can sometimes be verified[41].

Ancient populations. — The island of Ceylon, known in India by the name Laṅkā, Tāmraparṇī, Siṃhaladvīpa, or more simply Siṃhala,
132 was designated by the Greeks and Romans by the name of Taprobane. Its population resulted from a mixture of different races and peoples of which the main ones were the Veḍḍa, the Ārya and the Draviḍa.

The Veḍḍa, a certain number of whom had not yet got beyond the primitive stage of humanity, were short-bodied hunters, wavy-haired and long-faced. They lived on the flesh of wild animals which they killed

40 These inscriptions were published by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon in *Epigraphia Zeilanica*. See W. Geiger, *Königsnamen in den Brāhmī-Inschriften Ceylons*, *Mélanges Winternitz*, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 313-21.

41 For the history of Ceylon : H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909; S. Paranavitana, *Hist. of Ceylon, with a Note on the Chronology*, New History of Indian People, Vol. VI, Ch. XIII, pp. 251-64; *Mahāyānism in Ceylon*, Ceylon Journal of Science, II, 1928, pp. 35-71; W.A. Da Silva, *Hist. of B. in Ceylon*, Buddhistic Studies, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 453-528; W. Geiger, *A short Hist. of Ceylon*, Buddhistic Studies, pp. 711-27; E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of B. in Ceylon*, Migoda, 1946; H.W. Codrington, *A short Hist. of Ceylon*, 2nd ed., London, 1947; G.C. Mendis, *The early Hist. of Ceylon*, 7th ed., Calcutta, 1947; W. Rahula, *Hist. of B. in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956; J. Crosby, *Buddhism in Ceylon*, JRAS, 1947, pp. 41-52; 166-83; M. Shahidullah, *The first Aryan Colonization of Ceylon*, IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 742-50; B.C. Law, *Contemporaneity of the Kings in India and Ceylon*, Bhandarkar Vol., 1940, pp. 371-5.

with arrows, dwelt in stone caves and for a long time were ignorant of the use of cotton and wool. They were closely bound to their family community and clan life. They apparently belonged to the same race as the pre-Dravidians of southern India such as the Irulas and Kurumbers, and were related to the Toalas of Celebes, Batins of Sumatra and Australian Aborigenes.

Among the ancient tribes of Ceylon, the Sinhalese chronicles mention the Simhala (lions), Taraccha (hyenas), Lambakarṇa (hares or goats), Balibhōjaka (crows), Moriyas (peacocks) and Kuliṅga (shrikes). These terms show that these were totemic clans who took their names from animals from which they were supposed to descend and whom they worshipped.

It is perhaps to this ancient stratum of the population that should be attributed the traces of palaeolithic and neolithic civilization discovered near the present habitat of the Veḍḍa : tools made of shell and quartz, the dolmen of Padiyagampola, some stone altars erected in caves in the district of Batticaloa and at Nuvaragam Palāta.

At least a part of these Veḍḍa were assimilated by an Āryan-speaking population which settled in Ceylon in the fifth century B.C. They were a pastoral and agricultural people, organized into tribes and governed by kings under the control of a popular assembly (*samiti* or *sabhā*) with the help of spiritual leaders (*purohita*) and village chiefs (*grāmaṇī*). In all probability, the Āryas who occupied Ceylon originated in northern India, since the Sinhalese dialect, Helu or Elu, which they implanted in the island, has clear affinities with the idioms of the Gulf of Cambay, earlier known as Lāṭa. The fact seems to be confirmed by an old legend concerning the arrival of the Siṃhala in Ceylon, and which is narrated at length in the chronicles (*Dpv.*, IX; *Mhv.*, VI-VIII) and the echoes of which reached Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 11, p. 932*c*) :

133 A princess from Vaṅga (Bengal), having married a lion, gave birth to twin babies, Sīhabāhu, whose hands and feet were lion's paws, and Sīhasīvalī. When Sīhabāhu was sixteen years old, he fled to Bengal with his mother and sister. Since the lion's head had a price set on it, Sīhabāhu killed it, but refused the throne of Vaṅga which he was offered. He went to Lāṭa (district of Cambay) where he founded the town of Sīhapura and took as queen his own sister Sīhasīvalī who gave him thirty-two sons, the eldest of whom was Vijaya and the second Sumitta.

In Lāṭa, Vijaya and his seven hundred companions, the Siṃhala, were so delinquent in their behaviour that King Sīhabāhu was compelled to banish them. The exiles settled for some time in the ports of the western

side of the Indus, in Śūrpāraka (Sopāra to the north of Bombay) at first, then in Bhārukaccha (Broach). It was from there that they arrived in Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon) which they reached on the very day of the Buddha's birth. The protection of the god Uppalavaṇṇa enabled them to triumph over attacks by Yakkha (demons) who wanted to expel them from the island. The Yakkhiṇī Kuveṇī became infatuated with Vijaya and the latter, with her help, killed the Yakkhas of Laṅkāpura and Sirīsavatthu and founded the city of Tambapaṇṇi. He raised five of his companions, Anurādha, Upatissa, Ujjena, Uruvela and Vijita, to the rank of ministers, and the latter established on the island five colonies which bear their names.

At the time of mounting the throne, Vijaya repulsed the yakkhiṇī Kuveṇī and wedded a daughter of King Paṇḍu of Madhurā in the extreme south of India.

Another legend which is often narrated in Buddhist works[42] records that in Ceylon the town of Sirīsavatthu was inhabited by Yakkhiṇīs, demonesses, who seized upon sailors who ran aground on the coast between the rivers Kalyāṇī and Nāgadīpa. As soon as they arrived, the Yakkhiṇīs transformed themselves into women who seduced and married them. However, they devoured them as soon as more shipwrecked men reached the island. One day, five hundred merchants ran aground in Ceylon; the same night, the Yakkhiṇīs who had rescued them devoured their previous husbands. The leader of the merchants, noticing
134 that these women were demons, succeeded in escaping from them with two hundred and fifty companions, with the help of a divine horse which brought them back to their own country.

All these tales seem to be a distant echo of the struggle between the native Veḍḍa and the Āryan settlers. After the Veḍḍa and the Āryas, the Draviḍa from the continent added their own contribution to the peopling of the island where they set foot sometimes as peaceful immigrants and, sometimes, weapons in hand. The first invasion of which the chronicles have preserved a recollection took place in the year 306 after the Nirvāṇa (180 B.C.) under the leadership of two Damila horse-dealers, Sena and Guttika (*Dpv.*, XVIII, 47; *Mhv.*, XXI, 11). The Siṃhala always resisted the Draviḍa most vigorously and, when they were unable to repulse the invader, they always succeeded in assimilating him by imposing their language and civilization on him.

[42] Jātaka, II, p. 127 sq.; other references in WATTERS, II, p. 234; E. CHAVANNES, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, 4 vol., Paris, 1910-34 : IV, p. 105.

THE FIRST FIVE KINGS OF CEYLON (486-250 B.C.). — The Sinhalese chronicles of the *Dīpa-* (Ch. 9-11) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. 7-11) establish the list of the first five kings of Ceylon as follows :

Sovereigns	Length of reign	Era of the Nirvāna	Ancient Era (B.C.)
1. Vijaya	38	1-38	486-448
Interregnum	1	38-39	448-447
2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva	30	39-69	447-417
3. Abhaya	20	69-89	417-397
Interregnum	17	89-106	397-380
4. Paṇḍukābhaya	70	106-176	380-310
5. Muṭasiva	60	176-236	310-250

Vijaya was a contemporary of Ajātaśatru, the 16th year of his reign corresponding to the 24th of the king of Magadha. Paṇḍuvāsudeva was the youngest son of Sumitta, Vijaya's brother; he married Bhaddakaccānā by whom he had two sons and a daughter, and ruled in Upatissagāma. Abhaya, the eldest son of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, after reigning for twenty years, was deposed by his nephew Paṇḍukābhaya and reduced to the role of city guardian (*nagaraguttika*). Paṇḍukābhaya, who overthrew Abhaya and killed his nine brothers, ruled for seventy years in Anurādhapura which he made his capital and where he established hermitages for the benefit the Nirgranthas, Ājīvikas and brāhmins. His son Muṭa-
135 siva, who ruled for sixty years, was a contemporary of the first three Mauryas; it was he who laid out the famous grove of the Mahāmeghavana where his son was to welcome the first Buddhist missionaries.

THE BUDDHA'S VISITS TO CEYLON. — The Buddhist legend compiled by the chronicles (*Dpv.*, Ch. 1-2; *Mhv.*, Ch. 1) claims that during his earthly lifetime Śākyamuni visited the island of Ceylon three times. The first visit took place the very year of the Enlightenment (531 B.C.) : the Buddha went to the Mahānāga garden and stood in the air over an assembly of serpents. Having struck terror into them, he persuaded them to leave the island and go as a group to occupy the land of Giridīpa. The second visit occurred five years later (526) : an argument had broken out between two Nāga chiefs, Mahodara and Cūḷodara, who were quarrelling over the possession of a precious throne, the Buddha appeared to them in the company of the god Samiddhi-Sumana, reconciled them and accepted as a gift the throne which had been the cause of the dispute. Finally, three years later (523), Śākyamuni, at the invitation of Maṇiakkhila of Kalyāṇi, went to the island accompanied by five

hundred monks, stayed on Mount Sumanakūṭa where he left his footprint, halted in Dīghavāpī and visited the Mahāmeghavana where he consecrated various spots by his very presence. It was there that he revealed to his audience that already before him, his three predecessors, the Buddhas Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa, had been to the island.

This legend, so dear to the Sinhalese, must have been elaborated at a time when regions which had only embraced the Buddhist faith belatedly attempted to consider themselves holy lands by claiming that the Buddhas had trodden their soil. That is how a journey was attributed to the Buddha to North-West India, Kaśmīr, the western coast (Śūrpāraka), Burma, etc.

136 II. — BUDDHIST LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS

During the two centuries of the Magadhan period, the Buddhists, working alone or in conciliatory assemblies, laid the foundations of their canonical writings, evaluated the chances of their Master's Doctrine enduring and chose their leaders. The traditions concerning these events are far from concordant and the majority did not assume any shape until times much later than the narrated facts. We shall inspect them in turn.

1. — THE COUNCILS OF RĀJAGṚHA AND VAIŚĀLĪ

DATES. — All the sources are in agreement in placing the council of Rājagṛha in the year one of the Nirvāṇa, according to the long chronology in 486 B.C., and according to the short chronology in 368 B.C. The council of Vaiśālī is located between the year 100 and 110 of the Nirvāṇa : the Sinhalese sources which adopt the long chronology therefore place it in the year 386 B.C., corresponding to the tenth year of the reign of Kālāśoka; two Sanskrit sources which follow the short chronology, the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T 1451, p. 450*a* 28), the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T 1435, p. 411*c* 3), as well as Hsüan-tsang (T 2087, p. 909*b* 14), situate the council in 258 B.C., that is, ten years after the consecration of Aśoka the Maurya[43].

[43] Few historical problems have caused so much ink to flow as that of the Buddhist councils. An excellent description and an early bibliography can be found in L. DE VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Councils*, ERE, IV, pp. 179-85. Since then two works have appeared which, for a synoptic study of the sources, are and will remain magisterial : J. PRZYLUSKI, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris, 1926; M. HOFINGER, *Étude sur le concile de Vaiśālī*, Louvain, 1946. However, discussion on the essentials continues : E. FRAUWALLNER, *Die buddhistische Konzile*, ZDMG, CII, 1952, pp. 240-61; J. FILLIOZAT, *Inde Classique*, II, pp. 493-9;

NARRATION OF EVENTS. — Among the numerous accounts devoted to the first two councils, we will summarize here that of the *Pāli Vinaya* (II, pp. 284-308). Not because it is superior in value to that of the others, but because, it has been authenticated by the learned body of Sinhalese intellectuals, and presents the events in a reasonable external guise.

137 In this Vinaya, the account of the council of Rājagṛha begins abruptly, without any preliminary introduction. Kāśyapa, who is addressing the bhikṣus, informs them that, while he was travelling from Pāvā to Kuśinagara in the company of 500 monks, an Ājīvika told him of the decease of the Buddha, which had occurred seven days previously. Among his companions, some grieved while others, who were wiser, resigned themselves to the inevitable. However, the monk Subhaddha (Skt. Subhadra) openly rejoiced at the loss of the Buddha who exasperated the monks with his observations; he proposed that the bhikṣus, now free of all restraint, should live as they liked.

In order to ensure that indiscipline would not infiltrate the order, Kāśyapa proposed that the monks perform a joint recitation of the Law (*dharma*) and discipline (*vinaya*). He chose 499 Arhats but, at their request, also convoked Ānanda who, although he was not an Arhat, was best acquainted with the Buddha's teaching.

After a joint deliberation, it was decided that the 500 bhikṣus should go to Rājagṛha for the rainy season, to give there a joint recitation of the Dharmavinaya. The assembly therefore went to the capital of Magadha and devoted the first month of the season to preparatory work.

The very morning of the conclave, Ānanda, undergoing sudden enlightenment, reached Arhatship. The session then opened.

Kāśyapa questioned Upāli on the Vinaya and made him state where, to whom and concerning what, the Buddha had promulgated the instructions for drawing up the rules for bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs. It was then Ānanda's turn to inform his colleagues in what place, to which person and with regard to what subject the Master had expounded the sūtras contained in the five canonical Nikāyas.

Ānanda then told his colleagues that, before dying, the Buddha had authorized the community to abolish the minor and least important precepts (*kṣudrānukṣudraka śikṣāpada*), but that he, Ānanda, had not asked him to specify what he meant by those precepts. Since the assembly was unable to reach an agreement concerning their signi-

A. BAREAU, *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Paris, 1955.* The present description is to a large part inspired by the remarkable critique by P. DEMIÉVILLE, *A propos du concile de Vaiśālī*, TP, XL, pp. 239-96.

ficance, Kāśyapa proposed that all the precepts promulgated by the Buddha should be retained without distinction. The motion was accepted.

The elders at the council then addressed Ānanda with a series of reproaches : he had neglected to question the Buddha about the minor and least important precepts, he had put his foot on his raincloak, he
138 had allowed his body to be defiled by women's tears, he had not asked him to prolong his stay in this world and, finally, he had pleaded for the entry of women into the order. Even though he felt perfectly innocent, Ānanda confessed those faults out of regard for the community.

Meanwhile, the venerable Purāṇa, who was travelling in Dakṣiṇāgiri with 500 monks, arrived in Rājagṛha. When he learnt that the Law and Discipline had been recited by Kāśyapa and the 500 Arhats, he expressed reservations and claimed that he had memorized the Law as he had heard and received it from the very lips of the Blessed One.

In conclusion, the assembly instructed Ānanda to go to Kauśāmbī in order to notify the bhikṣu Channa of the disciplinary punishment meted out to him by the Buddha.

The Pāli *Vinaya* passes in silence over the episode of Gavāmpati which is narrated by several other sources : before the assembly was convened, the young Pūrṇa had gone to the Śirīṣa Palace to invite the Arhat Gavāmpati to participate in the sessions; the latter, however, on learning of the decease of the Buddha and considering the world henceforth devoid of interest, had declined the invitation and entered Nirvāṇa.



One hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the Vajjiputtaka (Skt. Vṛjiputraka) bhikṣus of Vaiśālī promulgated ten practices as being licit : 1. [storing] salt in a horn (*siṅgiloṇa*), 2. two fingers (*dvaṅgula*) [i.e. eating when the sun's shadow has passed two fingers' breadth beyond noon], 3. [going to] another village (*gāmantara*) [after eating once], 4. [the holding of *uposatha* separately by monks] dwelling in the same district (*āvāsa*), 5. approbation (*anumati*) [of an act when the assembly is incomplete], 6. [following a teacher's] rule of conduct (*āciṇṇa*), 7. [partaking of] sour milk (*amathita*), 8. [drinking] new palm-wine (*jalogi pātum*), 9. [using] mats with fringes (*adasakaṃ nisīdanam*), 10. [handling] gold and silver (*jātarūparajata*)[44].

[44] For details, see A. Bareau, *Les premiers conciles*, pp. 68-71. Note : words in square brackets added by tr.

At that moment, the venerable Yasa (Skt. Yaśas, Yaśoda), son of Kākaṇḍaka, arrived in Vaiśālī and noted that on the uposatha day the bhikṣus of the area were placing a bowl in the middle of the assembly and were asking the laity to put gold and silver coins in it for the needs of the community. Yasa formally advised the laity against offering any more money, claiming that the monks could receive neither silver nor gold. Thereupon, the Vajjiputtakas imposed on him the act of reconci-
139 liation (*paṭisāraṇiyakamma*) which consisted of begging the pardon of insulted persons, in this case the upāsakas of Vaiśālī.

Yasa did so but, while apologizing to the laity for insulting them by his reproaches, he maintained and reaffirmed his point of view, namely that a bhikṣu cannot accept gold or silver under any pretext whatever. The laity were convinced and looked upon the monks of Vaiśālī as bad religious.

Considering themselves offended, the Vajjiputtakas then laid the act of suspension (*ukkhepaniyakamma*) on Yasa for having instructed without warrant. However, Yasa escaped from them and took refuge in Kauśāmbī. From there he sent messages to the bhikṣus of Pāṭheyya (Western India), Avanti and the Deccan, requesting them to undertake his defence and to maintain the good discipline which was threatened by the practices of the Vajjiputtakas.

Furthermore, Yasa went in person to the venerable Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin (Skt. Śānavāsa, Śāṇvāsika, Sonavāsin, Saṃbhoga) who lived on Mount Ahogaṅga (on the upper Ganges) and won him over to his point of view as well as 60 bhikṣus from Pāṭheyya and 80 bhikṣus from Avanti and the Deccan who had come to Ahogaṅga for the event.

The complainants decided to rally to their cause the venerable Revata of Soreyya (a locality between Verañjā, east of Mathurā, and Sāmkāśya), but the latter, little desirous of intervening, did not wait for anyone to come and consult him. Those sent out to meet him missed him successively in Soreyya, Sāṃkāsya, Kanyākubja, Udumbara and Aggalapura, finally catching up with him in Sahajāti. Yasa questioned him on the lawfulness of the ten points and, after having had them explained to him at length, Revata formally condemned them and promised Yasa his support.

Disturbed by the turn events were taking, the Vajjiputtakas of Vaiśālī sent a delegation to Revata in Sahajāti. At the same time, the venerable Sālha (Skt. Śādha), who was living in solitude, was warned by a deity of the bad behaviour of the bhikṣus from the east. However, the Vaiśālīans who had reached Revata tried to win him over with gifts, which Revata

refused, all the while upholding his condemnation despite the intervention of his disciple Uttara, who had been corrupted.

At the suggestion of Revata, the Saṃgha went to Vaiśālī to settle the question. The venerable Sabbakāmin (Skt. Sarvakāma) who already
140 lived there was visited by Revata, soon followed by Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin. Before the latter, who explained to him the points under dispute, Sabbakāmin semi-officially acknowledged the wrongs of the monks from Vaiśālī.

Finally, the Saṃgha assembled and the debate was opened. However, as it threatened to go on for ever, it was left to an arbitrating jury (*ubbāhikāya*) consisting of four western monks : Sabbakāmin, Sāḷha, Khujjasobhita (Skt. [redacted]ubjita), Vāsabhagāmika, and of four eastern monks : Revata, Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin, Yasa and Sumana, while a certain Ajita was entrusted with the seating arrangements.

The bhikṣus, who numbered 700, then went to the Vālikārāma in Vaiśālī. In private, Revata explained the ten points under dispute to Sabbakāmin who totally rejected them, each time referring to an article of the Prātimokṣa. The interrogation was then taken up in public.

An assessment of the conciliar tradition. — In order to judge the value of this tradition, it is necessary, not only to examine the account itself, but also to compare the various narrations which have been handed down to us and to classify them.

The date of the first council is universally fixed in the year one of the Nirvāṇa, but there are divergences as to the place of the sessions and the number of participants. Besides Rājagṛha, the ancient Magadhan capital, we also find other localities : Kuśinagara (T 5), Magadha, to the north of the town of Sāṃkāśya (T 2026) or, a less compromising location, the Sahaloka (T 384). If the council is located in Rājagṛha, there are doubts about the precise spot : the Veṇuvana, Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa, the Kṣatriya cave or again the Saptaparṇa cave. It is generally admitted that the elders of the council were 500 in number, but we also find figures such as 1,000 (T 1509) and 3,000 (T 5).

There is some disproportion between the scriptural work carried out at the sessions and the pretext advanced by Kāśyapa for their convening, namely the unseemly reflection of the monk Subhadra — called Upananda in some sources — who saw in the decease of the Buddha the emancipation of the community. This person's remarks are indeed narrated in the canonical versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Dīgha*, II, p. 162; Waldschmidt, *MPS*, pp. 422-3), but there is no question as to the reaction his remarks may have provoked; the Sanskrit narrative
141 merely says that Kāśyapa was the only one to hear them.

The episode of the invitation extended to Gavāmpati appears only in the sūtras and has been eliminated from most of the Vinayas. This Gavāmpati, presented by the texts as a cloven-hoofed ruminant, is a mythical person, and J. Przyluski believed he recognized in him a deity of drought and wind.

The last-minute arrival of Ānanda to make up the total number of the assembly is doubtless connected with notions of expiatory tests; this is a hackneyed theme in ecclesiastical history : Ānanda makes the 500th at the council of Rājagṛha just as Nāgasena does at the monastery of Vattaniya (*BEFEO*, XXIV, p. 89, n. 2); similarly, Kubjita was to be the 700th in certain accounts of the council of Vaiśālī (T 1435, 1451), and Vasumitra, the 500th at the council of Kaniṣka (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*c*). The reproaches addressed to Ānanda by Kāśyapa or the elders of the council come from the same concern for purification, although it is indelicate to remonstrate with an Arhat. It is true that the episode is not always located in the same place in the narrative and that the number of reproaches varies : two, five, six or seven.

All the narrations attribute to the elders of the council generally speaking the compilation of the canonical writings, but the existing canonical collections contain texts which refer to dates later than the decease of the Buddha and the meetings of the council. There can be discerned in every vinaya a series of prescriptions, an old explanatory commentary and a subsequent elaboration based on the prescriptions and commentary. Several sūtras given as canonical such as the *Madhurā* (M II, p. 83; T 99, ch. 20, p. 142*a*), the *Ghoṭamukha* (M II, p. 157) and the *Gopakamoggallāna* (M III, p. 7; T 27, ch. 36, p. 653*c*) were pronounced after the Parinirvāṇa; the *Nārada* (A III, p. 57; T 125, ch. 24, p. 679*a*) was composed during the reign of Muṇḍa, the grandson of Ajātaśatru; the *Assalāyana* in its many recensions (M II, p. 147; T 26, ch. 37, p. 663*b*; T 71, p. 876*b*) mentions the Yona-Kamboja of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the Yüeh-chih of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. Therefore, if canonical texts were recited at the first council, they were certainly not identical to those we possess now.

Furthermore, the sources disagree over the extent of the canonical texts recited at Rājagṛha, and each school claims that it was its own
142 canon which was compiled by the elders of the council. It is a fact that the canons of the various schools, such as they have come down to us or been described in the accounts of the first council, show considerable discrepancies with regard to the distribution of the sūtras in the Āgamas, the place of the Āgamas in the Sūtrapiṭakas, the extent of the Vinaya and the presence or absence of an Abhidharma. It would be absurd to

claim that all those canons were fixed at the very beginnings of Buddhism, in a period when the schools had not yet been formed.

Furthermore, those canons were not fixed until quite late, if at all. In Ceylon during the fifth century A.D. there was still some discussion over the classification and exact composition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, and it was admitted that certain canonical writings, such as the *Kathāvatthu*, were not published till the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa. As will be seen in the next section, it is to be doubted whether certain schools ever possessed the canon which they claim was compiled at Rājagṛha.

We are told that the compilers devoted themselves to methodical work and obtained precisions from Upāli and Ānanda as to where, for whom and with regard to what the Master promulgated the rules and delivered his speeches. In other words, each article of the Vinaya and each sūtra was presumed to have been given an introduction (*nidāna*) determining the circumstances of place, person and subject. Unfortunately, if we compare each of those *nidāna*, we see that they rarely date back to a common tradition. Thus, to take just one example, the *Brahmajālasutta*, according to the Pāli Vinaya narration (II, p. 287), was supposed to have been delivered between Rājagṛha and Nālandā in the royal pavilion of Ambalaṭṭhikā. This information is correct if we refer to the Pāli version of the *Brahmajālasutta* (Dīgha, I, p. 1); but it is false if we look at the Chinese versions of the same sūtra : the *Chang a han* (T 1, ch. 14, p. 88*b* 13) locates this sūtra in the *Chu lin* (Veṇuvana), and the *Fan wang* (T 21, p. 264*b* 1) in the meeting-pavilion of *Chia li lo* (Kareri) near the Jetavana in Śrāvastī. It is likely that, in their original composition, the sūtras did not necessarily have a *nidāna*; they added one when their authenticity was questioned and proof was needed. A late recension of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* reproduced in the *Ta chih tu lun* (T 1509,
143 ch. 2, p. 66*c*) relates that, before entering Nirvāṇa, the Buddha had ordered that the precious basket of the Law begin with the formula "*Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye* : The Buddha was residing in such-and-such a region, such-and-such a country, such-and-such a grove", claiming that among the Buddhas of the past, sūtras all began in that way. However, this is an apocryphal order which the early versions of the *Parinirvāṇasūtra* do not take into consideration.

In the account of the council, there is an episode which seems to plead in favour of the veracity of the chronicle : that of Purāṇa who refuses to adopt the decisions by the council to retain the Law just as he himself had heard it from the lips of the Buddha. Obviously, the chronicle had no interest in relating a fact demonstrating a partial failure in the sessions at Rājagṛha. In its concision, the Pāli edition

might lead to the belief that Purāṇa fell in with the decisions of the council, except for some harmless points : storing food in the house, doing the cooking there, etc. The silence of the Pāli edition over these minor practices is all the more curious in that some of them are discussed in the Pāli *Vinaya* (I, pp. 210-15).



Less numerous, although just as contradictory, are the accounts of the council of Vaiśālī. There is disagreement over the date, the place and the number of participants. The council supposedly took place in the year 100, 110, 210 or 220 after the Nirvāṇa, in the reigns of a Nandin, Kālāśoka or Aśoka the Maurya. The sessions were held in Vaiśālī, in the monastery of the Vālikārāma, in the monastery of Kusumapura or again in the Kūṭāgāraśālā of the Markaṭahradatīra; one source merely gives the Vihāra of Kusumapuri (sic), without stating the town. The elders were 700 in number, or even 1,200,000!

The narrative abounds in peculiarities and incoherencies. The elders of the council apparently all knew the Buddha (*Dpv.*, IV, 51) and at the time of these events had been ordained for 110 to 130 years. Yasa's appeal to the distant communities of Pāṭheyya, Avanti and the Deccan is an unusual procedure of which there is no other example in ecclesiastical history. Revata's flight from the messengers sent to look for him corresponds less to a fit of bad temper than the dissimulation of the
144 performing of a rite. The council had no chairman, the sources attributing pre-eminence, some to Revata, some to Sambhūta Śāṇavāsin, or again some to Sarvākāmin and Kubjita. The jury of eight members charged with making decisions was chosen from among monks coming mostly from central India, the localities of Ahogaṅga, Mathurā, Soreyya, Sāṃkāśya, Kanyākubja, Aggalapura, Sahajāti, Sāketa; it is difficult to see how it could be divided impartially into two groups : four bhikṣus from the East (Pācīnaka) and four from the West (Pāṭheyyaka). The absence of reaction from the Vṛjiputrakas of Vaiśālī after their condemnation is astonishing, to say the least; were it not for a passage in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 30-1), it might be believed they submitted in silence.

What is most curious is the list of ten points summarizing the practices in force among the Vṛjiputrakas. Each expert who was consulted about it seemed to understand nothing of it and had to have it explained in detail. This list, in other respects very concise, was not written in pure Pāli, which would have been easily comprehensible to the

western regions, but in an eastern tongue using the voicing of unvoiced occlusives in inter-vocalic position, in which, for example, a leech is worded, not as *jalauka* as in Sanskrit (*jaloka* in Pali?), but as *jaloga*. In short, it was worded in what S. Lévi calls the pre-canonical language of Buddhism, or, if it had been transposed into Pāli, that transposition was not thorough-going and left extant some dialectal peculiarities alien to Pāli and the western dialects. This explains why the ten points received interpretations which varied according to the sources. Thus, *jalogipātum* which constitutes the seventh point is explained in six different ways : 1. drinking a *surā*, alcoholic liquid, which has not yet become *majja*, an intoxicating drink (Pāli Vin.); 2. drinking *shih lu-chia* (*jaloga*), a fermented alcoholic liquid which is not yet mature (Mahīś. Vin.); 3. drinking *shih lu* (*jalo*) (Dharmagup. Vin.); 4. "local indigence" : when we happen to be somewhere, poverty causes us to drink alcohol (Sarv. Vin.); 5. "curing sickness" : mixing alcohol with water, then shaking the mixture and using it as a drink (Chinese version of the Mūlas. Vin.); 6. the monks of Vaiśālī drank, sucking like leeches (Skt. *jalauka*), fermented drinks declaring that this was lawful on the grounds of sickness (Tibetan
145 version of the Mūlas. Vin.). This last interpretation which sees in the hapax *jalogi*, the Middle Indian equivalent of the Skt. *jalauka* is the only valid one[45].

In the choice of their interpretations, the various Vinayas were not guided by mere fantasy; they took the trouble to find in their rules, which had already been codified, passages dealing with the points and enabling them to be condemned. Thus, in the *Pāli Vinaya*, the ten Vaiśālīan practices are collated or at least are collatable with, the Pācittiyas 38, 37, 35, the Mahāvagga, II, 8, 3, and IX, 3, 5, the Pācittiyas 35, 51 and 89 and, finally, the Nissaggiya 18. A study of the other Vinayas would doubtless lead to the same conclusion. The *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* passes in silence over the first nine points and mentions and condemns only the tenth : the practice of handling gold and silver. Further, it is formulated in a somewhat special way : "Under no condition is it permissible to beg for gold, silver or money". It is likely that the Mahāsāṃghikas, who were of a laxist tendency, discarded the first nine points as being negligible and modified the tenth in conformity with their ruling, which forbade an individual monk to handle gold and silver or to keep any in reserve, but authorized gifts of cash to be added to the unassignable assets of the community[46].

[45] S. Lévi, *Observations sur une langue précanonique du b.*, JA, 1912, pp. 508-10.
[46] P. Demiéville, *o.l.*, p. 273.

It is important to specify the place occupied in Buddhist literature by the tradition concerning the councils. It has been exploited in turn by the sūtras, vinayas, avadānas, chronicles, by the memoirs of Chinese pilgrims and by the commentaries upon canonical works. Nevertheless, it seems incidental and, according to the various sources, is presented in various aspects and with particular intentions.

1. The account of the first council, to the exclusion of the second, appears in numerous sūtras albeit later sūtras of both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna, which do not form a part of the canonical collection of the Āgamas or Nikāyas.

Among these "detached (*muktaka*) sūtras of the Hīnayānist canonical tradition, we may mention the *Kāśyapasaṃgītisūtra* (T 2027, pp. 4*b*-7*a*), which is purported to have been translated between 148 and 170 A.D.
146 by the Parthian An Shih kao; two aberrant *Parinirvāṇasūtra* (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175*a* 25-*c* 21; T 6, ch. 2, pp. 190*c* 28-191*a*) the former translated by Po Fa-tsu between 290 and 306, the latter by an unknown hand between 317 and 420; finally, *'The Narrative of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka and the Tsa tsang'* (T 2026, pp. 1-4*a*) by an unknown translator between 317 and 420.

The account of the first council also appears in full or in part in the Vaipulyasūtras and Śāstras of the Mahāyāna : *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507) translated by an unknown hand between 25 and 220; *Ta chih tu lun* (T 1509, ch. 2, pp. 67*a*-70*a*) translated by Kumārajīva between 402 and 405; *P'u sa ch'u t'ai tang* (T 384, ch. 7, p. 1058) translated by Chu Fo nien between 384 and 417; finally, the *Ta pei ching* (T 380, ch. 5, p. 971*b*) translated by Narendrayaśas in the second half of the fifth century.

These accounts have certain characteristic features. They have in common the intention to present the canonical writings on which they base their authority as ancient and authentic. They are deeply tinged with the marvellous and nearly all of them narrate the invitation to Gavāmpati, undeniably mythical in nature. Finally, they ignore, or seem to, the second council. It should however be noted that certain sources such as the *Ta chih tu lun* (T 1509, ch. 15, p. 173*c*; ch. 100, p. 756*b*) place alongside the council of Rājagṛha the council of the Vimalasvabhāva where several Bodhisattvas, assisted by Ānanda, are purported to have compiled the writings of the Mahāyāna.

2. The account of the two councils is to be found in all the Vinayas which have come down to us, but it appears in them as an appendix or later addition.

a. The *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T 1435), in its first edition translated by

Kumārajīva in 404, makes only a brief allusion to it in its 10th adhyāya entitled *Kuśalādhyāya* (ch. 56, p. 414*a*). After a series of prescriptions concerning the distribution of vegetables and the use of beds and utensils made of precious metal, it passes abruptly to the following mention :

The compilation of the Vinaya by the Five-hundred. — Immediately after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, five hundred bhikṣus assembled in the same place in order to compile all the Sūtras, all the Vinayas, all the Abhidharmas : that is what is called the compilation of the Vinaya by the Five-hundred.

The compilation of the Vinaya by the Seven-hundred. — One hundred and ten years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, when there appeared the ten points of Vaiśālī which were contrary to the Law, contrary to the Vinaya, contrary to the
147 teaching of the Buddha, which were not contained in either the Sūtras or in the Vinaya, which were contrary to the nature of the Law and the nature of bodily attitudes, seven hundred bhikṣus assembled in the same place in order to annul those ten points : that is what is called the compilation of the Vinaya by the Seven-hundred[47].

After this brief mention, the text continues with minor prescriptions concerning the use of seals, medecines, and other unimportant matters.

A detailed account of the two councils appears, among other appendices, in the postscript to the *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* added after 409 by Vimalākṣa to the complete translation made by Kumārajīva in 404. In this postscript, the account of the councils occupies chüan 60-61, pp. 447*a*-456*b*, and is probably based on a Sanskrit document which Vimalākṣa, acquired in Central Asia and took to China. In fact, two leaves of a Sanskrit manuscript in Brāhmī script containing a fragment of the narrative of the first council as it appears in Vimalākṣa's postscript have been found in Murtuq. These leaves have been published by E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Zum ersten buddhistischen Konzil in Rājagṛha*, Festschrift Weller, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 817-28.

b. In the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*, the rough version of the two councils comes at the end (T 1421, ch. 30, pp. 190*b*-194*b*), after a description of the Skandhakas.

c. In the Pāli *Vinaya*, the rough narrative of the two councils begins abruptly after a description of the Khandakas (II, pp. 284-308). It thus practically completes the Theravādin disciplinary collection, since the section of the *Parivāra* which at present concludes the collection is the work of a fifth century monk named Dīpa.

d. In the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*, the account of the two councils, preceded by a narration of the Buddha's funeral ceremony, concludes the Skandhaka section (T 1428, ch. 54, pp. 966*c*-971*c*). It is followed by

[47] P. DEMIÉVILLE, *o.l.*, p. 250.

two appendices, *Saṃyuktavarga* and *Vinayaikottara*, which can be viewed as the equivalent of the Pāli *Parivāra*.

e. In the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*, the accounts of the two councils, preceded by a report of the Buddha's funeral ceremony and separated by a long list of patriarchs, form part of a *Kṣudrakādhyāya* "minor
148 chapter" incorporated right in the middle of the Skandhaka section (T 1425, ch. 32, pp. 490*b*-492*c*; ch. 33, p. 493*a*-*c*).

f. In the Haimavata *Vinayamātṛkā*, translated between 385 and 431 and set out on a different plan to that of the other Vinayas, the account of the councils occupies the end of the third scroll and the beginning of the fourth (T 1463, ch. 3-4, pp. 818*a*-819*c* 13). It follows a short narration of the decease and funeral ceremony of the Buddha.

g. Whether rightly or wrongly, the *Mahāvastu* is given as part of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Lokottaravādins from the Madhyadeśa, a branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas. A *Daśabhūmika* which is incorporated into this compilation contains an extremely aberrant account of the first council (*Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 68-76), to the exclusion of the second; it follows a short account of the Buddha's funeral ceremony.

As for the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, which includes an account of the two councils, we would prefer to classify it among the chronicles rather than among the Vinayas.

As far as the history of the councils is concerned, the Vinayas which have just been listed are characterized by some particular features. First of all, they continue to use the tradition of the councils as proof of the authenticity and antiquity of the canonical writings, but by canonical writings they mean, not an original recitation valid for the community as a whole, but the particular writings compiled by each of their scholars. They take pleasure in specifying them and oppose, at least tacitly, their canon to those of their neighbours. It is quite clear that the Tripiṭaka of the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, Mahīśāsakas, Haimavatas and Dharmaguptakas differed in the length and layout of the subjects, and yet each of them is given as original and authentic.

Another concern of the Vinayas is to adapt the tradition of the councils to their own disciplinary regulations. This is why the seven or eight points over which Purāṇa had refused to agree in Rājagṛha and the ten laxist practices of the Vṛjiputrakas of Vaiśālī are interpreted and explained in such a way that it is easy to find an article condemning them in the Vinayas that were already settled. Thus, a link between the tradition of the councils and the Buddhist discipline was created quite artifically, so that the history of the councils seems to concern the Vinaya rather than the Dharma and regulations rather than doctrines.

149 Finally, the compilers of the Vinayas, by reconsidering the councils in their own way, were more preoccupied by technical details than by the poetry of the narrative. As rationalist theoreticians, they expurgated the narrative of anything which might appear too marvellous and, it must be said, too stupid : the intervention of devas, the invitation to the ox-god Gavāmpati, etc. This precaution clearly distinguished them from the compilers of the sūtras whose concern for edification prevailed over that of verisimilitude. The Mahāsāṃghikas alone did not consider it necessary to rationalize the account and they retain the traditional roles played by the gods and by Gavāmpati; this was because they were addressed to a wider public, more easily moved by the marvellous than by textual exactitude, furthermore their pre-Mahāyānist tendencies predisposed them to accept wonders without too much evidence.

3. Somewhat different preoccupations surfaced in the accounts of the councils incorporated in the *Avadāna* and the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya.*

The *Avadānaśataka*, which was translated by Chih ch'ien between 223 and 253, contains a *Saṃgīti* (II, No. 100, pp. 197-206) establishing a connection between the identity of the bhikṣu Sundara, a contemporary of Aśoka, and that of a farmer who, a hundred years earlier, had offered a perfumed bath to Mahākāśyapa and the elders of the first council. The compiler's intention is to emphasize the continuity of the Buddhist tradition.

The *Aśokāvadāna* appears in the form of a double recension : the first, T 2042, translated about the year 300 by An Fa ch'in, but completed in the fifth century; the second, T 2043, translated by Saṃghavara in 512. They give full details of the first council (T 2042, ch. 3-4, pp. 112*a* 12-114*a* 25; T 2043, ch. 6, pp. 150*a* 13-152*c* 7), but do not mention the second. In fact, the northern chronology, on which this Avadāna is based, counts only one century between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's accession and, according to that calculation, the council of Vaiśālī in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa took place while Aśoka was ruling. Chapters VI and VII of the *Aśokāvadāna* constitute a chronicle relating in order the journey made by the Buddha and Ānanda to Mathurā, the decease of the Buddha and the construction of the eight stūpas, the council of Rājagṛha and, finally, the transmission of the Baskets of the Dharma to the first five or six patriarchs : Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Sāṇavāsa, Upagupta and Dhītika. Upagupta is given as a contemporary and spiritual adviser of Aśoka the Maurya. We should add that
150 portions of this chronicle are again found, in Sanskrit, in the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 348-64.

It is fitting to compare these two *Avadāna* with the *Mūlasarvāstivadin*

Vinaya, which is the most recent of all and was not translated into Chinese by I-ching until 710. The section of the *Kṣudrakavastu* which has come down to us in a Chinese and a Tibetan version in fact concludes with an ecclesiatical chronicle devoted to the first century of Buddhism : 1. A *Parinirvāṇasūtra* relating the Buddha's last peregrination, his decease, funeral, the war and distribution of the relics (T 1451, ch. 35-39, pp. 382*b* 29-402*c* 4); 2. The account of the first council (ch. 39-40, pp. 402*c* 4-408*c* 12); 3. The transmission of the Law through the beneficence of the first eight patriarchs : Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Sāṇavāsa, Upagupta, Dhītika, Kāla and Sudarśana (ch. 40, pp. 408*c* 13-411*c* 2); 4. The account of the second council (ch. 40, p. 411*c* 4-414*b* 11); the Tibetan version ends its description with the following statements : "The council (of the 700 Arhat) took place 110 years after the Nirvāṇa; it was held in the monastery of Kusumapura in Vaiśālī; and the generous donor to the monks was the pious Aśoka".

The dominant preoccupation of these sources is no longer to establish the great antiquity of the canonical writings but to emphasize the legitimacy of the transmission of the Law by the masters who were regularly responsible for it. The succession of the five or eight patriarchs creates a continuous link between the recitations of the Law over the period of a century.

4. It is appropriate to compare the Sinhalese chronicles and commentaries of the fourth-fifth centuries with the data assembled by the Chinese during approximately the same period.

According to a well-ordered plan, the *Mahāvaṃsa* devotes its chapters III and IV respectively to the councils of Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī, its chapter V to the succession of Vinaya Masters, the history of Aśoka the Maurya and the council of Pāṭaliputra (vv. 228-82). Similarly, the *Samantapāsādikā* narrates in order the first council (pp. 1-30), the succession of Vinaya Masters (pp. 30-3), the second council in the year 100 of the Nirvāna (pp. 33-7), finally, the reign of Aśoka and the third council in the year 236 of the Nirvāṇa (pp. 37-61). With a concern for parallelism, both sources assert that the canonical writings as they
151 appear in the present Sinhalese canon were compiled at the first council and repeated at the second as well as the third. See for the *Mahāvaṃsa*, III, 40; IV, 63; V, 275-6; and for the *Samantapāsādikā*, pages 18, 34 and 61. This marks a development over the previous sources in which these details did not as yet appear.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* which is slightly earlier than the preceding two chronicles, narrates the same events in a haphazard order. In it we find two accounts of the first council (*Dpv.*, IV, 1-26; V, 1-15) and two of

the second (IV, 47-53; V, 16-29). However, the *Dīpavaṃsa* introduces a new element of prime importance into the historical tradition. The council of Vaiśālī in the year 100 was supposedly followed by a Great Council (*mahāsaṃgīti*) of the Vajjiputtakas of Vaiśālī : those rebellious monks threw the ancient canonical writings into confusion, modified the order of the collections, initiated a new exegesis, added recent texts and discarded old ones (*Dpv.*, V, 30-8). Those Mahāsaṃgītikas, as they were called, provoked a schism which was the point of departure for the fragmentation of the community into eighteen rival sects. (*Dpv.*, V, 39-54).

5. The oral tradition collected in India by the Chinese pilgrims confirms these facts up to a certain point. Fa hsien, who travelled from 399 to 412, visited the Saptaparṇa cave, near Rājagṛha, where the first council was held (T 2085, p. 863*a*) and in Vaiśālī saw a stūpa commemorating the place where the 700 Arhats had re-examined and collated the disciplinary texts (ibid., p. 862*a*); however, he makes no mention of a schism.

According to the Indian Paramārtha (500-569) and confirmed by his Chinese pupil Chi tsang (549-623)[48], the compilation of the writings after the decease of the Buddha was carried out simultaneously by two assemblies : that of the inner assembly consisting of 500 Arhats and directed by Mahākāśyapa, and that of the outer assembly composed of 10,000 members of the Great Assembly (*mahāsāṃghika*) under the authority of Bāṣpa, one of the first five bhikṣus. Although each of these two assemblies was held in a separate place they were still not divided over feelings and views : their split was still only nominal. It became
152 doctrinal 116 years later, when the Mahāsāṃghikas adopted the fivefold heresy of Mahādeva which had been condemned by the Sthaviras. It will be noted that both scholars seemed to be wholly unaware of the council of Vaiśālī.

During his visits to Bihār, either in 637 or 642, Hsüan tsang saw near Rājagṛha, five or six *li* to the south-west of the Veṇuvana, the cave where Kāśyapa and the thousand (sic) Arhats had held a council the very year of the decease of the Buddha and compiled a canon which received the name of *Sthaviranikāya* (Collection of the Elder) because the Sthavira Kāśyapa had presided over it. Some twenty *li* to the west of that spot, Hsüan tsang saw one of Aśoka's stūpas marking the place where, the same year, myriads of the religious, whether unordained or Arhat, who had not been admitted into Kāśyapa's council, compiled a canon of their own which received the name of *Mahāsāṃghikanikāya*

[48] Cf. P. Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques*, MCB, I, 1931-32, p. 19.

(Collection of the Great Assembly); this canon in five sections larger than the preceding one, contained, the Sūtras, Vinaya and Abhidharma, two classes of supplementary texts : the *Saṃyukta* (Mixture) and the *Dhāraṇī* (mnemonical formulas) (T 2087, ch. 9, pp. 922*b*-923*a*).

The Master of the Law also saw, fourteen or fifteen *li* to the south-east of Vaiśālī, a large stūpa marking the spot where, 110 years after the Buddha's decease, 700 eminent sages had condemned the laxist practices of the monks of Vaiśālī and then proceeded with a second compilation of the writings. Among those Arhat, Hsüan tsang noted the names of Yaśoda of Kosala, Saṃbhoga of Mathurā, Revata of Kanyākubja, Shāḷa of Vaiśālī, *Fu chê su mi lo*(?) of Pāṭaliputra : as former disciples of Ānanda, they were all versed in the Tripiṭaka (T 2087, ch. 7, p. 909*b*).

The Sinhalese chronicles and commentaries on the one hand, the memoirs of the Chinese pilgrims on the other, both compiled at about the same period, are remarkable for certain features they have in common. More especially in the Sinhalese sources, there is a concern to link the councils with the reigns of the Magadhan princes. The sessions at Rājagṛha were thought to have been held under the protection of King Ajātaśatru, those at Vaiśālī under the aegis of Kālāśoka : the latter is purported to have supported the laxist monks of Vaiśālī at first but, on the intervention of his sister Nandā, gave his patronage to the orthodox monks (*Mhv.*, IV, 37, 44). Details are missing in the Chinese sources, which pass in silence over the council of Vaiśālī or merely
153 mention it incidentally, but all agree in celebrating the generosity of Ajātaśatru in respect of the elders of the first council.

Another more important point is the extent of the literary activity attributed to the council of Vaiśālī : it is no longer just a question, as in the Pāli *Vinaya* (II, p. 307), of a recitation of the discipline (*vinaya-saṃgīti*), but of a complete re-edition of the Law a *dhammasaṃgaha* in the words of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (IV, 63-4), a new compilation according to Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 7, p. 909*b* 14).

Finally, all the sources recorded in the present paragraph establish a direct link between the Buddhist councils and the formation of the sects. As it had not been possible to impose the decisions taken at the councils on all the members of the community, the latter is thought to have immediately split into various schools. The Mahāsāṃghika schism is thought to have been a direct consequence of the first council according to Paramārtha, Chi tsang and Hsüan tsang, of the second according to the *Dīpavaṃsa*. A later source, the *Nikāyasaṃgraha*, even considers it was a result of the third.

CONCLUSIONS. — Many other considerations could be advanced concerning this tradition of the councils. The little that has been said about them is enough to demonstrate that it would be imprudent to commit oneself for or against the historicity of the councils. In itself, the account abounds in improbabilities and anachronisms, it is steeped in the marvellous and exploits myths and literary themes which are no more than commonplaces. When compared with one another, the various narratives which have come down to us disagree over almost every point : date and place of the councils, persons who took part in them, the activity which was carried out at them. The tradition of the councils is only indirectly connected with the mainstream of the canonical writings : it appears only in later sūtras which are not included in the early collections; it is merely as an appendix that it appears in the Vinayas of the various schools after undergoing the necessary modifications. Furthermore, it was exploited in the course of time for the most diverse purposes : it was used as proof of the antiquity and authenticity of the canonical texts, and afterwards of the canons of the various schools — which is quite another matter — it was incorporated into Avādanas in order to establish the continuity of the Buddhist tradition through its many depositaries; finally, it was employed in the explanation of the birth of the schisms and the formation of the schools.

154 It is nonetheless a fact that the very existence of the council has never been questioned and, as Heraclitus says on this point, 'Αρμονίη αφανὴς φανερῆς κρείττων. A tacit agreement is better than a clearly stated one. We would say, whithout being over-hasty that in the first century after the Nirvāṇa, one or more groups of specialists, whether assembled in council or not, attempted to codify the word of the Buddha in both the field of doctrine and in the field of discipline and that they succeeded in elaborating a coherent dharma and prātimokṣa, which were accepted as a whole by the early community and which constituted the common heritage of the Buddhist sects which were subsequently to develop.

2. — THE FORMATION OF THE CANON OF WRITINGS

The canon of Buddhist writings or, according to the traditional expression, the Tripiṭaka poses a twofold problem, a linguistic one and a literary one. Contrary to the assertions of the orthodox tradition, the constitution of a canon similar to the present Sinhalese Tripiṭaka is the result of many centuries of labour; it rests with the historian of literature to describe its details or, at least, to indicate its progress. However, since these religious texts have come down to us in various Indian languages

— the remnants of one or several compilations in Māgadhī, Pāli, Prākrit, hybrid Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit — the linguist in his turn is confronted with the problem posed by these various recensions. In the present section, we will merely sketch an outline of the literary formation of the canon upon which recent research has thrown some light[49].

155 1st — The seven classifications of the Writings

THE TESTIMONY OF BUDDHAGHOSA. — According to the testimony of the philosopher and commentator Buddhaghosa, the Word of the Buddha, as it was presented in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D., was the subject of seven different classifications. They are listed in the *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 16, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 15, and the *Atthasālinī*, p. 18 :

Evam etaṃ sabbam pi Buddhavacanaṃ rasavasena ekavidhaṃ, dhammavinayavasena duvidhaṃ, paṭhamamajjhimapacchimavasena tividhaṃ, tathā piṭakavasena, nikāyavasena pañcavidhaṃ, aṅgavasena navavidhaṃ, dhammakkhandavasena caturāsītisahassavidhan ti veditabbaṃ.

"It should be known that the Word of the Buddha is single in flavour,

[49] An analysis of the canonical writings in Pāli can be found in W. GEIGER, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916; M. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 1-174; B.C. LAW, *History of Pāli Literature*, I, London, 1933. For the canonical writings in Sanskrit, see also WINTERNITZ, *ibid.*, pp. 231-9. On a more general level, A.B. KEITH, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Die Literaturen Indiens*, Potsdam, 1929; L. RENOU, *Littérature sanskrite*, Paris, 1946; *Les littératures de l'Inde*, Paris, 1951; S.N. DASGUPTA, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, Calcutta, 1947. Volume II of *L'Inde classique* contains a general study of Buddhist sources in Pāli, Sanskrit and Tibetan by J. FILLIOZAT, in Chinese by P. DEMIÉVILLE.

On the formation of the Buddhist writings, besides the special studies which we will indicate in the course of the description, the reader can consult H. OLDENBERG, *Buddhistische Studien*, ZDMG, LII, 1898, pp. 313-694; *Zwei Aufsätze zur Altindischen Chronologie und Literaturgeschichte* NKGWG, 1911, pp. 417-68; *Studien zur Geschichte des buddistischen Kanon*, NKGWG, 1912, pp. 155-218; S. LÉVI, *Les Saintes écritures du bouddhisme*, Ann. du Musée Guimet, XXXI, 1908-9, pp. 105-29; *Une langue précanonique du bouddhisme*, JA, 1912, pp. 495-514; *Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques*, JA, 1915, pp. 401-7; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Indo-Européens...*, pp. 120-9; *Le Dogme et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930, pp. 198-9 (Bibliographie); J. PRZYLUSKI, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris, 1926, pp. 333-66; F. WELLER, *Über den Aufbau des Pāṭikasuttanta*, Asia Major, Hirth Anniv. Vol., 1922, pp. 560-74; Asia Major, V, 1928, pp. 104-40; *Zur Frage nach der Echtheit des Pāli Kanons*, OLZ, 1923, pp. 141-6; *Über die Rahmenerzählung des Saṃgītisuttanta*, Asia Major, V, 1928, pp. 1415; *Überlieferung des älteren buddhistischen Schrifttums*, Asia Major, V, 1928, pp. 149-82; *Über das Brahmajālasūtra*, Asia Major, IX, 1933, pp. 195-332; 381-440; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Bruchstücke buddh. Sūtras*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 226-30; *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha*, Göttingen, 1944-48, pp. 335-54; *Vergleichende Analyse des Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, Festschrift Schubring, Hamburg, 1951, pp. 121-2.*

twofold by reason of the doctrine (*dharma*) and discipline (*vinaya*), threefold by reason of the initial, intermediate and final (words of the Buddha), also threefold by reason of the Baskets (*piṭaka*), fivefold by reason of the collections (*nikāya*), ninefold by reason of the constituent parts, finally, of 84,000 kinds because of the articles of the Law (*dharmaskandha*)".

Of these seven classifications, only one, that of the three Baskets, is of real interest and corresponds to a true division of the writings. We will devote a special description to it and say only a word or two here about the other six classifications which are of little more than theoretical value and consist rather of a mental view.

156 THE SINGLE FAVOUR. — The word of the Buddha is single in flavour (*rasavaśena ekavidham*) in that everything spoken by the Buddha has the aim and effect of leading his listeners to deliverance. This is a canonical doctrine formulated in stereotyped terms in the Sūtras and the Vinaya (*Vinaya*, II, p. 239; *Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 203; *Udāna*, p. 56; *Madhyama*, T 26, ch. 8, p. 476*c* 11; *Ekottara*, T 125, ch. 37, p. 753*b* 1) :

Seyyathā pi mahāsamuddo ekaraso loṇaraso evam eva kho ayaṃ dhammavinayo ekaraso vimuttiraso.

"Just as the ocean has a single flavour, the flavour of salt, so this doctrine and discipline have a single flavour, the flavour of deliverance".

The Mahāsāṃghikas took this proposal literally and affirmed that, with all their words, the Tathāgatas set in motion the Wheel of the Law and that even the blandest of words, such as "Is it raining?", "How are you?", have a profound meaning intended to set beings on the way to deliverance. For the Sarvāstivādins, the Tathāgatas do not always set the Wheel of the Law in motion whenever they speak, but only when they preach the noble eightfold Path (*ārya aṣṭāṅgikamārga*)[50].

DHARMA AND VINAYA. — The word of the Buddha is twofold by reason of the doctrine and discipline (*dharmavinayavaśena dvividham*). When they are used as a compound, the words *dharma* and *vinaya* together designate the teaching of the Buddha as a whole, the Buddhist religion in general and, in a wider sense, the religious order and community life. However, when they are expressed separately or joined with the particle *ca*, *dharma* means the doctrine, the theoretical teaching, and *vinaya*, the discipline or rules imposed on members of the community : "We wish", say some religious, "to preach the doctrine (*dharma*) or assign a ruling (*śikṣāpada*) to the monks" (*Vinaya*, I, pp. 59, 158,

[50] Cf. A. BAREAU, *Sectes b.*, pp. 58, 145.

210; III, pp. 6, 89, etc.). According to the account in the Pāli *Cullavagga*, the first compilation of the Law which took place in Rājagṛha after the decease of the Buddha consisted of a (*saṃgīti*) recitation by the community of the dharma and vinaya : Upāli recited the vinaya, and
157 Ānanda the dharma (*Vin.*, II, pp. 285-7). The Word of the Buddha is twofold in that it includes a dogmatic aspect and a disciplinary aspect.

Initial words, etc. — The word of the Buddha is threefold by reason of the initial, intermediate and final words (*prathamamadhyamapaścimavaśena trividham*). Here again, there is no question of a real division of the scriptural texts, but of an overall consideration that claims that the holy word is good at all times. The proposal contains an implicit reference to a wide-spread scriptural stock phrase : *Vinaya*, I, pp. 35, 242, *Dīgha*, I, p. 62; III, pp. 267, 285; *Majjhima*, I, p. 179; *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 105; IV, p. 315; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 180; II, pp. 147, 208; III, pp. 113 sq., 135, 262; *Itivuttaka*, p. 79, etc. :

So dhammaṃ deseti ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti.

"He [the Buddha] preaches a Law which is good in the beginning, in the middle and at the end; its meaning is good, its letter is good; it is uniform, complete and pure; the Brahma-conduct is revealed in it".

The five collections. — "The Word of the Buddha is fivefold by reason of the five Collections (*nikāya*)". According to the very words of this assertion, the expression *Pañcanikāya* denotes the teaching of the Buddha as a whole. It is therefore by no means a reference to the five Nikāyas of the Pāli Suttapiṭaka, but to the totality of the canonical writings. According to the explanation given by Buddhaghosa (*Samanta*, I, p. 27; *Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 23; *Atthasālinī*, p. 26) the expression *Pañcanikāya* designates the *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, *Saṃyutta-*, *Aṅguttara-* and *Khuddakanikāya*, but the latter includes "the totality of the Vinayapiṭaka, Abhidhammapiṭaka, the fourteen subdivisions of the *Khuddakanikāya* in the strictest sense, beginning with the *Khuddakapāṭha* and the *Dhammapada*, in brief all the rest of the Buddha's word with the exception of the four above-mentioned Nikāyas". In the Sāñcī and Bhārhut inscriptions (Lüders, 299, 867) the epithet *pañcanekāyika* is applied to certain monks. This does not mean, as was so long believed, that those monks knew the five Collections of the Suttapiṭaka, but merely that they were versed in the canonical doctrine as a whole.

The nine constituent parts. — The word of the Buddha is ninefold by reason of the nine constituent parts (*aṅgavaśena navavidham*). This

158 classification does not correspond to any real division of the canon, but lists the literary styles represented in the canonical writings. One and the same text can be classified in several of the styles at the same time depending on which of its characteristics is under consideration.

While the Tripiṭaka as a corpus of writings is never mentioned in the oldest canonical texts, the division into Aṅgas is frequently recorded. These nine Aṅgas are :

1. *sutta*	4. *gāthā*	7. *jātaka*
2. *geyya*	5. *udāna*	8. *abbhutadhamma*
3. *veyyākaraṇa*	6. *itivuttaka*	9. *vedalla*

Modern authors argue over the exact meaning of these terms, but the Pāli commentaries define them in the following way (*Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 23; *Samanta*, p. 28, *Atthasālinī*, p. 26; *Aṅguttara Comm.*, III, p. 5) :

Sutta. — The twofold *Vinayavibhaṅga*, the *Niddesa*, the *Khandhaka*, the *Parivāra*, the *Maṅgala*, *Ratana*, *Nālaka* and *Tuvaṭaka sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*, and all the other discourses of the Buddha which bear the name of Sutta.

Geyya. — All Suttas with verses.

Veyyākaraṇa. — The *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, *Suttas* without verses and all the discourses of the Buddha not included in the other eight Aṅgas.

Gāthā. — The *Dhammapada*, the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā* and the sections of the *Suttanipāta* which do not bear the title of Sutta.

Udāna. — Eighty-two *Suttanta* embellished with verses expressing intellectual joy (section No. 3 of the *Khuddakanikāya*).

Itivuttaka. — The 112 Suttas (of the 4th section of the *Khuddakanikāya*) which begin with the formula : *Vuttaṃ hetaṃ Bhagavatā*.

Jātaka. — The 500 *Jātaka*, *Apaṇṇaka*, etc., contained in section 10 of the *Khuddakanikāya*.

Abbhutadhamma. — All the Suttas recording marvellous and extraordinary feats, for example *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 132.

Vedalla. — All Suttas in the form of questions which provoke joy and satisfaction; for example *Cūḷavedalla* (*Majjhima*, I, p. 299), *Mahāvedalla* (*Majjhima*, I, p. 292), *Sammādiṭṭhi* (*Majjhima*, I, p. 46), *Sakkapañha* (*Dīgha*, II, p. 263), *Saṅkhārabhājaniya* (*Majjhima*, III, p. 99), *Mahāpuṇṇama* (*Majjhima*, III, p. 15). J. Przyluski compares *vedalla* to the Skt. *vaitālīya*, the name of a metre, and *vaitālika* "bard"[51], but the Indians
159 themselves gave as correspondents to *vedalla*, *vaipulya* "extent", *vaidalya* "suppression" and *vaitulya* "incomparable"[52].

[51] *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 344.

[52] Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed. PRADHAN, p. 78.

The division into nine Aṅgas is adopted :

1. by the Theravādins of Ceylon who mention it in both their canonical and post-canonical writings : *Vinaya*, III, p. 7; *Majjhima*, I, p. 133; *Aṅguttara*, II, pp. 7, 103, 178; III, pp. 87, 177, 361; *Milinda*, p. 344; *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa (T 1648, ch. 9, p. 445*b*); *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa (ed. Warren, p. 373).

2. by a few rare canonical or paracanonical texts translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, such as an aberrant version of the *Saṃgītisūtra* (T 12, ch. 1, p. 227*b*), the Sanskrit *Itivṛttaka* (T 765, ch. 5, p. 684*a*; ch. 7, p. 697*c*) and the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T 761, ch. 1, p. 612*a*).

3. To judge from their Vinaya (T 1425, ch. 1, p. 227*b*), the Mahāsāṃghikas retained the division into nine Aṅgas. This fact does not tally with the statement in the *Dīpavamsa* (V, 36), which accuses the Mahāsāmghikas of having composed new sūtras and vinayas to incorporate them in the ancient collections. It is true that the *Mahāsāmghika Vinaya* claims, rightly or wrongly, to be one of the oldest.

4. The division into nine Aṅgas can also be found in some Mahāyānist sūtras and śāstras such as the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (ed. MÜLLER, Ch. 62; T 764, p. 661*a*), the *Daśavihāravibhāṣā* by Nāgārjuna (T 1521, ch. 9, p. 69*b*) and even the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ed. KERN, p. 45; T 262, ch. 1, p. 7*c*), but this last text deviates from the Pāli tradition by eliminating three early Aṅgas (*veyyākaraṇa*, *udāna* and *vedalla*) to replace them by three new ones (*nidāna*, *aupamya* = *avadāna*, and *upadeśa*) :

1. *sûtra*	4. *jātaka*	7. *aupamya*
2. *gāthā*	5. *adbhuta*	8. *geya*
3. *itivṛttaka*	6. *nidāna*	9. *upadeśa*

THE TWELVE CONSTITUENT PARTS. — The greatest majority of Sanskrit texts add three further Aṅgas to the nine of the Pāli tradition : *nidāna*, introduction indicating the subordinate circumstances of the discourses;
160 *avadāna*, tales of exploits, and *upadeśa*, instructions, which enables them to posit a Word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) or an Account of the Law (*dharmapravacana*) in twelve constituent parts (*dvādaśāṅga*) :

1. *sūtra*	5. *udāna*	9. *vaipulya*
2. *geya*	5. *nidāna*	10. *adbhutadharma*
3. *vyākaraṇa*	6. *ityukta*	11. *avadāna*
4. *gāthā*	7. *jātaka*	12. *upadeśa*

Contrary to what is generally believed, this is not a Mahāyānist list since, according to the most authoritative commentaries, the three new constituents refer to canonical texts pertaining as much to the Hīnayāna

as the Mahāyāna. This is how the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 126, p. 660*a*) defines them :

Nidāna. — In the sūtras, an utterance (*ukti*) was the outcome of various circumstances (*nidāna*), such as those described in the *Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi.* Similarly, in the Vinaya it is explained that it is as a result of an offence committed by Sudhana, etc., that the Bhagavat convened the assembly of bhikṣus and promulgated a rule (*śikṣāpada*).

Avadāna. — This is an account of the manifold and various adventures (*avadāna*) narrated in the sūtras; for example, the *Dīrghāvadāna,* the *Mahāvadāna* (in the *Dīrghāgama,* T 1, ch. 1, p. 1), etc.

Upadeśa. — This is the teaching of defined and considered instructions and great words contained in the sūtras. Thus, when the Buddha had expounded a sūtra in brief, he would retire to the monastery; then, while he was resting, the great disciples would gather in one place and, by means of all kinds of syllables (*akṣara*), phrases (*pada*) and meanings (*artha*), they would interpret the Buddha's word.

Nonetheless, even the theoreticans of the Hīnayāna did not exclude all the Mahāyānist texts from the list of twelve Aṅgas. The *Vibhāṣā* (l.c.) remarks : "The Vaipulyas explain at length the meaning of the various profound dharmas (*gambhīradharma*) contained in the sūtras, *Brahmajālasūtra,* etc..., and Venerable Pārśva also included the *Prajñā* [of the Mahāyāna] among the Vaipulyas, because of the extent of the subject dealt with".

Among the sources which accept the *dvādaśāṅgabuddhavacana* as opposed to the *navāṅgabuddhasāsana* of the Pāli, we may point out :

1. All the Āgamas, no matter which school transmitted them : the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (ed. Waldschmidt, p. 386; Id., *Leben-*
161 *sende des Buddha,* p. 217); *Dīrghāgama* (T 1, ch. 3, p. 16*c*; ch. 12, p. 74*b*); *Madhyama* (T 26, ch. 1, p. 421*a*; ch. 45, p. 709*b*; ch. 54, p. 764*b*); *Saṃyukta* (T 99, ch. 41, p. 300*c*); *Ekottara* (T 125, ch. 18, p. 635*a*; ch. 21, p. 657*a*; ch. 33, p. 728*c*; ch. 46, p. 794*b*; ch. 48, p. 813*a*).

2. All the Chinese Vinayas with the exception of that of the Mahāsāṃghikas : *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 1, p. 1*c*); *Dharmaguptaka Vin.* (T 1428, ch. 1, p. 569*b*), *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 38, p. 398*c*).

3. The treatises of the great Hīnayānist schools, Sarvāstivādins, Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas : *Mahāvyutpatti* (Nos. 1267-78); *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 126, p. 659*c* sq.); *Kośa* (VI, pp. 194, 274); *Satyasiddhiśāstra* (T 1646, ch. 1, p. 244*c*).

4. The majority of the Mahāyānasūtras such as the *Pañcaviṃśati* (ed. Dutt, p. 31; T 220, ch. 402, p. 9*c*; T 222, ch. 1, p. 150*c*; T 223, ch. 1, p. 220*b*); the *Saṃdhinirmocana* (T 676, ch. 3, p. 698*a*); the *Avataṃsaka*

(T 278, ch. 12, p. 478*a*). It is to be noted that the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T 374-5) counts nine Aṅgas when it is referring to the Śrāvakas (T 374, ch. 3, p. 383*c*; T 375, ch. 3, p. 623*b*), twelve when it is referring to the Bodhisattvas (T 374, ch. 15, p. 451*b*; T 375, ch. 15, p. 693*b*).

5. The *Upadeśa* of Nāgārjuna (T 1509, ch. 33, p. 306 sq.).

6. The great treatises of the Yogācāra school : *Abhisamayālamkārāloka* (ed. WOGIHARA, p. 29); *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* (ed. YAMAGUCHI, p. 209); *Yogacaryābhūmi* (T 1579, ch. 25, p. 419*a*; ch. 81, p. 753*a*; ch. 85, p. 773*a*); *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (ed. PRADHAN, p. 78; T 1605, ch. 6, p. 686*a*; T 1606 ch. 11, p. 743*b*).

To sum up, all the Pāli sources, the Mahāsāṃghikas and a few sūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyāna consider the *navaṅgabuddhasāsana* as authoritative, while all the Sanskrit sources of the Hīnayāna and most of the sūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyāna favour the *dvādaśāṅgabuddhavacana*.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE AṄGAS AND THE TRIPIṬAKA. — To the minds of Buddhists, Aṅga and Tripiṭaka are synonymous expressions in so far as they include the whole of the canonical writings. However, five Aṅgas, *sūtra, udāna, itivṛttaka, jātaka* and *avadāna,* are more closely comparable to certains works incorporated in the Tripiṭaka and which bear the same title.

Some theoreticians have a more limited conception of the Aṅgas,
162 identifying them, not with the Tripiṭaka as a whole but with part of it : The *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* or Basket of Minor Texts. At least, this is what seems to be meant by a passage in the *Vinayamātṛkā* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 818*a*).

The Yogācāra school which includes a *Bodhisattva Basket* in the ancient Tripiṭaka, has drawn up a concordance table between its Tripiṭaka, thus enlarged, and the twelve constituents of the writings. According to the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (ed. PRADHAN, p. 78; T 1605, ch. 6, p. 686*a*), the correspondence would work out as follows :

Sūtrapiṭaka	of the Śrāvakas : 1. *Sūtra*, 2. *Geya*, 3. *Vyākaraṇa*, 4. *Gāthā*, 5. *Udāna*.	
	of the Bodhisattvas : 10. *Vaipulya*, 11. *Adbhutadharma*.	
Vinayapiṭaka	of the Śrāvakas of the Bodhisattvas	6. *Nidāna*, 7. *Avadāna*, 8. *Itivṛttaka*, 9. *Jātaka*.
Abhidharmapiṭaka	of the Śrāvakas of the Bodhisattvas	12. *Upadeśa*.

THE 84,000 DHARMASKANDHAS. — The word of the Buddha is of 84,000 kinds by reason of the articles of the Law (*dharmaskandhavaśena caturaśītisahasravidham*). This means that the word of the Buddha is enormous in extent with respect to the numerous articles or items it contains. In round figures it contains 84,000 (variant 80,000) of them, in the same way that the stūpas erected by Aśoka were [illegible] or 80,000 in number. However, the articles or *dharmaskandha* in question are only rarely mentioned in the old canonical writings. I can cite only a single reference, stanza 1024 of the *Theragāthā* in which Ānanda declares :

Dvāsītiṃ buddhato gaṇhi, dve sahassāni bhikkhuto
caturāsīti sahassāni ye 'me dhammā pavattino.

"I have learned 82,000 dharmas from the lips of the Buddha and 2,000 from the lips of the bhikṣu (Śāriputra); therefore, 84,000 dharmas are present in my mind".

The *Theragāthā* commentary states that this stanza is taken from the *Gopakamoggallānasutta* (*Majjhima*, I, p. 7 sq.), but this reference is wrong. Nonetheless, the stanza in question can be found, with some variants over the number of dharmas, in the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 491*c*), and a canonical quotation from the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 74, p. 385*c*) and the *Avadānaśataka* (II, p. 155) of which the text is as follows :

163 *Sthavirānandasyaivaṃvidhā smṛtiḥ : yadā bhagavato 'ntikād aśītir dharmaskandhasahasrāṇy udgṛhītāni…*

"There is this mention of Ānanda the Elder : When I learned 80,000 dharmas in the presence of the Blessed One…".

The 84,000 *dharmaskandha* are also mentioned in the Sūtras and Śāstras of the Mahāyāna, such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ed. NANJIO, p. 254, l. 11), the *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka* (T 380, ch. 2, p. 953*a*), the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T 425, ch. 6, p. 44*c*) and the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (T 1606, ch. 11, p. 744*c* 1). It can be seen from certain passages of the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 22, p. 222*c*; ch. 25, p. 245) that for these authors the expressions Tripiṭaka, Dvādaśāṅga and Caturaśītidharmaskandhasahasra are equivalents and serve to designate the Buddhist teaching in its entirety.

However, the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (I, pp. 46-7) and its commentary, the *Vyākhyā* (ed. WOGIHARA, pp. 52-3) discuss the extent of the *dharmaskandha* and mention various opinions on the subject. According to some of them, it was the size of the Abhidharma Treatise

known by the name of *Dharmaskandha* (T 1537), which contains 6,000 stanzas; but, of the 84,000 *dharmaskandha* which existed in the past, only one has been preserved, all the others have perished. According to others, there are as many *dharmaskandha* as there are subjects dealt with in the writings. Buddhaghosa is of the latter opinion, which counts one *skandha* for each *anusandhika* or topic (*Samantapāsādikā*, p. 29; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 24; *Atthasālinī*, pp. 26-7).

At the places mentioned, above the *Kośa* and its *Vyākhyā* believe that each *skandha* was preached in order to cure a particular category of devotees, for beings can be the victims of 80,000 different passions. This is also the opinion of Harivarman in his *Satyasiddhiśāstra* (T 1646, ch. 9, p. 314*a*), for whom the *skandha* serve as an antidote for manifold passions which are deeply rooted in ignorance.

There is no reason to dwell on these speculative considerations and we can pass directly to the classification of the texts into three Baskets (*tripiṭaka*) which was by far the most important and which corresponds to a real division of the canonical writings.

2nd — The Tripiṭaka

"The Word of the Buddha is threefold by reason of the Baskets" (*piṭakavaśena trividham*). The Tripiṭaka contains the Sūtrapiṭaka,
164 Basket of the Text or Texts which systematically groups the teaching of the sūtras, the Vinayapiṭaka, Basket of the Discipline which contains the disciplinary rules in force in the order; finally, the Abhidharmapiṭaka, Basket of "technical reflections on the Law" which constitutes a thorough study and systematization of the teachings of the Sūtras.

a. Generalities

THE RELATIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIPIṬAKA. — The classification of the writings into three Baskets merely sanctions the existence of three different specialities within the religious community the objects of which were respectively the doctrine, discipline and scholasticism.

Indeed, very early on the monks specialized in one of these three disciplines. The canonical writings inform us that, alongside the religious who were famed as instructors (*dharmakathika*), meditators (*dhyāyin*) and folklorists (*tiraścakathika*), there were bhikṣus versed in the sūtras (*sūtradhara* or *suttantika*), others in the discipline (*vinayadhara*), and still others in catechetics or summaries which are the core of scholasticism (*mātṛkādhara*) : *Vin.*, I, pp. 119, 127, 337, 339; II, pp. 8, 55, 75-6, 299,

300; *Dīgha*, II, p. 125; *Majjhima*, I, p. 221; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 117; II, pp. 147 sq.; 169 sq.; III, pp. 179, 361 sq.; IV, pp. 140-3; V, pp. 16, 349, 352.

Nonetheless, in the earliest texts, the three disciplines are still independent and follow their own traditions separately. They are not as yet qualified as "baskets" (*piṭaka*), and there is no question of the "three baskets" (*tripiṭaka*). These terms were to appear for the first time on Brāhmī inscriptions the oldest of which date back to the second century B.C.

These inscriptions continue to use the old vocabulary : it is always a matter of Reciters (*bhāṇaka, bhanaka* or *bhānaka*) as at Bhārhut (Lüders, 738, 762, 773, 789, 804, 833), Sāñcī (602) and Kārli (1094, 1095); of "Knowers of the Sūtras" (*sutaṃtika, sutātika, sutātikinī, sūtātikinī*) as at Bhārhut (797) and Sāñcī (319, 352, 635); of "Memorizers of the Vinaya" (*vinayadhara, vinayaṃdhara* and possibly, *vināyaka*) as at Bodh-Gāyā (949), Amarāvatī (1286) and Sāñcī (654).

However, alongside these traditional terms, new ones appear which bear witness to the existence of one or even of three baskets of texts. At
165 Bhārhut (856), we find the epithet *Peṭakin* "versed in a (?) Piṭaka". This concerns *Trepiṭaka* monks or *Trepiṭikā* nuns in Sārnāth (925, 926, 927), Śrāvastī (918) and Mathurā (38). Finally, Kānheri (989) mentions a *Traipiṭikopādhyāya* "Master of three baskets".

No reference is made to the Three Baskets either in the Pāli or the Sanskrit literature, except in the post-canonical texts : *piṭakattaya* (*Suttanipāta Comm.*, p. 328), *tipiṭakadhara* (*Visuddhimagga*, ed. Warren, pp. 50, 55), *tipeṭaka* (*Milinda*, p. 90), *tripiṭika* (*Divya*, p. 54), *tripiṭa* (*Divya*, pp. 261, 505; *Avadānaśataka*, I, p. 334).

Contents and arrangement of the Tripiṭaka. — The difficulty of inserting the minor texts (Pāli *khuddaka*, Skt. *kṣudraka*) into the Tripiṭaka gave rise to some wavering in the arrangement of the three Baskets.

1. The Pāli canon and the *Narrative of Nandimitra* (T 2030 p. 14*b*), a work which was translated into Chinese at the beginning of the seventh century, makes the minor texts the fifth and last collection (Pāli *nikāya*, Skt. *āgama*) of the Sūtrapiṭaka.

The Pāli Tripiṭaka is subdivided in the following way :

I. Vinayapiṭaka

II. Suttapiṭaka
- 1. *Dīghanikaya*
- 2. *Majjhimanikāya*
- 3. *Saṃyuttanikāya*
- 4. *Aṅguttaranikāya*
- 5. *Khuddakanikāya*

III. Abhidhammapiṭaka

The canon of the *Narrative* follows a parallel order :

I. Sūtrapiṭaka
   1. *Dīrghāgama*
   2. *Madhyamāgama*
   3. *Ekottāragama*
   4. *Saṃyuktāgama*
   5. *Kṣudrakāgama*

II. Vinayapiṭaka
III. Abhidharmapiṭaka.

2. Certain schools, while also inserting the minor texts into the Sūtrapiṭaka, declined to give them the title of *āgama* but attributed to them that of *piṭaka*. This was the case for the *Mahāsāṃghikas* (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 491*c* 22), the *Haimavatas* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 818*a* 27), the
166 *Mahīśāsakas* (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191*a* 29) and the *Dharmaguptakas* (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968*b* 26). Their canon is therefore presented as follows :

I. Sūtrapiṭaka
   1. *Dīrghāgama*
   2. *Madhyamāgama*
   3. *Saṃyuktāgama*
   4. *Ekottarāgama*
   5. *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*

II. Vinayapiṭaka
III. Abhidharmapiṭaka

3. In contrast to a Suttapiṭaka in five Nikāyas and the Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas completed by a Kṣudrakapiṭaka, some schools only recognized a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas and exluded the minor texts from their Tripiṭaka.

The existence of a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas only is authenticated by the early canonical texts, since the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, in two of its recensions (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175*c* 3; T 6, ch. 2, p. 191*a*), states that the Arhats of the fiirst council received four Āgamas from the lips of Ānanda : *Madhyama*, *Dīrgha*, *Ekottara* and *Saṃyukta*.

The Chinese preface to the translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (T 1, p. 1*a*) briefly describes a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas : *Ekottara*, *Madhyama*, *Saṃyukta* and *Dīrgha*.

A passage in the *Vinayamātṛkā* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 820*a*) probably referring to a Dharmaguptaka sect, also speaks of a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas : *Ekottara*, *Madhyama*, *Dīrgha* and *Saṃyukta*.

Finally, the powerful sect of the Sarvāstivādins which contributed so much to the preservation of the writings, never had more than a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas, the "Quartet of Āgama" (*āgamacatuṣṭayam*) according to the expression in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 17, 1.22;

p. 33, 1.7). This is brought out by various works of Sarvāstivādin origin such as the *Aśokasūtra* (T 2043, ch. 6, p. 152*a* 7), the *Abhidharmavinayavibhāṣā* (T 1440, ch. 1, pp. 503*c*-504*a*), the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T 1451, ch. 39, p. 407*b* 27 sq.), and the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Nos. 1421-24), etc.

However, although the Sarvāstivādins excluded the minor texts from their Tripiṭaka, they nevertheless possessed a certain number of them and did not hesitate to resort to them as if they were canonical or paracanonical authorities. In fact, they frequently cite them, sometimes
167 by the title of *Kṣudraka* (cf. *Kośavyākhyā*, ed. Wogihara, p. 33, 1.32), sometimes even by that of *Kṣudrakāgama* (Kośa, IX, p. 249; Tib. *Luṅ phran chegs*, Chin. *Shao fen a han* in T 1559, ch. 22, p. 306*a* 7; *Tsa a chi mo* in T 1558, ch. 29, p. 154*b* 22).

4. The Mahāyānists who, derived their canonical writings from the Sarvāstivādins, make a special Piṭaka of these Kṣudrakas, as distinct from the traditional Tripiṭaka. This is what is shown by various Mahāyānist works such as the *Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka and the Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (T 2026, p. 3*c* 21-23), the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 11, p. 143*c* 24-25; ch. 49, p. 412*a* 8-9), the *Fen pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32*b*) and the *Yogacaryābhūmi* (T 1579, ch. 85, p. 772*b-c*), where the canon is analyzed as follows : :

I. Vinayapiṭaka
II. Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas
III. Abhidharmapiṭaka
IV. Kṣudrakapiṭaka.

b. The Sūtrapiṭaka

The Sūtrapiṭaka, which includes the most important part of the Dharma discovered and expounded by Śākyamuni, is well-known to all Buddhists and, with the exception of a few sūtras, its authority is recognized by all schools, whether Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna. As we have just seen, it consists of four or five collections called *āgama* in the Sanskrit tradition, *nikāya* in the Pāli tradition, although the term *āgama* is again occasionally used by Buddhaghosa (*Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 2) and the Chinese recension of the *Samantapāsādikā* always refers to *A-han* (*āgama*) wherever the Pāli recension resorts to the word *nikāya* (T 1462, ch. 1, p. 675*b*).

Since the five collections do not provide exactly the same guarantees of authenticity, we will begin by dealing with the first four and keep a separate place for the Minor Texts.

THE FIRST FOUR PĀLI NIKĀKAYAS. — The first four nikāyas of the

Suttapiṭaka are no more than a number of collections based on the length of the suttas of which they are composed or on their method of classification :

1. *Dīghanikāya* "Collection of long suttas" : 34 suttas distributed into three sections (*vagga*).

2. *Majjhimanikāya* "Collection of middle-length suttas" : 152 suttas.

168 3. *Saṃyuttanikāya* "Collection of grouped suttas" : 7,762 suttas divided into six sections (*vagga*), themselves subdivided into 56 assemblages (*saṃyutta*).

4. *Aṅguttaranikāya* "Collection of suttas dealing with enumerations classified in ascending order" : 9,557 suttas distributed into eleven groups (*nipāta*), in turn subdivided into sections (*vagga*).

The Buddhist Dharma is the main subject of the nikāyas, but some suttas also deal with discipline or compile inventories in the style of the mātikās of the Abhidhamma. Often one and the same subject is dealt with in the various collections in nearly identical terms, and a given sutta can appear in the form of a long (*mahā*) or short (*cūḷa*) recension.

Buddhist monks specialized in the study of a particular nikāya. The texts mention Reciters of the Dīgha (*dīghabhāṇaka*) and Reciters of the Majjhima (*majjhimabhāṇaka*), for example in *Jātaka*, I, p. 59; *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 29, 219, 236; *Sumaṅgala*, I, pp. 15, 131. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (33, 72) speaks of a thera "versed in the four nikāyas" (*caturnikāyathera*).

THE FOUR ĀGAMAS. — The Pāli nikāyas have their correspondents in the Āgamas in Sanskrit or Middle Indian. Unfortunately, their original text is not known to us in its integrality.

1. The sands of Central Asia and the caves at Tun-huang in Kansu have yielded a considerable number of manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts which date from between the sixth and eleventh centuries A.D. They are mostly sūtras which form part of the Āgamas collections. The first discoveries were made public in no particular order by various scholars : R. Pischel, S. Lévi, L. de La Vallée Poussin, R. Hoernle, H. Lüders, etc.[53]. More recently, the collocation of the fragments collected by the German expeditions to Turfan enabled E. Waldschmidt and his team to reconstruct the original integral text of several important sūtras : "long" sūtras such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Mahāvadāna* and the *Āṭānāṭika*; "middle-length" or "short" sūtras of which manuscript D 24 from Qočo seems to have constituted a collection. There even exist

[53] See the bibliography in WINTERNITZ, *Literature*, II, p. 234, n. 3, and the important collection in R. HOERNLE, *Manuscript Remains of B. Literature found in East Turkestan*, I, Oxford, 1916.

169 fragments of a *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* which has no correspondent in the Pāli nikāyas[54] :

2. Large extracts from original sūtras are quoted, with or without references, by Buddhist writers, authors of philosophical and religious treatises. Particularly rich in canonical quotations are the *Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, Śikṣāsamuccaya, Pañjikā, Tattvasaṃgraha, Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, Abhidharmasamuccaya*, etc.

Finally, alongside the numerous Buddhistic sūtras which were the subjects of separate translations, there is the Chinese Tripiṭaka which contains a complete translation of the four Āgamas carried out between the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth by monks of Kāśmīrian origin or connection[55].

a. *Dīrghāgama* (*Ch'ang a han*, T 1), translated by Buddhayaśas between 412 and 413 : 30 sūtras.

b. *Madhyamāgama* (*Chung a han*, T 26), translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva and Saṃgharakṣa between 397 and 398 : 222 sūtras.

c. *Complete Saṃyuktāgama* (*Tsa a han*, T 99), translated by Guṇabhadra between 436 and 443 : 1,362 sūtras.

d. *Partial Saṃyuktāgama* (*Pieh i Tsa a han*, T 100), translated by an unknown writer in approximately the year 400 and based on an original from the Kāśyapīya school : 364 sūtras.

e. *Ekottarāgama* (*Tsêng i a han*, T 125), translated between 397 and 398 by Gautama Saṃghadeva, using a recension established in North-West India or Serindia and containing numerous Mahāyāna additions.

170 None of these translations is based on Pāli originals, but rather on Sanskrit, even Prākrit recensions. The original of T 26 seems to have been in Sanskrit; those of T 1 and T 125 in Middle Indian.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE ĀGAMAS. — The literary sources which mention the compilation of the Āgamas do not always classify them in

[54] E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatische Sanskritkanon*, Leipzig, 1939; *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 3 Vols, Berlin, 1950-1; *Vergleichende Analyse des Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, Festschrift Schubring, Hamburg, 1951; *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, Berlin, 1952; *Zur Śroṇakoṭikarṇa-Legende*, NAWG, 1952, pp. 129-52; *Zu einigen Bilinguen aus dem Turfan-Funden*, NAWG, 1955, pp. 1-20; *Die Einleitung des Saṅgītisūtra*. ZDMG, CV, 1955, pp. 298-318; *Das Mahâvadānasūtra*, 2 Vols, Berlin, 1953-6; *Ein Fragment des Saṃyuktāgama aus den Turfan-Funden*, NAWG, 1956, pp. 45-53; *Identifizierung einer Handschrift des Nidānasaṃyukta aus den Turfanfunden*, ZDMG, CVII, 1957, pp. 372-401; *Sūtra 25 of the Nidānasaṃyukta*, BSOAS, 1957, pp. 569-79; *Das Upasenasūtra*, NAWG, 1957, pp. 27-44; H. HOFFMANN, *Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra*, Leipzig, 1939.*

[55] See AKANUMA CHIZEN, *Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, Nagoya, 1929.

the same order. We do not know whether any importance should be attached to this detail, but, in order to omit nothing we provide a list of the various classifications as follows :

1. *Dīrgha - Madhyama - Saṃyukta - Ekottara* : Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 491*c*); Mahīśāsaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191*a*). This is also the order of the Pāli canon.

2. *Dīrgha - Madhyama - Ekottara - Saṃyukta* : Dharmaguptaka Vin. (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 986*b*); Haimavata Vinayamātṛkā (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 818*a*); Narrative of Nandimitra (T 2030, p. 14*b*).

3. *Madhyama - Dīrgha - Ekottara - Saṃyukta* : Parinirvāṇasūtra (T 6, ch. 2, p. 191*a*).

4. *Saṃyukta - Dīrgha - Madhyama - Ekottara* : Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1451, ch. 39, p. 407*b-c*); Yogacaryābhūmi (T 1579, ch. 85, p. 772*c*).

5. *Ekottara - Madhyama - Dīrgha - Saṃyukta* : Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 69*c*; ch. 33, p. 306*c* 23); *Fen pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32*a*); *Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka* (T 2026, p. 3*a* 26); Vinayamātṛkā (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 820*a*).

6. *Ekottara - Madhyama - Saṃyukta - Dīrgha* : Vinayavibhāṣā (T 1440, ch. 1, p. 503*c*); Chinese preface to the Dīrgha (T 1, p. 1).

When the same sources mention the compilation of a *Kṣudrakāgama* or a *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, they always place it fifth.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE NIKĀYAS AND ĀGAMAS. — A comparison between the Pāli Nikāyas and the Sanskrit Āgamas enables us to note outstanding differences between the two compilations.

In the first place, the contents of the respective codes are not exactly the same. The Āgamas include a larger number of sūtras than the Nikāyas and arrange them differently. As they were closed much later, they make room for works of comparatively recent date; hence the *Saṃyukta* (T 99, ch. 23, pp. 161-70) contains long extracts from the *Aśokāvadāna*.

171 One and the same sūtra is presented in a different form, depending on whether it appears in the Nikāyas or the Āgamas. The *nidāna* which serve to introduce them do not always agree over their setting. Thus the *Dīghanikāya* (III, p. 194) situates the *Āṭanātiyasuttanta* in Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūṭapabbata, while the Āgamas (ed. H. Hoffmann, p. 33; T 1245, p. 217*a*; T 1509, ch. 9, p. 126*a*) locate the *Āṭanāṭikasūtra* in the Jetavana of Śrāvastī. Similarly, wherever the Nikāyas speak of the Kūṭāgārāsālā "Belvedere Hall" of the Mahāvana near Vesālī, the corresponding Sanskrit texts invariably give the Kūṭāgāraśālā on the bank of the Monkey Pool (*markaṭahradatīra*). In this respect, we can compare

the Pāli *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 29, with the Sanskrit *Saṃyukta* (T 99, ch. 48, p. 350*a*), or again, the Pāli *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 230, with the Sanskrit *Saṃyukta* (T 99, ch. 40, p. 290*c*). It would be easy to point out many divergences in detail of the same type.

Of even greater importance are the differences in structure which contrast the Sanskrit recension of a given sūtra with its Pāli version. The number of pericopēs is not the same : some are added, others deleted, and yet others re-located. It is sufficient here to refer the reader to the works by F. Weller on the *Lakkhaṇa-* and *Saṃgītisuttanta*, and E. Waldschmidt on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-* and *Mahāvadānasūtra*. However, the question remains as to whether the divergences which contrast the Pāli tradition with that of the Sanskrit can be explained solely through variations in the oral transmission of the texts, or through intentional modifications based on the written compilations.

However, with the exception of the Mahāyānist interpolations in the *Ekottara*, which are easily discernible, the variations in question affect hardly anything save the method of expression or the arrangement of the subjects. The doctrinal basis common to the āgamas and nikāyas is remarkably uniform. Preserved and transmitted by the schools, the sūtras do not however constitute scholastic documents, but are the common heritage of all the sects. Thus, the agreement between the āgamas and nikāyas over a doctrinal point — such as that of Anātman — is the best, if not the only proof of the authenticity of the latter. Any attempt to reconstruct a "pre-canonical" Buddhism deviating from the consensus between the āgamas and nikāyas can only end in subjective hypotheses.

THE PĀLI KHUDDAKANIKĀYA.* — The *Khuddakanikāya*, fifth and last collection of the Suttapiṭaka, contains fifteen books which are listed in
172 the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 18), the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (p. 17) and the *Atthasālinī* (p. 18) in the following order :

1. *Khuddakapāṭha*, short readings,
2. *Dhammapada*, verses of the Law,
3. *Udāna*, vocal utterances,
4. *Itivuttaka*, texts beginning with the words : "Thus it was said",
5. *Suttanipāta*, group of texts,
6. *Vimānavatthu*, stories about the divine palaces,
7. *Petavatthu*, stories about the "departed",
8. *Theragāthā*, stanzas of the Elder Brothers,
9. *Therīgāthā*, stanzas of the Elder Sisters,
10. *Jātaka*, collection of former births [of the Buddha],
11. *Niddesa*, detailed explanation,
12. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the path of comprehension,

13. *Apadāna*, tales of exploits,
14. *Buddhavaṃsa*, the lineage of the Buddhas,
15. *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the Basket of conduct.

While not exactly overlapping the division of the Word of the Buddha into twelve constituents, the fifteen *Khuddaka* approach it to a certain degree, *Khuddaka* Nos. 3, 4, 8-9, 10 and 13 corresponding respectively to the constituent parts Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 11.

The antiquity of a certain number of *Khuddaka* cannot be doubted, for two reasons :

The first is that some of them are used as sources by the first four nikāyas of the *Suttapiṭaka* : the *Dhammapadāni* are quoted in the *Saṃyutta* (I, p. 209); the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the fourth section of the *Suttanipāta*, is mentioned in the *Vinaya* (I, p. 196) and the *Udāna* (p. 59); finally, the *Pārāyana*, the fifth section of the *Suttanipāta*, is cited in the *Saṃyutta* (II, p. 49) and the *Aṅguttara* (I, pp. 133, 134; II, p. 45; III, pp. 339 and 401; IV, p. 63).

A second reason argues in favour of the authenticity of the *Khuddaka* : most of them have correspondents in Sanskrit or Prākrit :

The *Ratanasutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha* is again found in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 290 sq.).

The *Dhammapada* corresponds to the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* of the Pelliot Mission, the Prākrit *Dhammapada* of the Dutreuil de Rhins and Petrovsky manuscript, a Tibetan version and four Chinese recensions.*
173 It is frequently quoted in Sanskrit texts, for example in the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 212; III, pp. 91, 156, 434 sq.), the *Karmavibhaṅga* (pp. 46, 48, 76), etc.

Some extracts from the *Udāna* have passed into the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, *sūtra* Nos. 1072, 1320, 1330).

The *Itivuttaka*, or to be more exact, a Sanskrit *Ityuktam* was the subject of a Chinese translation by Hsüan tsang : The *Pên shih ching* (T 765).

Of the 61 suttas which form part of the collection in the *Suttanipāta*, more than half are known and used on the continental mainland.

It would take too long to list here all the quotations taken from them by the *Saṃyuktāgama, Divyādāna, Mahāvastu, Vibhāṣā, Abhidharmakośa, Prajñāpāramitopadeśa, Bodhisattvabhūmi*, etc. Furthermore, the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the fourth section of the *Suttanipāta*, was translated into Chinese from a Sanskrit original, the *Arthavargīya*, by the Scythian Chih ch'ien between the years 223 and 253 A.D. Fragments of the Sanskrit original were discovered in Central Asia and used by Dr. P.V. Bapat in his reconstruction of the *Arthapadasūtra*[56].

[56] P.V. Bapat, *Arthapada Sūtra*, Santiniketen, 1951.

A section of the *Vimānavatthu* (No. 81, pp. 73-74) has its correspondent in hybrid Sanskrit in the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 191 sq.).

A whole page of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*[57] corresponds to the exploits of Soṇakoṭivīsa in the Pāli *Apadāna* (p. 298).

Finally, the *Buddhavaṃṣa* (IV, p. 21 sq.) has its parallel in hybrid Sanskrit in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 250 sq.).

The concordance between the Pāli *Khuddaka* on the one hand and the texts in Sanskrit on the other, pleads in favour of the authenticity of the Minor Texts, but this concordancy does not necessarily result from a dependence on a common source : it can also be explained by simple borrowing : the Sinhalese may have translated or adapted Sanskrit originals into Pāli and, conversely, the mainland Indians may have made use of Pāli originals.

However, if a certain number of Pāli *Khuddaka* are included among the oldest specimens of the canonical literature, this in no way implies that the compilation of the *Khuddakanikāya* in which they appear was accomplished from the very outset of Buddhism, at the time of the council of Rājagṛha, in the year one of the Nirvāṇa, as the Sinhalese tradition claims.

174 In fact, in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D., there was still discussion over the exact number of sections in the *Khuddakanikāya*. The fifteen traditional books are indeed listed in the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 18), *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (p. 17) and *Atthasālinī* (p. 18), but while the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 27, 1.23) and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (p. 23, 1.25) speak of a *Khuddakanikāya* "in fifteen sections" (*pañcadasabheda*), the *Atthasālinī* (p. 26, 1.3) mentions a *Khuddakanikāya* "in fourteen sections" (*cuddasappabheda*). Furthermore, the Chinese recension of the *Samantapāsādikā* (T 1462, ch. 1, p. 676*a* 7-10) excludes the *Khuddakapāṭha* from the collection and lists the fourteen remaining sections in an unusual order :

1. *Dhammapada*	6. *Vimāna*	11. *Niddesa*
2. *Apadāna*	7. *Peta*	12. *Paṭisambhidā*
3. *Udāna*	8. *Thera*	13. *Buddhavaṃsa*
4. *Itivuttaka*	9. *Therīgāthā*	14. *Cariyāpiṭaka*
5. *Nipāta*	10. *Jātaka*	

The canonicity of several of these sections had always come under discussion. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 37) claims that after the council of Vaiśālī the Mahāsāṃghikas rejected the *Paṭisambhidā*, the *Niddesa* and

[57] N. Dutt, *Gilgit Man.*, III, part 1, pp. 181-2; cf. M. Hofinger, *Le Congrès du lac Anavatapta*, I, Louvain, 1954, p. 208.

part of the *Jātaka*. In Ceylon, at the time of Buddhaghosa (fifth century), the school of the Dīghabhāṇakas excluded three sections from the *Khuddakanikāya* — the *Khuddakapāṭha, Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Apadāna* — and attached the other twelve to the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Conversely, the Majjhimabhāṇakas, after having rejected the *Khuddakapāṭha*, added the remainder to the *Suttapiṭaka*[58]. Finally, noting how few formal suttas were included in the *Khuddaka*, the Sinhalese commentator Sudinna rejected the majority of the sections under the pretext that "there is no Word of the Buddha which does not take the form of a sutta" (*asuttanāmakaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ nāma n'atthi*)[59].

Taking advantage of the disorder in the collection, the Burmese Buddhists added four paracanonical texts to it — the *Milindapañha, Suttasaṃgaha, Peṭakopadesan* and *Nettipakaraṇa* — so that now their *Khuddakanikāya* contains nineteen books[60].

SANSKRIT KṢUDRAKA. — As we saw above, the minor Sanskrit texts do not occupy an unvarying place in the canon of writings : sometimes they constitute, with the title of *Kṣudrakāgama* or *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, the
175 fifth collection of the Sūtrapiṭaka, and sometimes they form a fourth Piṭaka distinct from the Tripiṭaka.

What was the content of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*? It was and always remained the most fluctuating, even more so than that of the Pāli *Khuddakanikāya*. When required to define it, the accounts of the first council can hardly conceal their confusion and hesitate between two solutions : the first which consists of attributing to the collection a few special texts which were not collated in the Āgamas, the second which tends to identify the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* with the Word of the Buddha in twelve constituent parts (*dvādaśāṅgabuddhavacana*). These are some definitions :

In the *Narrative of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka and the Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (T 2026, p. 3*c*), we read : the accounts (of the *Kṣudrapiṭaka*) each differ in thought and action : that is why they are called *Tsa tsang*. In them the Buddha, the Arhats, Devas, Brahmā and the Tīrthikas explain the causes of their former births (*pūrvajanman*) : that is why they are called *Tsa tsang*. *Gāthā* abound in them : in them is the topic of the twelve causes (*nidāna*) and the respective manifold bases (*āyatana*) : that is what is called *Tsa tsang* (*Kṣudrakāgama*). It gives some explanations, in connection with the existences of the Bodhisattva in the course of

[58] Sumaṅgala, I, p. 15.
[59] Sumaṅgala, II, p. 566; Manorathapūraṇī, III, p. 159.
[60] M.H. BODE, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, London, 1909, pp. 4-5.

three countless periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*), the places of birth and working factors : that is why it is called *San tsang* (amend to *Tsa tsang*)". For the author of this obscure text, the *Kṣudraka* dealt mainly with the former births (*jātaka*) and the causes (*nidāna*) which explain them, and the account abounds in stanzas (*gāthā*). It is a fact that *gāthā*, *nidāna* and *jātaka* form part of the twelve constituents of the writings.

A somewhat similar explanation is provided by the *Fen pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32*b*) : "The *Tsa tsang* is not the word of a single man : it is the Word of the Buddha, or the word of the disciples, or eulogistic stanzas (*gāthā*) by the Devas. It also deals with conditions of former existences and the places of birth of the Bodhisattva in the course of three countless periods. Its letter and meaning are manifold and more abundant than in the Tripiṭaka : that is why it is called *Tsa tsang*". Here again, *sūtra* gathered from the lips of the Buddha or his discipline, *gāthā* uttered by the gods and *jātaka* constitute the main part of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*.

For the *Vinayamātṛka* (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818*a*), the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*, even though it includes certain special texts irrelevant to the Āgamas,
176 corresponds on the whole to the twelve-fold Word of the Buddha : "The Word of the Buddha such as the *Fa chü* (*Dharmapada*), *Shuo i* (*Artha-varga*) or *Po lo yen* (*Pārāyaṇa*), from the *Sūtra* to the *Upadeśa*, all those holy texts connected with the *Tsa tsang* are named *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*".

Taking its inspiration from the same divisional principle, the *Dharma-guptaka Vinaya* (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968*b*) proposes a *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* in twelve sections the first seven of which, if our interpretation is correct, correspond to as many "Constituents" of the writings, and the last five are concerned with autonomous compositions. According to this source, the *Tsa tsang* would be a collection of twelve holy texts :

1. *Shêng* (abbreviation for *Pên shêng*) : *Jātaka*
2. *Pen* (abbreviation for *Pên shih*) : *Itivṛttaka*
3. Good *Yin yüan* : *Nidāna*
4. *Fang teng* : *Vaipulya*
5. *Wei tsêng yu* : *Adbhutadharma*
6. *P'i yü* : *Avadāna*
7. *Yu p'o t'i shê* : *Upadeśa*
8. *Chü i* : *Arthavarga*
9. *Fa chü* : *Dharmapada*
10. *Po lo yen* : *Pārāyaṇa*
11. *Tsa nan* : *Saṃcodana*
12. *Shêng chieh* : *Sthaviragāthā*

There we can disregard, as being mere filling, the holy texts Nos 1 to 7

which attempt a comparison with certain constituents of the writings. However, texts Nos. [redacted] to 12 (*Arthavarga, Dharmapada, Pārāyaṇa and Sthaviragāthā*) deserve our attention because they refer to Buddhist writings of a special kind, those of the Chanted Verses which do seem, in fact, to have formed the original core of the minor texts.

THE CHANTED VERSES. — These are clearly ancient compositions of considerable poetic value, which use stanzas as a means of expression. The Buddha was not responsible for composing them and, unlike the traditional sūtras, they do not develop the profound or supernormal meaning, associated with the doctrine of emptiness. That is why the collators of the canonical collection relegated them among the texts known as "minor". However, for the most part they were chanted at night by the great disciples such as Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa (Pāli *Vin.*, I,
177 p. 196), Aniruddha (*Saṃyutta*, I, p. 209), or a group of Elders (*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 34-5). The Buddha, who was present at those recitations, congratulated the authors : "Excellent, excellent, O monk! You have a fine voice, well articulated, neither muffled nor gulped, and which makes the meaning clearly understandable".

The canonical sources which narrate these episodes draw up lists, varying in length, of those recitations in which the great disciples indulged : we nearly always find in them the *Dharmapada, Arthavarga, Pārāyaṇa* and the *Sthaviragāthā* which the passage in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* quoted above gave as integral parts of the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*. Here, moreover, is a summary of these lists :

1. A single title, the *Arthavargīyāni sūtrāni* (in Pāli : *Aṭṭhakavaggikāni*) in the Pāli *Vin.* (I, p. 196), *Udāna* (p. 59), *Mahāsāṃghika Vin.* (T 1425, ch. 23, p. 416*a* 3), *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 21, p. 144*b* 17) and the *Dharmaguptaka Vin.* (T 1428, ch. 39, p. 845*c* 24).

2. Two titles in the *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1435, ch. 25, p. 181*b* 24-5) :
   1. *Pārāyaṇa*
   2. *Satyadṛṣṭa*

3. Three titles in the partial *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 100, ch. 15, p. 480*c*) :
   1. *Dharmapadagāthā*
   2. *Pārāyaṇa*
   3. *Mahātheragāthā*

4. Five titles in the Chinese version of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1448, ch. 3, p. 11*b* 6) :
   1. *Udāna*
   2. *Sthaviragāthā*
   3. *Śailagāthā*
   4. *Munigāthā*
   5. *Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi*

5. Six or seven titles in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 20, 34-5) :

    1. *Udāna*
    2. *Pārāyaṇa*
    3. *Satyadṛṣṭa*
    4. *Sthaviragāthā*
    5. *Śailagāthā*
    6. *Munigāthā*
    7. *Arthavargīyāṇi*

6. Eight titles in the Sanskrit original of *the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 4, p. 188, 1.8) :

178 1. *Udāna*

    2. *Pārāyaṇa*
    3. *Satyadṛṣṭa*
    4. *Śailagāthā*
    5. *Munigāthā*
    6. *Sthaviragāthā*
    7. *Sthavirīgāthā*
    8. *Arthavargīyāṇi*

7. Eight titles also in the *Complete Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 49, p. 362*c* 10) :

    1. *Yu t'o na* : *Udāna*
    2. *Po lo yen na* : *Pārāyaṇa*
    3. *Chien chên ti* : *Satyadṛṣṭa*
    4. *Shang tso so shuo chieh* : *Sthaviragāthā*
    5. *Pi ch'iu ni so shuo chieh* : *Bikṣuṇīgāthā*
    6. *Shih lu chieh* : *Śailagāthā*
    7. *I p'in* : *Arthavargīyāṇi*
    8. *Mou ni chieh* : *Munigāthā*

All these works have their correspondents in the Pāli *Khuddaka* : The *Dharmapadagāthā* or *Udāna[varga]* correspond to the *Dhammapada*. — The *Munigāthā* are probably the *Munigāthā* of the Aśokan edict at Bhābra (Bloch, p. 154) and the *Munisutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (I, 12). — The *Satyaḍṛṭa* (variant : *Satyaḍṛśa*), although not yet identified, possibly refers to the eulogy of the "Truth, voice of the Immortal" which is the subject of the *Subhāsitasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (III, 3). — The *Śailagāthā* are the equivalent of the *Selasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (III, 7). The *Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi* are the sixteen *sutta* of the *Aṭṭkavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* (IV). — The *Pārāyaṇa* is chapter V of the *Suttanipāta*. — Finally, the *Sthaviragāthā* and *Sthavirī-* or *Bhikṣuṇīgāthā* correspond respectively to the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā* of the Pāli collection.

We therefore see how the Sanskrit-based schools, even though in principle acknowledging the authority of the minor texts, hesitated over their number and length. Unlike the Sinhalese Theravādins, who succeeded in compiling a *Khuddakanikāya*, the mainland Buddhists merely drew up lists of the *Kṣudraka* without ever being able to form a

definitive collection, whatever the accounts of the first council may say. That is why no Chinese translation of a complete *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* has come down to us.

179 THE CANONICITY OF THE SŪTRAS. — The Buddhist teaching (*śāsana*) is both theoretical (*paryāpti*) and practical (*pratipatti*) in nature. While the Vinaya is only a convention (*saṃvṛti*) adopted as a line of conduct, the Dharma as propounded in the *Sūtra* represents the absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*).

The Dharma, properly speaking, is the Word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), but this definition should not be taken in its restricted sense. To judge from the explanations supplied by all the Vinayas one after the other — *Mahāsāmghika Vin.* (T 1425, ch. 13, p. 336*a* 21); *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (T 1442, ch. 26, p. 771*b* 22); Pāli *Vin.* (IV, p. 15); *Dharmagupta Vin.* (T 1428, ch. 11, p. 639*a* 16); *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1435, ch. 9, p. 71*b* 1) — the Dharma is what was uttered by the Buddha, without a doubt and above all, but also by the auditors (*śrāvaka*), wise recluses (*ṛṣi*), gods (*deva*) and apparitional beings (*upapāduka*).

The word of the Buddha is transmitted from generation to generation through the channel of the auditors. The auditor (*śrāvaka*) gathers the word either directly from the lips of the master, or else by grasping it by means of intentional knowledge (*praṇidhijñāna*).

It goes without saying that the ancient revelation has not come down to us in its entirety. There was a "loss of the original recitation" (*mūlasaṃgītibhraṃśa*), and many sūtras disappeared (*bahulāni sūtrāṇy antarhitāni*). Among them, the *Vibhāṣā* notes those which listed the six *hetu* (T 1545, ch. 16, p. 79*b*), the twenty-eight *anuśaya* (ch. 46, p. 236), the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣika* (ch. 96, p. 486*a*); it states that "originally the Ekottarāgama enumerated the dharmas from 1 to 100; it now stops at 10 and, from 1 to 10, much is lost, little remains... When Śāṇavāsa, a disciple of Ānanda, entered Nirvāṇa, 77,000 Avadānas and Sūtras, 10,000 Abhidharmaśāstras were lost" (ch. 16, p. 79*b*). Identical remarks are found in the *Abhidharmakośa* (II, p. 245, n.) as well as a whole series of texts recorded by Bu-ston (II, pp. 169-71). Even allowing for some exaggeration, it must be accepted that not all these assertions are false : for example, it is certain that with regard to some sūtras of the Mahāyāna, there existed longer recensions than those which have come down to us[61].

180 On the other hand, alongside the authentic sūtras which are duly

[61] This was notably the case for the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra : cf. P. DEMIÉVILLE, JA, 1936, p. 650.

classified in the collections, separate (*muktaka*) and apocryphal (*adhyāropita*) texts circulated. The Buddha had foreseen this change in the doctrine when he announced : "The Sūtras promulgated by the Tathāgata, which are profound, profound in meaning, supramundane, and which teach emptiness, will not be listened to with faith, no-one will lend an ear, nor recognize them as true... But the Sūtras composed by poets, which are poetic, artistic in syllables and phonemes, exoteric, promulgated by the disciples, will be believed... Thus, Sūtras of the first category will disappear" (*Saṃyutta*, II, p. 267; *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 72-3; T 99, ch. 47, p. 345*b*).

Already, after the council of Vaiśālī, in the year 110 of the Nirvāṇa, the Mahāsaṃgītikas falsified the authentic texts (*Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 32-8) and, at the council of [redacted]ṭaliputra, under Aśoka, a certain Mahādeva wanted to incorporate the sūtras of the Mahāyāna in the three Baskets (DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes*, p. 30). "After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha", says the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 185, p. 929*c*), "false Sūtras were placed in the Sūtras; false Vinayas were placed in the Vinayas; false Abhidharmas were incorporated in the Abhidharma". The *Abhidharmakośa* (III, p. 40) in turn remarks : "What can we do about it? The Master has entered Nirvāṇa, the Good Law no longer has a leader. Many sects have formed which alter the meaning and the letter at their whim".

The multiplication of apocryphal texts led the early theoreticians of the Dharma to formulate criteria of authenticity which were generally accepted. They are found in various recensions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Dīgha*, II, p. 123, Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, ed. Waldschmidt, p. 238; T 1, ch. 3, p. 17*c*; T 5, ch. 1, p. 167*a*; T 6, ch. 1, p. 182*c*; T 7, ch. 1, p. 195*c*), the *Aṅguttara* (II, p. 167; T 125, ch. 20, p. 652*b*); the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 37, p. 389*b*), the *Abhidharmakośa* (IX, p. 252) and several other Mahāyānist treatises refer to them (*Śikṣāmuccaya*, p. 63, 1.18; *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 431; *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, p. 4; *Bodh. bhūmi*, p. 108, 1.25) :

When a monk, on the basis of one of the four great authorities (*mahāpadeśa*) — the Buddha, a particular Saṃgha, a group of Elders or an especially knowledgeable Elder —, wants to have a given text accepted as the Word of the Buddha, it should not be approved or rejected without due examination. The word of the Buddha is "whatever reaches us as such through the succession of masters and disciples,
181 whatever is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya and does not contradict the nature of things (*dharmatā*)". This nature of things is the doctrine of dependent origination which was discovered and thaught by the Buddha.

c. The Vinayapiṭaka

In the state in which it has reached us, the Vinayapiṭaka is less uniform than the Basket of Sūtras, in the sense that, even while exploiting a common basis, the various Vinayas in our possession deal with the matter more freely and diverge from each other so much that they constitute scholastic documents and claim as much. Alongside the Pāli Vinaya, we possess those of the Sarvāstivādins (T 1435), Dharmaguptas (T 1428), Mahāsāṃghikas (T 1425); Mihīśāsakas (T 1421) and Mūlasarvāstivādins (T 1442-51; *Dulva*, I-XIII).

Their compilation was not closed until quite a late period since they refer not only to events which were contemporary with the Buddha, but also the council of Vaiśālī in the year 100 or 110 of the Nirvāṇa, the patriarchs who succeeded each other from the beginning until the reign of Aśoka and beyond and, finally, predictions some of which, such as that concerning the stūpa of Kaniṣka, could not have been elaborated before the second century A.D.*

THE BASES OF THE VINAYA. — The monastic discipline consists of a certain number of offences to be avoided and acts or ceremonies to be performed. In other words, it rests on the twofold basis of the Prātimokṣa and the Karmavācanās.

The Prātimokṣa is a list of offences against the prescriptions of the order with an indication of the punishment be meted out to those who commit them. The Prātimokṣa is twofold : that of the bhikṣus consists of eight categories of offences and that of the bhikṣuṇīs only seven. Each Buddhist school insisted on drawing up its own Prātimokṣa, but only very small differences can be noted between the various lists. Besides the numerous Tibetan and Chinese translations, we possess the original text of the following lists :

1. *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhunīpāṭimokkha* of the Theravādins (Pāli *Vin.*, vols III and IV).
2. *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivādins (ed. L. FINOT, *JA*, 1913, pp. 465-547), corresponding to T 1436.

182 3. *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivādins (ed. E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Bruchstücke des*..., Leipzig, 1926), corresponding to T 1437.

4. *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (ed. A.C. BANERJEE, *IHQ*, XXIX, 1953, pp. 162-74; 266-75; 363-77), corresponding to T 1454.
5. *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsāṃghikas (ed. R. PACHOW-R. MISHRA, Journ. of the G. Jha Res. Inst., IX, 2, 3, 4).

The Karmavācanās are decisions concerning the functioning of community life. They refer to admission into the order, ordination ceremo-

nies, confession, *pravāraṇā*, going into retreat and the most varied details of monastic life.

Alongside the various Pāli Kammavācanās published long since by F. Spiegel, J.F. Dickson, O. Frankfurter, H. Baynes, S.C. Das and G. Clauson[62], we now possess a *Bhikṣukarmavākya* of the Mūlasarvastivādins (ed. A.C. Banerjee, *IHQ*, XXV, 1949, pp. 19-30), a *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* of the Sarvāstivādins (ed. C.M. Ridding, etc., BSOS, I, 1917-20, p. 123) and some [*Bhikṣu*] *Karmavācanā* of the Sarvāstivādins (ed. H. Härtel, Berlin, 1956).*

The structure of the Vinaya. — The Vinaya is usually comprised of three parts : the twofold *Sūtravibhaṅga* (*bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*), some twenty *Skandhaka* (Pāli, *Khandaka*) or *Vastu*, concluding with appendices, if any.

1. The *Sūtravibhaṅga* is a detailed explanation of the articles of the *Prātimokṣa*. The *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* comments on the 227 articles of the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* arranged in eight categories :

1. *Pārājika* or *āpatti*, faults entailing expulsion.
2. *Saṃghāvaśeṣa* (P. *Saṅghādisesa*), faults entailing temporary exclusion from the Community.
3. *Aniyata*, undetermined faults.
4. *Niḥsargika* or *Naiḥsargika Pātayantika* (P. *Nissaggiya Pācittiya*), faults entailing renunciation of an object which has been obtained unduly.
5. *Pātayantika* (P. *Pācittiya*), faults entailing penance.
6. *Pratideśanīya* (P. *Pāṭidesanīya*), faults to be confessed.
7. *Śaikṣa* (P. *Sekhiya*), matters to be recommended.
8. *Adhikaraṇaśamatha*, means of settling disputes.

The *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* comments upon the 311 articles[63] of the *Bhik-*
183 *ṣuṇīprātimokṣa* arranged in seven categories, the same as the preceding ones with the exception of the Aniyatas.

The commentary, which is planned systematically, begins with a history explaining the promulgation of the article, formulates the prescription by indicating the penalty its violation entails, explains the prescription word by word (*padabhājaniya*) and concludes with other anecdotes justifying any exceptions to the rule.

2. The *Skandhaka* "sections" or *Vastu* "points" regulate the details of the monastic life on the basis of acts and ceremonies prescribed in the Karmavācanās which were mentioned above. These sections are twenty in number :

[62] Bibliography in Winternitz, *Literature*, II, p. 25, n. 1.

[63] The number of articles varies according to the schools.

1. *Pravrajyā*, admission into the order.
2. *Poṣadha*, monthly confessional ceremonies.
3. *Varṣā*, the monks' retreat during the rainy season.
4. *Pravāraṇā*, the festivity at the end of the retreat.
5. *Carma*, the use of sandals and other objects made of leather.
6. *Bhaiṣajya*, medicines.
7. *Cīvara*, clothing.
8. *Kaṭhina*, the distribution of monastic garments.
9. *Kośāmba*, quarrels among the monks as was the case at Kauśāmbī.
10. *Karma*, conditions of validity in the ecclesiastic procedure.
11. *Pāṇḍulohitaka*, disciplinary measures taken in the community.
12. *Pudgala*, ordinary procedure against light offences.
13. *Pārivāsika*, rule of conduct during the period of probation and mānāpya.
14. *Poṣadhasthāpana*, exclusion of a monk from the confessional ceremony.
15. *Śamatha*, procedure for settling disputes.
16. *Saṃghabheda*, schism.
17. *Śayanāsana*, residence and furniture.
18. *Ācāra*, behaviour of the monks in various circumstances.
19. *Kṣudraka*, minor recommendations.
20. *Bhikṣuṇī*, conduct required of the nuns.

3. The appendices added to certain Vinayas draw up summaries of the material dealt with in the *Vibhaṅga* and *Skandhaka*, or provide further information about certain events concerning ecclesiastical history.

Despite its extremely technical nature, the Vinaya is an inexhaustible
184 mine of curious and precise information on Indian life in general and that of the Buddhist monks in particular. Thousands of separate anecdotes can be found in it which relate to the circumstances in which this or that monk's misconduct led the Buddha to lay down a specific precept or formulate a particular order.

However, there is more. We find, sometimes in the Appendices and sometimes in the Skandhakas, coherent accounts which constitute a partial biography of Śākyamuni and the beginnings of an ecclesiastical chronicle. The biography is in three parts : the antecedents and genealogy of the Buddha, his birth and life until his Enlightenment and, finally, the beginning of his public ministry until the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The chronicle deals with the Buddha's funeral, the council of Rājagṛha, the first patriarchs and, finally, the council of Vaiśālī. The presence of such digressions poses a literary problem to which we will return further on.

An analysis of the six Vinayas. — According to the plan described above, six separate Vinayas were elaborated over the centuries a brief analysis of which should be given :

1. *Pāli Vinaya*. A work belonging to the Sinhalese Theravādins, it

circulated on the island of Ceylon but never seems to have been used on the mainland. It consists of three parts :

I. *Suttavibhaṅga* (vols III-IV of the PTS edition).
1. *Mahāvibbhaṅga* or *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga*.
2. *Bhikkuṇīvibhaṅga*.
II. *Khandhaka* 22 in number (vols I-II of the PTS edition).
1. *Mahāvagga* (first ten Khandhakas).
2. *Cullavagga* (last twelve Khandhakas).
This section contains three separate parts :
a. An introduction devoted to part of the biography of the Buddha, from the Enlightenment to the conversion of Sariputta (I, pp. 1-44).
b. The description of twenty Khandhakas (I, pp. 44-300; II, pp. 1-283).
c. A conclusion, inserted impromptu and containing the account of the councils of Rājagaha (II, p. 284-93) and Vesālī (II, p. 294-308).
III. *Parivāra* or Appendix in 16 sections and 19 chapters (vol. V of the PTS ed.). In the form of questions and answers it recapitulates the contents of the previous parts. It is the work of a Sinhalese monk "the extremely learned Dīpa who had investigated the methods followed by the ancient masters" (V, p. 226).

185 2. *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins* (T 1435), — Better known by the name of the "Vinaya in ten recitations" (*Daśādhyāya*), this Vinaya, of which we possess only a few original fragments[64], was translated in 404 by Kumārajīva in collaboration with Puṇyatrāta and Dharmaruci. After 409, Vimalākṣa added a postface to it. The work is in four parts :

I. *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* : adhyāyas 1 to 3 (T 1435, pp. 1-147).
II. *Skandhakas* : adhyāyas 4 to 6 (pp. 148-302).
III. *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* : adhyāya 7 (pp. 302-46).
IV. Appendices :
a. *Ekottaradharma* : adhyāya 8 (pp. 346-78).
b. *Upālipariprcchā* : adhyāya 9 (pp. 379-409).
c. *Bhikṣu* (cor. *Vinaya*) *adhyāya*. — *Ubhayatovinaya* and *Saṃyukta*. — *Pārājikadharma*. — *Saṃghavaśeṣa* : beginning of adhyāya 10 (pp. 410-45).
d. *Kuśalādhyāya* and Preface to the Vinaya : end of adhyāya 10 (pp. 445-70).

This preface, or rather this postface was not part of the complete translation of the Vinaya made in 404-405 at Ch'ang-an by Kumārajīva and his assistants. It was added later, after 409, by Vimalākṣa.

[64] J. FILLIOZAT and H. KUNO, *Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin*, JA, 1938, pp. 21-64.

Kumārajīva (350-409), was ordained at the age of six (536), studied at Kučā and attended lectures by the Kaśmīrian master Vimalākṣa who taught him the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. After various incidents, a Chinese expedition brought him to Liang chou in 385 and from there he reached Ch'ang-an in 402, where he worked until his death. Between the years 404 and 405, with the help first of Fu-jo-to-lo and then of Dharmaruci, he made a Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. In 406, his master Vimalākṣa joined him in Ch'ang-an. After Kumārajiva's death, which occurred in 409, Vimalākṣa went to the region of An-hui where he continued to teach the Vinaya. He revised the Chinese version by Kumārajīva, changed the title of the 10th recitation ("Recitation on the Vinaya" instead of "Recitation of the good") and added three new scrolls (ch. 59-61) to the 58 scrolls of the original text. This postface
186 contains four sections : 1-2. an account of the first two councils; 3. Miscellanea (*saṃyukta*) on the Vinaya; 4. Antecedents (*nidāna*)[65].

Therefore, the first translation, although given as complete, did not contain the detailed account of the two councils to which it made only a brief allusion (ch. 56, p. 414*a*). The account was added, after 409, by Vimalākṣa who probably based it on Sanskrit documents obtained in Central Asia.

3. *Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas* (T 1428). — This was translated at Ch'ang an in 408-413 by Buddhayaśas who recited the text by heart and rendered it into Chinese with the aid of the interpreter Hui pien. It consists of four parts :

I. *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (pp. 568-713).
II. *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (pp. 714-78).
III. *Skandhaka* (pp. 779-971).
  a. Introduction : Life of the Buddha : Antecedents and genealogy (p. 779*a* 5-*b* 10); birth of the Buddha and his life up to the Enlightenment (pp. 779*b* 10-781*c* 11); the beginnings of the ministry up to the conversion of Śāriputra (pp. 781*c* 11-799*b* 24).
  b. The twenty *Skandhaka* (pp. 799-966).
  c. Conclusion : the Buddha's funeral (p. 966*a* 15-*c* 11); the council of Rājagṛha (pp. 966*c* 11-968*c* 17); the council of Vaiśālī (pp. 968*c* 11-971*c* 2).
IV. Two appendices : 1. *Saṃyuktavarga* (pp. 971-90); 2. *Vinayaikottara* (pp. 990-1014).

4. *Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas* (T 1425). — This was translated at Nanking in 416 by Buddhabhadra and Fa hsien from an original found by the latter in Pāṭaliputra. The caves of Bāmyān have yielded a short

[65] References to the sources in P. DEMIÉVILLE, TP, XL, pp. 242-50.

fragment, published by S. Lévi in *JA*, 1932, pp. 4-8. The Vinaya is divided in the following way :

I. *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (T 1425, pp. 227-412).
II. *Skandhaka* (pp. 412-514).
III. *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (pp. 514-48).

The work does not contain a coherent biography of the Buddha, but in the *Skandhaka* section it includes under the title of *Kṣudrakādhyāya* the beginning of an ecclesiastical chronicle recounting the funeral of the
187 Buddha (pp. 489*c* 26-490*b* 21), the council of Rājagṛha (pp. 490*b* 21-492*c* 17), the succession of patriarchs (pp. 492*c* 17-493*a* 19) and the council of Vaiśālī (p. 493*a* 25-*c* 11).

5. *Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas* (T 1421). — This was translated at Nanking between 423 and 424 by Buddhajīva and his team from a manuscript discovered in Ceylon by Fa hsien. It is very close to the Pāli canon and consists of three parts :

I. *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (T 1421, pp. 1-77).
II. *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (pp. 77-101).
III. *Skandhaka* (pp. 101-94).
   a. Introduction devoted to the life of the Buddha : antecedents and genealogy (p. 101*a* 10-*b* 20); biography from birth to Enlightenment (pp. 101*b* 20-102*c* 21); beginnings of the public ministry until the conversion of Śāriputra (pp. 102*c*-110*c* 10).
   b. The Skandhakas themselves (pp. 110-90).
   c. Conclusion limited to an account of the councils of Rājagṛha (pp. 190*b* 13-192*a* 25) and Vaiśālī (pp. 192*a* 26-194*b* 20).

6. *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*. The complete form of this voluminous Vinaya, which was finished at quite a late date, exists only in a Tibetan translation (a section of the *Dulva*, I-XIII) carried out in the ninth century by a team of translators. The sensational discovery at Gilgit in 1931 yielded a considerable part of the Sanskrit original, published in four instalments through the enlightened intercession of N. Dutt (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Parts 1-4, Śrinagar, 1950); however, before then the *Divyāvadāna* had already reproduced lengthy passages from it. A mediocre and incomplete translation of it was made by I ching at Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an between the years 700 and 712 (T 1442-51). The work is divided as follows :

I. *Vinayavastu* (i.e. Skandhakas).
II. *Prātimokṣasūtra* and *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Bhikṣus.
III. *Prātimokṣasūtra* and *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Bhikṣuṇīs
IV. *Vinayakṣudrakavastu*.
V. *Vinayottaragrantha*, including the *Upālipariprcchā*.

In fact the *Kṣudrakavastu* (IVth part) appears as an immediate continuation of the *Vinayavastu* (Ist part). The 17th Vastu of the latter, namely the *Saṃghabhedavastu* (T 1450), continued by the *Kṣudrakavastu* (T 1451), contains a complete and coherent biography of the Buddha Śākyamuni in which one can distinguish, as did W. Rockhill (*Life of*
188 *the Buddha*, London, 1884), five long chapters : the history of the world from its renewal until the reign of Śuddhodana, the Buddha's father; the period extending from the reign of Śuddhodana until the ministry of the Buddha; the life of the Buddha, the beginnings of his ministry until the reign of Ajātaśatru; the beginnings of Ajātaśatru's reign until the decease of the Buddha; the history of the Buddhist church during the 110 years which followed the Buddha's decease.

Ancient traditions concerning the Vinayas. — The ancient traditions concerning the composition of the Vinayas are manifold, incoherent and contradictory. They concern three separate problems : the length of the Vinaya compiled by Upāli at the council of Rājagṛha, the Buddhist school which is reputed to have preserved this original text and, finally, the period when the various Vinayas were constituted.

1. The accounts of the first council differ in opinion over the length of the Vinaya recited by Upāli. For some, it was only an embryonic Vinaya limited to a description of the precepts relative to the bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs or, according to the traditional expression, the *ubhatovinaya* : this is the opinion of the *Cullavagga* (P. *Vin.*, II, p. 287, 1.8), the *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191*a* 13-14) and one recension of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175*c* 8-9). The others believed that Upāli had recited the complete Vinaya of the school to which they belonged and which consisted of at least four parts, *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga, Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga, Skandhaka* and one or two *Addenda* : this is the opinion of the great Sinhalese commentators (*Samantapāsādikā*, pp. 14-15), the Dharmaguptas (T 1, preface, p. 1*a* 8; T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968*b* 10-11), the Haimavatas (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818*a* 16-20) and the Mūlasarvāstivādins (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 408*a-b*).

The first hypothesis, that of an embryonic Vinaya developing over the ages, seems to be the most satisfactory at first sight, but the second can base its arguments on an old Buddhist preconception according to which the texts, although plentiful at the outset, gradually dwindled away.

2. At least three schools claim they possess the original Vinaya, called the *Vinaya of Kāśyapa* or *of Upāli*, compiled at the first council : the Mahāsāṃghikas, Sthaviras (or Sarvāstivādins?) and the Vātsīputrīyas.

a. A tradition which must be of Magadhan origin identifies the original Vinaya with that of the Mahāsāṃghikas*, and makes the Vinaya of the Sthaviras (or rather of the Sarvāstivādins) and aberrant
189 Vinaya. This is what is emerging from a Mahāsāṃghika work, the *Śāriputraparipṛccha* (T 1465, p. 900*b*), translated by an unknown hand between 317 and 420. Unfortunately, the Chinese translation is so obscure that it allows for the most diverse interpretations. After having narrated at length the persecution by the Śuṅga Puṣyamitra, the text, going back to the past, speaks of events which took place under a king whom it does not name but who, from the evidence of other parallel texts which we will quote, can be none other than Aśoka the Maurya.

"At that moment, there was an old bhikṣu who was avid for glory and prone to disputing. He copied and arranged our Vinaya, developing and increasing what Kāśyapa had codified and which is called 'The Vinaya of the Great Assembly' (*Ta chung lü* : Mahāsāṃghavinaya). He collected from outside some material which had been neglected [until then], with the aim of deceiving beginners. He thus formed a separate party which quarrelled with [the Great Assembly]. Then there were some bhikṣus who asked the king to pass judgement. The king brought the two schools together and set about taking a vote with black and white slips of wood (*śalākā*), proclaiming that those who approved of the old Vinaya could take the black slips, and those who favoured the new Vinaya, the white slips. Then those who took the black slips were more than ten thousand, while those who took the white slips were a mere hundred or so. The king considered that [the doctrines of the two schools] both [represented] the word of the Buddha and that since their preferences were not the same, [the monks of both groups] should not live together. Since those who studied the old [Vinaya] were in the majority, they were called Mahāsāṃghikas (*Mo ho sêng ch'i*) for that reason; those who studied the new [Vinaya] formed the minority, but they were all Sthaviras (*Shang tso*, elders) : hence they were called *T'a pi lo* (Sthaviras)".

This text represents the Mahāsāṃghika version of the first Buddhist schism which, at the time of Aśoka, brought the Mahāsāṃghikas into conflict with the Sthaviras. The same event is narrated in the Sarvāstivādin sources, such as the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 99, pp. 510*c*-512*a*), as well as by Paramārtha (Demiéville, *Sectes*, pp. 36-9) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*b*). The latter accept that King Aśoka first favoured the Mahāsāṃghikas, and this fact is confirmed by the *Mahāvaṃsa* (IV, p. 32 sq.), but add that he then repented and finally did the Sthaviras justice.

However, it does seem that Fa hsien who discovered the manuscript of the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* in Pātaliputra considered as identical to the earlier Vinaya. In the postface of the Chinese translation of this

190 Vinaya (T 1425, ch. 40, p. 548*b*) he confirms and completes the evidence of the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā*.

"Formerly in central India a wicked king reigned for a certain time. All the Śramaṇas fled in the four directions, and the Tripiṭaka bhikṣus were dispersed. Once the bad king was dead, there was a good king who invited all the Śramaṇas to return to the country where he gave them hospitality. At the time, there were five hundred bhikṣus in Pāṭaliputra who wanted to settle a question but had no Vinaya master nor Vinaya text and thus could not deal with the matter. So they sent a man to the Jetavanavihāra to copy the Vinaya text... After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, Mahākāśyapa compiled the Vinayapiṭaka and, acting as a great master, preserved the Piṭaka in 80,000 articles. After the Nirvāṇa of Kāśyapa, the venerables Ānanda, Madhyāntika and Śāṇavāsa successively had possession of the Piṭaka with its 80,000 articles. Then it was the venerable Upagupta whom the Bhavagat had defined as a Buddha without marks (*nirlakṣaṇabuddha*), for example in the Nidāna of the Victory over Māra. He also had in his possession the Piṭaka with 80,000 articles. However, after him, five schools were founded : 1. Dharmaguptakas, 2. Mahīśāsakas, 3. Kāśyapīyas, 4. Sarvatas who claim that everything exists. These first schools each differed over the meaning (*artha*) and their theses (*samaya*)... Then those five (sic) schools all got confused and disputes broke out, each claiming that its own meaning was true. King Aśoka wondered how he could judge the true from the false, and he asked the Saṃgha how, according to the Law of the Buddha, the judgment should be passed. They all told him 'According to the Law, the majority must be followed'. The king said : 'If that is so, there will have to be a vote with slips of wood (*śalākā*) to see where the majority lies'. Once the vote had taken place, those who took the slips of wood of the original assembly (*ch'ü pên chung*) were very great in number, and since that assembly was in the majority, it was called Mahāsāṃghika (*Mo ho sêng ch'i*), i.e. [the school of] the Great Assembly".

b. The learned Sêng yu, who knew of the postface by Fa hsien, did not fail to remark that the text of the original Vinaya claimed by the Mahāsāṃghikas came from the Jetavanavihāra. Now this vihāra was in fact located in Vaiśālī, the homeland of the Vṛjiputraka or Vātsīputrīya monks, known for their laxist conduct. Without giving the matter proper consideration Sêng yu came to the conclusion that the Mahāsāṃghikas borrowed their Vinaya from the latter and that, as a result, the Mahāsāṃghika came from the Vātsiputriya school.

In his *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* (T 2145, ch. 3, p. 21*a* 4), he modifies the last lines of Fa hsien's postscript to that effect :

191 "Once the vote [instigated by Aśoka] had taken place, the slips of wood of the Vātsīputrīyas were very great in number. Because of that great number, the name [of that school] was changed to that of Mahāsāṃghika, i.e. the School of the Great Assembly".

However, such an affiliation is contrary to tradition and to all the known lists; Sêng yu must therefore bear the entire responsibility for it.

c. The Kaśmīrian tradition of Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin origin, as it was formulated in the fifth and sixth centuries by Kumārajīva (344-409) and the Chinese scholars Sêng yu (444-518) and Hui chao (497-554), can be summarized in the following three points.

At the council of Rājaṛha presided over by Kāśyapa, Upāli recited the Vinayapiṭaka. As he made 80 attempts at reciting that Vinaya, the latter was called the "Vinaya in 80 recitations".

The first five patriarchs — Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śāṇavāsa and Upagupta — carefully preserved it in trust. However, since Upagupta, a contemporary of Aśoka, resided in Mathurā, the ancient Vinaya which he preserved was also given the name of "Vinaya in 80 sections from the land of Mathurā". The text contained Avadānas and Jātakas.

However, since his contemporaries had weak faculties and could not memorize such a voluminous text, Upagupta deleted the accounts of the Avadānas and Jātakas and, preserving only the most important parts, compiled a Vinaya reduced to ten sections and entitled : "Vinaya in ten recitations" (*Daśādhyāya*). Sections 1 to 3 included the 250 precepts of the Bhikṣus, sections 4 to 6 dealt with the seven or eight dharmas or, in other words, the Skandhakas; section 7 described the precepts of the Bhiksunīs; sections 8 to 10 were reserved for Appendices : *Ekottara*, *Upāliparipṛcchā**, *Kṣudrakavarga* and *Kuśaladharma*. This Vinaya in ten recitations was known by the name of "Vinaya from the land of Kaśmīr". Kumārajīva translated it into Chinese at Ch'ang an in 404-405 with the title of *Shih sung lü* (T 1435) and later, after 409, Vimalākṣa enriched the translation with a postface.

Finally, the Vinaya in ten recitations from Kaśmīr was commented upon by a "Vibhāṣā in 80 sections", not to be confused with the earlier Vinaya which also consisted of 80 sections. Although the sources are lacking in precision in this respect, that Vibhāṣā, also written in Kaśmīr,
192 must doubtless be identified with the voluminous *Mūlasarvātivādin Vinaya* (T 1442-51) which we have analyzed above.

We will continue with the evidence upon which these notes of literary history are based :

Kumārajīva in his translation of the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 100, p. 756*c*) :

"The abridged (sic) account of the Vinaya is in 80 sections and the Vinaya texts are of two kinds : 1. The Vinaya from the land of Mathurā which, with its Avadānas and Jātakas, consist of 80 sections; 2. The Vinaya from the land of

Kaśmīr which has excluded the Jātakas and Avadānas : the latter has simply retained the essential parts and consists of only 10 sections. However, there is a Vibhāṣā in 80 sections which comments upon it".

Idem, *ibidem* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 69*c*) :

"The explanations concerning the 250 precepts in three *varga*; the seven *dharma* and the eight *dharma*; the *bhikṣuṇīvinaya*; the *Ekottara*, the *Upāliparipṛcchā*, the *kṣudrakavarga* and the *kuśalavarga* : those 80 *varga* (sic!) form the Vinayapiṭaka".

Sêng yu, *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* (T 2145, ch. 3, p. 20*a* 24) :

"In the past, Mahākāśyapa held the Baskets of the Law. He transmitted them to Ānanda and so on down to the fifth master Upagupta. Originally, the Piṭaka consisted of 80 recitations, but since later generations had weak faculties (*mṛdvindriya*) and could not learn it, Upagupta reduced it to 10 recitations".

Hui chiao, *Kao sêng chuan** (T 2059, ch. 11, p. 403*a*) :

"Upāli made 80 attempts to recite the Vinaya : hence the title of 'Vinaya in 80 recitations'. Then there were Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śāṇavāsa and Upagupta : those five Arhats preserved the Vinaya in turn".

3. The Chinese scholars of the fifth century are unanimous in dating from the Aśokan or post-Aśokan era the fragmentation of the original Vinaya into a series of separate Vinayas which, as witnessed by Hsüan tsang, were still being taught in Uḍḍiyāna in the sixth century A.D. (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 882*b*). Furthermore, they establish an artificial link between those Vinayas and the five schools given by them as the leaders in the affiliation of the sects.

193 They all base their claims on a prophecy of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* (T 397, ch. 22, p. 159), a Mahāyānist work translated into Chinese between 414 and 421. In it the Buddha says in substance that after his Nirvāṇa, certain disciples will receive, retain, copy and recite the twelve categories of the teaching of the Tathāgata, but that they will interpret them in the wrong way. They will be called Dharmaguptas, Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Vātsīputrīyas and Mahāsāṃghikas. The Buddha, after listing those six schools, concludes : "Those five (sic) schools, although they differ from one another, will not impede the unity of the *dharmadhātu* and the Great Nirvāṇa of the Buddha".

Sêng yu (T 2145, ch. 3, pp. 20-1), Hui chiao (T 2059, ch. 11, p. 403*a*) and Fa yün (T 2131, ch. 4, p. 1113*a*) use this prophecy as justification for giving the leaders of those five schools as Vinaya masters and disciples of Upagupta. Indeed, Fa yün remarks :

"The Buddha said : 'Five hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, some malevolent disciples will divide up my Vinayapiṭaka and establish five schools'. Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Vasuki (?) and Upagupta : those five masters, who penetrated the Way with full powers, did not divide up the teaching. However, Upagupta had five disciples who each held their own particular views. Consequently, they divided the single great Vinayapiṭaka of the Tathāgata and founded five schools : Dharmaguptas, Sarvatas, Kāśyapīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Vātsīputrīyas and Mahāsāṃghikas".

HYPOTHESES ON THE FORMATION OF THE VINAYAS. — Limiting his research to the Pāli sources, Louis Finot noted the artificiality of the link which connects the account of the two councils with the preceding twenty Khandhakas and proposed the hypotheses that this account formed the second part of a chronicle the first part of which was devoted to the narration of the Buddha's last journey, his Parinirvāṇa, his funeral and the distribution of his relics. It is believed that this ancient chronicle was then divided into two and the first part inserted into the Suttapiṭaka with the title of *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta*; the second, namely the account of the councils, was added to the Vinayapiṭaka at the end of the Khandakas[66].

194 However, the Buddhist sources we have at our disposal are not in favour of the existence of such a chronicle. Among the Chinese recensions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, T 1 remains utterly silent over the councils, T 7 devotes one line to the council of Rājagṛha, T 5 and 6 give full accounts of the council of Rājagṛha; but nowhere is there a mention of the council of Vaiśālī. The latter is connected only with the Vinaya tradition.

Nevertheless, Finot's theories are taken up and amplified on much sounder bases by E. Frauwallner in a work entitled *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome, 1956. While the Buddhist Dharma had already been codified into a Sūtrapiṭaka and the twofold Prātimokṣa commented upon in the form of a Vibhaṅga, an author, not without literary pretensions, undertook to write a work on the religious life of the Buddhist monks and published a Skandhaka to this effect.

This Old Skandhaka was written about the year 100 or 110 after the Nirvāṇa, shortly before or after the council of Vaiśālī, and took its inspiration from the model of the Vedic collections. It began with an

[66] L. FINOT, *Textes historiques dans le Canon pāli*, JA, 1932, p. 158; *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta et Cullavagga*, IHQ, VIII, 1932, pp. 241-6. See the reply by E. OBERMILLER, *The Account of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first Council according to the Vinayakṣudraka*, IHQ, 1932, pp. 781-4.

account of the first part of the life of the Buddha : his race, birth, youth and vocation, his Enlightenment and, finally, the beginning of his public ministry up to the conversion of the two great disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The author then passed on to a description of the rules of monastic life, admission into the order, the confessional ceremony, etc., attempting to alleviate the dryness of the material by the insertion of anecdotes and legends. He concluded with an account of the decease of the Buddha and the beginning of an ecclesiastical chronicle covering the great events of the first century : the council of Rājagṛha, the succession of patriarchs and, finally, the council of Vaiśālī.

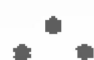
In order to carry out this work, the author borrowed from compositions which were already in existence everything that could be of use to him : stories and legends taken from the commentaries upon the Prātimokṣa, sūtras or fragments of them from the original tradition. However, he adapted all that material to his own artistic genius and, with regard to the biography of the Buddha which formed the theme of this work, he deviated considerably from the early authentic tradition. "Thus he created a work which looks imposing, if we imagine it in its original shape, and which is practically unique in his time; the first great literary work of Buddhism" (FRAUWALLNER, *op. cit.*, p. 154).

195 Accidents in the oral tradition cruelly abused this Old Skandhaka to such an extent as to break up its original arrangement and render its design unrecognizable. Nevertheless, and still according to E. Frauwallner, it exerted considerable influence on the later Buddhist literary output.

Hence, the biographical portion with which the work began is thought to have become independent and to have been elaborated upon afterwards by the various schools. It must therefore be the basis of the various incomplete biographies of the Buddha which most often conclude with the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. This was the case for the *Nidānakathā* of the Pāli Jātaka; it was also the case for the various biographies of "sectarian" origin which a colophon of the *Fo pên hsing chi ching* (T 190, ch. 60, p. 932*a* 16-21) reconciles in these terms : "What is this sūtra (T 190) called? The Mahāsāṃghika masters call it *Mahāvastu*; the Sarvāstivādins, *Mahālalitavistara*; the Kāśyapīyas, *Buddhajātakanidāna*; the Dharmaguptakas, *Śākyamunibuddhacarita*, the Mahīśāsakas, *Vinayapiṭakamūla*".

As for the conclusion of the Old Skandhaka — a conclusion narrating the decease of the Buddha and the account of the two councils — it belonged, according to Frauwallner (*op. cit.*, p. 146), to the Vinaya, and "in its earliest form recognizable to us". Later, the account of the Buddha's decease was linked up with the Sūtrapiṭaka, but the recension

of the *Mahāparinirvāṇaśutra* still retains the particular stamp which the author of the Old Skandhaka claimed to have impressed on it.



The admirable work by Professor Frauwallner, of which we have just given a short summary, marks considerable progress in our knowledge of the Buddhist sources, but his conclusions cannot be accepted unreservedly.

The structure of the Old Skandhaka is only just recognizable in the *Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas and Mahīśākas* and the Pāli *Vinaya*. In the two Vinayas, which the indigenous traditions examined above present as being the closest to the ancient Vinaya of Upāli — namely the *Sarvātivādin* and *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* —, there is no trace of the initial biography of the Buddha. Furthermore, in the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya*, the account of the two councils did not form part of the original edition, but only appears in a postface appended in China in the
196 fifth century A.D. As for the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* which devotes two Skandhakas to a full and coherent biography of the Buddha, it did not originate from an old Buddhist community established in Mathurā from the first century of Buddhism — as E. Frauwallner claims (p. 37) — but from an immense compendium of discipline which was closed very much later and was probably compiled in Kaśmīr in order to complete the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya*. When, in the passage studied above, Kumārajīva speaks of a "Vinaya in 80 sections from the land of Mathurā" he has in mind, not the *Mūlasarv. Vin.*, but the ancient Vinaya of Upāli which was finally preserved by Upagupta in Mathurā.

It is doubtful whether the initial biography of the Buddha which served as an introduction to the Vinayas was the starting point and model of the separate Lives of the Buddha which were published later. The latter, as we will see further on, do not all conclude with the conversion of Śāriputra. They are much more elaborate than the biographical fragments inserted into the Vinayas and, to quote only one example, there is no common measure between the enormous *Nidānakathā* of the Jātaka and the short, fragmentary account with which the Pāli Khandakas open. Finally, it was not only from those Skandhakas that the biographers of the Buddha could derive their documentation. The Sūtrapiṭaka contained quantities of biographical and much more detailed Sūtras.

It would be difficult for the author of the Old Skandhaka to be the first compiler of the chronicle of the councils, and we do not see how a

contemporary of the events could have accumulated such a quantity of anachronisms, improbabilities and myths. By sketching above the history of the tradition of the councils through the literature of the Sūtras, Vinayas, Avadānas, ecclesiastical chronicles, travel memoirs and, finally, the great Sinhalese commentaries, we have attempted to show how that tradition was exploited throughout the ages to the most diverse purposes. Though the account of the councils is momentarily linked with the Vinaya tradition, it remains evident, as P. Demiéville has already noted, that, its compilers were not the same as those of the Vinayas to which that account is appended[67].

The hypothesis of an Old Skandhaka distinct from the ancient Vinaya
197 of Upāli of which the whole tradition speaks therefore seems to us to complicate a problem that is already sufficiently so. In our opinion, the Vinayapiṭaka appears as a development and explanation of the two monastic codes which were drawn up at the very beginning of the Buddhist community : the Vibhaṅga comments upon the Prātimokṣa, the series of offences forbidden to the monks and nuns, the Skandhakas develop the Karmavācanās regulating the details of monastic life. This commentary is enlarged by fragments relating to the life of the Buddha as well as accounts concerning the early history of the community. The addition of facts which concerned the Buddhist discipline only indirectly continued to multiply incessantly and finally culminated, in the *Mūlasarv. Vin.*, in a complete biography of the Buddha and the beginnings of ecclesiastical history. However, this outcome was long in gestation in the Vinayas which had previously been closed. If remarkable similarities can be discerned in the outlines of the latter — and we are thinking particularly of the Pāli, Mahīśāka and Dharmagupta Vinayas — this fact can be explained by a parallel development. The Buddhist communities did not live in complete isolation but were interested in the work carried out by their neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that they worked with the same methods and followed practically the same plan. If nothing is more like one Buddhist vihāra than another Buddhist vihāra, it is normal that the various known Vinayas should reveal the close link which connected them.

d. The Abhidharmapiṭaka

The Abhidharmapiṭaka appears to be a thoroughly detailed systematisation of the teachings contained in the Sūtras. It proceeds by means of enumerations and summaries, questions and answers. It is only in the

[67] P. Demiéville, *A propos du Concile de Vaiśālī*, TP, XL, p. 254.

chronicles and commentaries that the word is given as the title of a third Piṭaka; the canonical texts merely speak of a summary (*mātṛkā*). By *abhidharma*, they do not mean to designate any scriptural code, but simply the "Special Dharma", i.e. the Doctrine pure and simple, without the intervention of literary developments or the presentation of individuals. When understood in this sense, *abhidharma* is often coupled with the word *abhivinaya* (*Dīgha*, III, p. 267; *Majjhima*, I, p. 472)[68].

198 If it can be said that, on the whole, the various Buddhist schools used an identical Sūtrapiṭaka and *several* similar Vinayapiṭakas, it must be accepted that, if they had an Abhidharmapiṭaka at their disposal, they had put it together themselves. There is only a vague link as to similarity between the many Abhidharmas which have come down to us.

Traditions concerning the compilation of the Abhidharmapiṭaka. — The accounts of the first council do not agree about the extent of scriptural activity undertaken at Rājagṛha :

a. Certain sources assert that the Elders of the council did no more than compile the Dharma and Vinaya, in other words, the first two Piṭakas : *Pāli Vin.* (II, p. 287); *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175*c*; T 6, ch. 2, p. 191*a*); *Kāśyapasaṃgīti* (T 2027, p. 7*a*); *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191*a-b*); *Mahāsāṃghika Vin.* (T 1425, ch. 32, pp. 491*c*-492*a*).

b. Other sources attribute to Kāśyapa the compilation of a Mātṛkā, summary : *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 408*b* 2-11); *The Legend of Aśoka* (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 113*c* 3-4; T 2043, ch. 6, p. 152*a* 15). Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 9, p. 922*c* 25) also attributes the compilation of the Abhidharmapiṭaka to Kāśyapa.

c. However, the great majority of the sources state that an Abhidharmapiṭaka was compiled at Rājagṛha and that it was recited by Ānanda. Notwithstanding, they are not in agreement over the number of books of which it is compiled.

Abh. in 4 sections and 5 recitations : Chinese preface to the translation of the *Dīrgha* (T 1, p. 1*a* 9-10).

Abh. in 4 sections — Saṃgraha, Ṣaṭpraśnaka, Saṃyoga, Prasthāna : *Nandimitrāvadāna* (T 2030, p. 14*b* 8).

Abh. in 5 sections — Sasaṃcodanaviveka, Asaṃcodanaviveka, Saṃyoga, Prayoga and Sthāna : *Dharmagupta Vin.* (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968*b* 25-26).

Abh. in 5 sections — Sapraśnaka, Apraśnaka, Saṃgraha, Saṃyoga and Sthāna : *Haimavata Vinayamātṛka* (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818*a* 28-29).

[68] See I.B. Horner, *Abhidhamma Abhivinaya*, IHQ, XVII, 1941, pp. 291-310.

Abh. in 7 sections — Dhammasaṅgaṇi, etc. : Pāli commentaries (*Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 17; *Atthasālinī*, p. 3; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 18).

Abh. in 7 books (one body and 6 feet) : the Sarvāstivādin tradition, which will be examined further on.

199 SCHOOLS WITHOUT AN ABHIDHARMA. — For certain schools, the Abhidharma is not the Word of the Master. Hence, the Sautrāntikas are so called because for them the norm consists of the sūtras to the exclusion of the Abhidharma treatises (*ye sūtraprāmāṇikā na tu śāstraprāmāṇikāḥ* : *Kosavyākhyā*, p. 11). Similarly, the Mahāsaṃgītikas, mentioned by the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 37) rejected the six (sic!) sections of the Abhidharma. Conversely, in their Vinaya, the Mahāsāṃghikas frequently refer to the Abhidharma or the Mātṛkā (T 1425, p. 295*a* 26; 334*c* 21; 340*c* 1; 442*a* 28; 442*b* 4; 475*c* 13; 492*c* 18; 501*c* 24; 533*c* 2).

All the same, the schools which in principle rejected the Abhidharma, in fact had equivalent śāstras at thir disposal. Among the 657 works which Hsüan tsang brought back from India there were numerous śāstras of Sthavira, Mahāsāṃghika, Saṃmatīya, Kāśyapīya, Dharmaguptaka and Sarvāstivādin origin[69].

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRESERVED ABHIDHARMAS. — Among the Abhidharmas which have come down to us, the most important are those of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins.

1. The Sinhalese Theravādins possess an Abhidhammapiṭaka in seven books[70] (*pakaraṇa*) which, in the fifth century, Buddhaghosa and his school (*Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 17; *Atthasālinī*, p. 3; *Samanta*, p. 18) quoted in the following order :

1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, classification of things.
2. *Vighaṅga*, divisions.
3. *Dhātukathā*, discussion on the elements.
4. *Puggalapaññatti*, description of personalities.
5. *Kathāvatthu*, points of controversy.
6. *Yamaka*, twinned problems.
7. *Paṭṭhāna*, causal relations.

Nevertheless, the Chinese recension of the *Samantapāsādikā* (T 1462,

[69] WATTERS, I, p. 21.

[70] See an analysis of the seven books in NYANATILOKA, *Guide through the Abhidhammapiṭaka*, Colombo, 1938. Besides the PTS editions and translations, recent translations have appeared by A. BAREAU, *Dhammasaṅgaṇi, traduction annotée*, Paris, 1951; NYANAPONIKA, *Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Kompendium der Dingwelt*, Hamburg, 1950. Also see NYAṆAPONIKA, *Abhidhamma Studies*, Colombo, 1949.

ch. 1, p. 676*a*) adopts a different order : 1 to 3 as above, 4. *Yamaka*, 5. *Paṭṭhāna*, 6. *Puggalapaññati*, 7. *Kathāvatthu*.

200 The Sinhalese chronicle preserves the traces of an Abhidhammapiṭaka in six books only : a manuscript of the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 37), records that after the council of Vaiśālī, the schismatic Mahāsaṃgītikas rejected, among other texts, the *abhidhamma-chappakaraṇam*; and in the *Atthasālinī*, p. 3, the orthodox monks asked the Vitaṇḍas of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana whether or not they accepted the Abhidhamma in six books. In fact, it seems that the orthodox people considered the *Dhātukathā* as apocryphal (*Saṃyutta Comm.*, II, p. 201).

Until the fifth century certain Sinhalese schools hesitated over the place they should give the Abhidhamma books. The orthodox monks formed a special piṭaka, the third; conversely, the Dīghabhāṇakas ascribe it to the Khuddakanikāya, the fifth collection of the Suttapiṭaka (*Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 15). According to another division of the Canon, the word of the Buddha comprised five collections altogether and the last included the whole of the Vinaya and Abhidhamma (*Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 23; *Atthasālinī*, p. 26; *Samanta*, p. 27), as well as the other texts of the Khuddaka.

Still during Buddhaghosa's time, the Theras inserted certain episodes into the legend of the Buddha for the sole purpose of establishing the authenticity and antiquity of their Abhidhamma. All the Lives of the Buddha agree that after his enlightenment, Śākyamuni devoted four or seven weeks to meditation, changing his residence each time. Furthermore the *Atthasālinī* (p. 31) asserts that the Abhidhamma was "grasped" (*adhigata*) at the foot of the Bodhi tree, at the time of the full moon of Visākha, by the omniscient Buddha, and "collated" (*vicita*) by him, near the Bodhimaṇḍa, during the fourth week which he passed in the Ratanaghara. This detail is also confirmed by the *Jātaka Commentary* (I, p. 78).

The Abhidhamma which Śākyamuni discovered and collated was later propounded by him in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven and acquired by the disciple Śāriputra. The famous wonder of Sāṃkāśya is well-known to the hallowed legend and profusely represented on iconographical documents : Śakyamuni ascended to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven where he taught the Good Law to his mother Māyā, who had been reborn in that paradise, then at the end of three months he came down to earth, again by a precious triple ladder, in the company of the gods Brahma and Indra. The Sinhalese Abhidhammikas tried to imbue this legendary episode with the value of a literary event : it was not the Law in general
201 but the Seven Books of the Abhidhamma which the Buddha expounded

to his mother. Once the instruction was over, each evening he went to Lake Anavatapta where he bathed then, during his rest, he communicated the contents of the discourse he had propounded to the great disciple Śāriputra. The latter, having thus learned the Abhidhamma, transmitted it to his five hundred disciples who had remained on earth. This Sinhalese modification of the legend is again found, with some variants, in the fifth-century commentaries : *Atthasālinī*, p. 16; *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, pp. 222-3; *Jātaka Commentary*, IV, p. 265.

The promulgation of the seven books of the Abhidhamma by the Buddha himself is in apparent contradiction with another Sinhalese tradition according to which the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*, the fifth or last of the Seven Books, was "revealed" or "diffused" by Moggaliputta Tissa at the council of Pāṭaliputra, in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (*Dpv.*, VII, 41, 56-8; *Mhv.*, V, 278). This contradiction did not fail to draw the attention of the Sinhalese Vitaṇḍavādins who were engaged in a controversy with the orthodox Theravādins and of which the *Atthasālinī* (pp. 3-6) has preserved the record. Since the *Kathāvatthu*, said the Vitaṇḍas, was promulgated by Moggaliputta Tissa 218 years (sic) after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, it is only the word of the disciples and should be rejected; if it is absolutely necessary to retain seven books in the Abhidhammapiṭaka, let us replace the *Kathāvatthu* by either the *Mahādhammahadaya* or the *Mahādhātukathā*. To which the Theravādins replied : The *Kathāvatthu* is indeed the word of the Buddha. When he was teaching the Seven Books and came to the *Kathāvatthu*, he merely established its summary (*mātikaṃ ṭhapesi*). By acting in that way, he foresaw that 218 (corr. 236) years after his death Moggaliputta Tissa would develop that treatise at the Council of Pāṭaliputra and give it a length comparable to that of the *Dīghanikāya* by collating five hundred orthodox sūtras and five hundred heterodox sūtras. Therefore Tissa delineated the treatise, not on his own authority, but it accordance with the list of contents already established by the Master. Consequently, the *Kathāvatthu* is the word of the Buddha.

In their present form, the Seven Books of the Abhidhamma by no means present that canonical nature which tradition claims in their favour. In substance, they do not always merely classify systematically the psycho-physical phenomena which the sutras have already described,
202 but they also attempt to specify the relationships which unite them. In this respect, the *Paṭṭhāna* which examines the twenty-four "connections" (*pratyaya*) between phenomena marks an undoubted progress in Buddhist scholasticism. By their form, the Abhidhammas are very like those summarizing sūtras some specimens of which already figured in the

earlier collections : *Saṃgītisutta* of the *Dīgha*, suttas No. 127, 137, 140, 148, 151 of the *Majjhima* and the majority of the suttas in the *Aṅguttara*. However, the Abhidhamma abounds in repetitions, rectifications, reclassifications and explanations which give it the character of an unfinished work still in the process of elaboration. Certain sections of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* are only commentaries on previous sections, such as the appendix of the *Aṭṭhakathākaṇḍa* or *Atthuddhāra* which is devoted to an explanation of section III. The *Vibhaṅga* appears to be the continuation and partial repetition of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. Such work, incessantly repeated and never concluding, required many hands and extended over a period of time which it is impossible to specify, but which we have every reason to suppose must have been quite long. Hence the *Kathāvatthu*'s object is to state and refute the heretical theses defended by twenty-six different schools and, if some of them had already been formulated at the time of Aśoka, such as the five theses of Mahādeva (*Kathāvatthu*, II, 1-6, pp. 163-204), others resulted from the Vetullavāda heresy (*Ibid.*, XVII, 6-10, pp. 549-56; XVIII, 1, pp. 559-60) which only appeared in Ceylon during the reign of Vohārikatissa in the second half of the third century A.D. (*Dpv.*, XXII, 43; *Mhv.*, XXXVI, 41).*

2. For their own part, the Sarvāstivādins possessed an Abhidharma in seven books[71] curiously entitled *Ṣaḍpādābhidharma* "Abh. with six
203 feet". The *Kośavyākhyā*, which refers to it on p. 466, explains (p. 9) the title in the following way :

> "The treatise called *Jñānaprasthāna* is like a body (*śarīra*) the six feet (*pāda*) of which are : 1. *Prakaraṇapāda*, 2. *Vijñānakāya*, 3. *Dharmaskandha*, 4. *Prajñaptiśāstra*, 5. *Dhātukāya*, 6. *Saṃgītiparyāya*. The treatise with its appendages (*anucāra*) is the Abhidharma".

The Tibetan historian Bu-ston (I, p. 49) cites the seven books in

[71] J. Takakusu, *On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins*, JPTS, 1905, pp. 67-146; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Introduction*, Paris, 1931, pp. XXIX-XLII; *La controverse du Temps et du Pudgala dans la Vijñānakāya*, *Études Asiatiques*, I, Paris, 1925, p. 343-76; *The two Nirvāṇadhātus according to the Vibhāṣā*, IHQ, VI, pp. 39-45; *Pārāyaṇa cité dans Jñānaprasthāna*, Mél. Linossier, II, Paris, 1932, pp. 323-7; *Documents d'Abhidharma*, BEFEO, XXX, 1930, pp. 1-28; 247-98; *Documents d'Abhidharma*, MCB, I, 1932, pp. 65-125; V, 1937, pp. 7-187.

On the Prajñaptiśāstra, see P. Mus, *La lumière sur les Six Voies*, Paris, 1939, pp. 120-5; 135, 167, 191.

We owe to the admirable activity of the Viśvabhāratī a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text of the original book : *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra, retranslated into Sanskrit from Chinese version of Hiuan-tsang* by Śanti Bhiksu Śastri, I, Santiniketan, 1955.

another order, attributing each of them to a particular author. However, these attributions are often contradicted by the Chinese translations :

1. *Dharmaskandha* by Śāriputra = T 1537 by Maudgalyāyana.
2. *Prajñaptiśāstra* by Maudgalyāyana = T 1538.
3. *Dhātukāya* by Pūrṇa = T 1540 by Vasumitra.
4. *Vijñākāya* by Devaśarman = T 1539 by Devakṣema.
5. *Jñānaprāsthana* by Kātyāyana = T 1543 *Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha* by Kātyāyana = T 1544 *Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra* by Kātyāyanīputra.
6. *Prakaraṇapāda* by Vasumitra = T 1541 and 1542.
7. *Saṃgītiparyāya* by Mahākauṣṭhila = T 1536 by Śāriputra.

Apart from the Vaibhāṣikas of Kaśmīr who, according to Bu-ston (I, pp. 49-50), considered those seven books as discourses uttered by the Master himself at different times, in various places and for different people, the Sarvāstivādins and Sautrāntikas renounced the pious fiction which assumed that the Buddha was the author of their Abhidharma. With a sincerity which could be found nowhere else, they acknowledged that the books in question had been compiled at various dates by different authors, whose names they give, even while considering them as authorized interpreters of the word of the Master.

In the Chinese translations some information is found on the history of these texts which we reproduce here in chronological order :

a. A colophon dated 379 A.D., inserted at the end of the 24th scroll of the Chinese translation of the *Jñānaprasthāna* by Saṃghadeva and Dharmapriya (T 1543, ch. 24, p. 887*a*), confirms the explanation of the term Ṣaḍpāda given above :

"The *Aṣṭagrantha* (= *Jñānaprasthāna*) is merely the body (*śarīra*); there are also six feet (*pāda*) of 1,000,000 syllables in all".

b. In a note by Kumārajīva added to the translation of the *Upadeśa*
204 (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70*a*) carried out in 404-405, we read the following explanations, which are interesting but difficult to interpret :

"[After the development of the sects which occurred a century after the decease of the Buddha], a brāhmin monk named Kātyāyana, who was wise, had sharp faculties and could recite in full the Three Baskets, the internal and external texts, and who wanted to explain the words of the Buddha, compiled the *Jñānaprasthāna* [T 1543, 1544]. The first chapter [entitled *Saṃyuktagrantha*] deals with the *laukikāgradharma*. — Subsequently, his disciples made some Vibhāṣās [T 1545. 1546. 1547] of them for men in ages to come who would not be able to understand fully the *Aṣṭagrantha* [and, in fact, the *Vibhāṣā* frequently quotes the *Aṣṭagrantha* : cf. T 1545, ch. 1, p. 4*b* 3, etc.] — Some people say : In the Ṣaḍpādābhidharma, the third Pāda [*Prajñaptiśāstra*, T 1538] in eight

chapters is named *Fên pieh shih ch'u fên* (*Lokaprajñapti*) : this is the third part of the *Lu t'an ching* (?) in six parts : it is the work of Maudgalyāyana. — In the Ṣaḍpāda, the first Pāda [*Prakaraṇapāda*, T 1541, 1542] consists of eight chapters : four are the work of the Bodhisattva Vasumitra; the other four are the work of the Arhats of Kaśmīr. — The other five Pādas [from the Ṣaḍpādābhidharma] are the work of the Upadeśācāryas".

c. In his *Life of Vasubandhu* (T 2049, p. 189*a*), Paramārtha writes :

"In the five hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, there was an Arhat named Kātyāyanīputra who had taken up the homeless life in the sect of the Sarvāstivādins. Indian by origin, he went to Kaśmīr, a kingdom situated to the north-west of India. There, in the company of five hundred Arhats and five hundred Bodhisattvas, [redacted] compiled the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādin school and composed the *Aṣṭagrantha*".

In his commentary on the *Treatise of Vasumitra* (cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes*, pp. 53-4), Paramārtha returns to the same Kātyāyanīputra, but this time dating him at the beginning of the three hundred years after the Nirvāna :

"At the beginning of the three hundred years, when Kātyāyanīputra took up the homeless life, two separate schools were formed : that of the Sthaviras and that of the Sarvāstivādins... The Sthavira school propagated the sūtras only... Conversely the Sarvāstivādin school, professed that there was nothing superior to the Abhidharma... It was from the time of Kātyāyanīputra that it greatly esteemed the Abhidharma".

The Sarvāstivādin Kātyāyanīputra should not be confused with Kātyāyana the Elder, to whom we will return shortly.

205 The information collected until now enables us to discern the basic attitude of the Sarvāstivādins towards the Abhidharma. According to the Vinaya of this school (T 1435, ch. 60, p. 449*c* 21), it was not in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven — as the Theravādins claim — but simply in Śrāvastī that the Buddha initiated the Abhidharma teaching with an unpretentious discourse on the "Five Fears" etc., the details of which have been preserved in the *Aṅguttara* (III, pp. 204-5). The *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 69*c*) is of the same opinion.

d. The *Vibhāṣā* (1545, ch. 1, p. 1) reconciles the basic tenets and the tradition by stating that the Buddha was the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* and Kātyāyanīputra edited it :

"The Bhagavat, when he was in this world, in different places, explained and expounded the Abhidharma by means of various theoretical accounts. Either after the Nirvāṇa or when the Bhagavat was still in this world, the Ārya-

disciples, by means of knowledge born of aspiration (*praṇidhijñāna*), compiled and assembled [those accounts], and arranged them into sections. Therefore, Kātyāyanīputra also, after the disappearance of the Bhagavat, compiled and composed the *Jñānaprasthāna* with the aid of *praṇidhijñāna*. Among those theoretical accounts of the Bhagavat, he established the doors of a book (*vākyadvāra*); he inserted summarizing stanzas, he made various chapters to which he gave the name of Skandhaka... The Abhidharma was originally the word of the Buddha, but it is also a compilation by the Ārya Kātyāyanīputra. Whether the Buddha uttered [the Abhidharma], or whether the disciple uttered it, that does not violate the rule (*dharmatā*), for all the Buddhas want the bhikṣus to bear in mind [the Abhidharma]. Therefore, that Ārya, whether he knew the Abhidharma through tradition or whether he discovered it by means of *praṇidhijñāna*, composed that Treatise in order that the Good Law would remain in the world for a long time".

e. Thus, even while acknowledging the "inspired" nature of the Abhidharma treatises, literary criticism keeps an open mind. One might wonder where, when and by whom the *Jñānaprasthāna* and its six "feet", were compiled. This is what Hsüan tsang and his disciples undertook to find out.

In approximately 650, P'u kuang, in his *Commentary upon the Kośa* (T 1821, ch. 1, p. 8*b*), supplies some interesting facts, but without citing his references :

"Śāriputra compiled the *Paryāyapādaśāstra* (T 1536); Mahāmaudgalyāyana compiled the *Dharmaskandhapādaśāstra* (T 1537); Mahākātyāyana compiled the *Prajñaptipādaśāstra* (T 1538) : those three above-mentioned treatises were composed when the Buddha was still in this world. — In the first century which followed the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, Devakṣema compiled the *Vijñānakāyapādaśā-*
206 *stra* (T 1539). — At the beginning of the three hundred years, Vasumitra compiled the *Prakaraṇapādaśāstra* (T 1541, 1542) and he also compiled the *Dhātukāyapādaśāstra* (T 1540). Then, at the end of the three hundred years, Kātyāyanīputra compiled the *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra* (T 1543, 1544)".

Hsüan tsang records some geographical details concerning the place where some of these books were composed : the *Vijñānanakāya* was published by Devaśarman in Viśoka near Śrāvastī (T 2087, ch. 5, p. 898*c*); the *Prakaraṇapāda*, by Vasumitra at a stūpa in Puṣkarāvatī (*Ibid.*, ch. 2, p. 881*a*); finally, the *Jñānaprasthāna* was compiled three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa by Kātyāyana at the Tāmasavanavihāra, a Sarvāstivādin monastery in the district of Cīnabhukti in the North-West (*Ibid.*, ch. 4, p. 889*c*). This is in contradiction with the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 5, p. 21*c*) according to which the Venerable one composed his *Jñānaprasthāna* when he was residing "in the East" : the

proof of which is that, in that treatise (T 1544, ch. 1, p. 918*c*), he quotes the five rivers which are known in the East.

A scrutiny of the Seven Books leads to identical conclusions : The *Saṃgītiparyāya* is a somewhat aberrant recension of the *Saṃgītisuttanta* in the *Dīgha*; the *Dharmaskandha* is a collection of Sūtras promulgated at the Jetavana in Śrāvastī and rapidly commented upon by quotations from other sūtras; the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, of which T 1538 is only a partial translation but which exists in a complete state in the Tibetan version, closely resembles the cosmological Sūtra in the *Dīrghāgama* T 1, No. 30, p. 114 sq.) and the *Li shih a p'i t'an lun* (T 1644) which also has the characteristics of a Sūtra. In brief, the first three books are still very close to the summarizing Sūtras, of which there are several specimens in the Āgamas, and it is understandable that the exegesis should attribute them to contemporaries of the Buddha : Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākātyāyana, Kauṣṭhila or Pūrṇa.

The other four books are more technical and strongly influenced by the particular views of the Sarvāstivādin school. The *Vijñānakāya* by Devaśarman is a polemical work somewhat resembling the *Kathāvatthu*. Unlike the latter, it is an adherent of differentiation with regard to the existence of the three time-periods; it refutes the doctrine of a certain Mu lien (perhaps the Moggaliputta Tissa of the Pāli chronicle, who championed the Vibhajyavāda at the council of Pāṭaliputra) and it asserts the existence of the past and the future. However, like the *Kathāvatthu* and using the same arguments, it contests the belief in a
207 Pudgala. In the two books attributed to him, Vasumitra represents the point of view of the "Old Abhidharmikas" of the Sarvāstivādin school : his *Dhātukāya* deals with the same questions as the *Dhātukathāpakaraṇa* of Pāli scholasticism. Finally, the *Jñānaprasthāna* displays considerable progress in the method of systematization : it is this last work that the Arhats of Kaśmīr applied themselves to comment upon in their *Vibhāṣā*.

3. Alongside the great Abbhidharmas of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, we also possess other Abhidharma treatises which seem to have enjoyed canonical authority.

In 1949, the Pali Text Society published the complete text of a *Peṭakopadesa* "Teaching on the Piṭaka(s)" in eight chapters. The text is obscure and presents insurmountable difficulties. In its present form it is not especially old since it contains numerous quotations not only from the Vinaya and Suttapiṭaka (*Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta, Thera-* and *Therīgāthā, Jātaka*), but also from the *Nettipakaraṇa*. Nevertheless, it was used,

seemingly as a canonical authority, by Buddhaghosa in his *Atthasālinī* (p. 165) and *Visuddhimagga* (ed. WARREN, p. 114).

The work itself claims to be written by the Thera Mahākaccāyana when living at the Jambuvana, and this attribution is confirmed by the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 59) and the Burmese Buddhists who incorporated the *Peṭakopadesa* in their Khuddakanikāya.

There is no reason why we should not see in this text a distant echo of the Abhidharmic work carried out in Ujjayinī by the Buddha's great disciple Mahākātyāyana, the missionary from Avanti. Regarding this Kātyāyana, who was a contemporary of the Buddha and had no connection with the Sarvāstivādin Kātyāyanīputra of the third century after the Nirvāṇa, the following evidence can be assembled :

a. Certain accounts of the first council were not ignorant of the part played by Mahākātyāyana with respect to the Abhidharma : the *Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka* (T 2026, p. 3*c* 12) and the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32*a* 19) know that Kātyāyana selected the gist of the word of the Master and presented his work to the Buddha who approved it and adorned it with the title of Supreme Doctrine (Abhidharma).

b. In a note added to his translation of the *Upadeśa* (T 1509), Kumārajīva speaks in turn of the brāhmin Kātyāyana, the author of the
208 *Aṣṭagrantha* (p. 70*a* 10-12), then of Mahākātyāyana (p. 70*a* 20-3). Concerning the latter he notes :

"Mahākātyāyana, when the Buddha was alive, explained the words of the Buddha and compiled a *Pi lê* (Peṭaka), "Box-collection" in the Ch'in language. Up to this day, it is in use in Southern India".

c. Paramārtha and his pupil Chi tsang, in their commentary upon the *Treatise of the Sects* by Vasumitra (DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes*, pp. 49-50), attribute a dual role to Mahākātyāyana : that of a śāstra author and initiator of a Buddhist subsect :

"At the time when the Buddha was in this world, Mahākātyāyana had composed a śāstra in order to explain the Āgama-sūtras of the Buddha. During the two hundred years that followed the Nirvāṇa, he emerged from Lake Anavatapta, reached Magadha country and entered the Mahāsāṃghika school, where he drew up distinctions concerning the holy teaching of the Tripiṭaka, saying : 'This was uttered by the Buddha as a nominal concept (*prajñapti*), that is the real teaching of the Buddha; this is absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*), that is conventional truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*); that is causality'. Within the Mahāsāṃghika school, there were those who accepted his teachings with faith; they formed a separate school known as that of the Prajñaptivādins".

One thing appears to be certain : the present Abhidharmic tradition is independent, since neither the Theravādins nor the Sarvāstivādins consider Mahākātyāyana the Elder as authoritative at all.

4. The *Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (T 1548)[72] was translated into Chinese between 407 and 415 by Dharmagupta and Dharmayaśas, the latter being Kaśmīrian. The work is divided into four parts : Sapraśnaka,
209 Apraśnaka, Saṃyukta-Saṃgraha and Nidāna, titles which recall the first four chapters of the Haimavata Abhidharma (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818*a* 28-9), which consists of five.

Kumārajīva, in his translation of the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70*a*), says :

"When the Buddha was in this world, Śāriputra made the Abhidharma in order to explain the words of the Buddha. Later, the Vātsīputrīya monks recited that work : until today, that is what is called the *Śāriputrābhidharma*".

Paramārtha, in his commentary upon the *Treatise of Vasumitra* (Demiéville, *Sectes*, p. 57-8), provides further information :

"Sāriputra had explained the Buddha's Abhidharma in nine parts; that is what is called the Abhidharma of the Features of the Law (*dharmalakṣaṇābhidharma*). Rāhula, Śāriputra's disciple, transmitted the Abhidharma to the Arhat Vatsyaputra, and the latter's disciples formed the Vātsīputrīya school. Then, after three hundred years, four more schools emerged from the Vātsīputrīya school : the Dharmottarīyas, Bhadrayāṇīyas, Sammitīya and Ṣaṇḍas or Ṣaṇṇāgarikas. Dissatisfied with Śāriputra's Abhidharma which they found incomplete, they each composed śāstras in order to complete Śāriputra's Abhidharma wherever it was inadequate".

It might be wondered whether in the *Śāriputrābhidharma* to which Kumārajīva and Paramārtha refer is indeed the T 1548 which we

[72] The connection between Śāriputra and the Abhidharma has been studied by Dr. A. Migot in his work on *Un grand disciple du Buddha : Śāriputra*, BEFEO, XLVI, 1954, pp. 405-54.

Independent research by both L. de La Vallée Poussin (Introduction to the *Kośa*, pp. LX-LXII) and T. Kimura (*Recherches sur l'Abhidharma*, Tokyo, 1922) has shown that the *Śāriputrābhidharma* describes doctrines which are very close to those of the Pāli Abhidhamma (particularly the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Puggalapaññatti*) and supports the theses which the *Vibhāṣā* and the *Kośa* attribute to the Vibhajyavādins.

A. Bareau has on several occasions attempted to determine from which sect this Abhidharma originates : the Andhaka or Haimavata sect (*Recherches sur l'Abhidharma de Ś.*, Actes du XIX[e] Congrès des Orientalistes, 1955, pp. 187-8), Dharmaguptaka sect (*Les origines du* Ś., Muséon, LXIII, 1950, pp. 69-95), or finally, due to doctrinal affinities, the Mahāsāṃghika school (*Les Sectes b. du Petit Véhicule et leurs Abhidharmapiṭaka*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1951, p. 10).

possess. The latter, in fact, consists of four parts and not nine and, far from adopting the thesis of the existence of an indescribable Pudgala — a thesis which the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīya sects (cf. T 1649) claim as authoritative — it shows itself to be a determined adept of Anātman (T 1548, ch. 15, p. 626*c* 2-4).

In fact, T 1548 cites Śāriputra as its authority just as the Sinhalese tradition, which was examined earlier, claimed that its Abhidhamma originated from revelations disclosed by the Buddha to Śāriputra while teaching in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven. Furthermore, no work in the Sanskrit Abhidharma comes closer to the Pāli Abhidhamma, particularly the *Vibhaṅga*.

Conclusions. - The tradition examined here and which, in part, result from the Kaśmīrian elucubrations of the fourth century (Kumārajīva, Paramārtha) should not be overestimated. Despite their supposed canonicity, the Abhidharmas are the works of schools and it is only through contrivance that they are connected with the Buddha and disciples contemporary with him.

210 The Sinhalese Theravādins claim they can go back to Śāriputra alone through a long lineage of obscure Ābhidhārmakas who are listed in the *Atthasālinī* (p. 32). It is the same for the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas who claim the existence of a *Śāriputrābhidharma* in 9 sections.

The Prajñaptivādins, insofar as they had an Abhidharma, consider as authoritative a *Peṭakopadesa* compiled in Avanti by Mahākātyāyana.

Finally, the Sarvāstivādins appeal to the authority of three immediate disciples of the Buddha : Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Mahākauṣṭhila, but do not hide the fact that their great master was the famous Kātyāyanīputra of the third century after the Nirvāṇa.

However, whoever the authors of the Abhidharma may have been, they reveal themselves as strictly faithful interpreters of the "Meaning of the Sūtras" : at the most they limited themselves to completing it on certains points of detail without in the least compromising the doctrinal integrity of Sākyamuni's message. They therefore have every right to present their Abhidharma as the Word of the Buddha.

3. — The Disappearance of the Good Law*

The section devoted to the canonical writings has its indispensible complement in a notice relative to the data and circumstances of the disappearance of the Good Law (*saddharmavipralopa*).

The Law which was discovered and expounded by the Buddha is immutable : "Whether or not the Tathāgatas appear in the world, the

nature of the Dharma, the subsistence of the Dharma remains stable" (*Saṃyutta*, II, p. 25, etc.). It is also well known that "the sky will fall with the moon and stars, the earth with its mountains and forests will rise up into the skies; the oceans will dry up, but the great Sages say nothing false" (*Divya*, p. 268, 272).

However, the Law does not exist only in the absolute (*paramārtha*). Studied, practised and professed by mankind, it also relates to conventionality (*saṃvṛti*) and as such is subject to the universal principle of decline : "All accumulations culminate in destruction; all elevations in downfall; unions end in separation; life ends in death" (*Divya*, pp. 27, 100, 486).

Predictions concerning the disappearance of the Good Law were formulated from the earliest times and repeated throughout the centuries. They have exerted a decisive influence on the history of Buddhism.
211 The echoes which were recently awakened by the celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha have not yet been silenced. Therefore it is not without reason that the Buddhist chronicles devote entire chapters to the question (cf. Bu-ston, II, pp. 102-8, 171-80). The present notes do not claim to exhaust a particularly complicated subject, but, to define, as far as possible, the periods covered by an eminently fluid tradition.

1. Dates of the Disappearance

The disappearance of the Good Law is fixed at the most various dates, but the ingenuity of the ancient exegetists attempted to reconcile them by differentiating between three kinds of Law : the Good Law proper (*saddharma, chêng fa*), the counterfeit Law (*pratirūpakadharma, hsiang fa*) and the final Law (*paścimadharma, mo fa*). This differentiation, which was particularly exploited by the Chinese authors, is well-known to the sūtras of the Mahāyānā, such as the *Mahāyānābhisamaya* (T 673, ch. 2, p. 651*c* 12-13) : "The Tathāgata appears and descends from the Tuṣita heaven in order to support the whole of the *saddharma*, the whole of the *pratirūpaka* and the whole of the *paścima*".

With regard to this threefold Dharma, these are the various dates of disappearance proposed by the sources :

Year 500. — The early canonical doctrine is contained in two texts which are often quoted :

a. *Sace Ānanda nālabhissa mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjaṃ, ciraṭṭhitikaṃ Ānanda brahmacariyaṃ abhavissa, vassasahassaṃ saddhammo tiṭṭheya. Yato ca kho Ānanda mātugāmo tathāgatappa-*

vedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito, na dāni Ānanda brahmacariyaṃ ciraṭṭhitikaṃ bhavissati, pañc' eva dāni Ānanda vassasatāni saddhammo ṭhassati.

Which in substance means : If, Ānanda, women had not been admitted into the Order, this holy religion would have lasted for a long time, would have lasted for 1,000 years; but since they were admitted into it, this holy religion will not last long : the Saddharma will last for 500 years.

That is the calculation as represented by the vast majority of the canonical and post-canonical sources : sūtras, vinayas and lives of the Buddha : *Madhyamāgama* (T 26, ch. 28, p. 607*b* 9); *Aṅguttara* (IV, p. 278); *Gautamīsūtra* (T 60, p. 857*c* 29); Pāli *Vin.* (II, p. 256);
212 *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 29, p. 186*a* 14); *Dharmaguptaka Vin.* (T 1428, ch. 48, p. 923*c* 9); *Chung pên ch'i ching* (T 196, ch. 2, p. 159*b* 8). See also the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 68*a* 16).

The *Mātṛkā of the Haimavatas* (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818*c* 4) specifies that during that period, the Law, century to century, is dominated in turn by deliverance (*vimokṣa*), concentration (*samādhi*), observance of the precepts (*śīladhara*), erudition (*bahuśruta*) and, finally, giving (*dāna*).

b. However, it is accepted that, if the Saddharma perishes after 500 years, the Dharma does not entirely disappear, but that there will subsist a counterfeit of the Saddharma. That is what is meant by *Pratirūpaka*.

Saṃyutta, II, p. 224 (cf. T 99, No. 906, ch. 32, p. 226*c* 6-8; T 100, No. 121, ch. 6, p. 419*b* 25-6) : *Na tāva Kassapa saddhammassa antaradhānaṃ hoti yāva na saddhammapaṭirūpakaṃ loke uppajjati. Yato ca kho Kassapa saddhammapaṭirūpakaṃ loke uppajjati atha saddhammassa antaradhānaṃ hoti.*

"The disappearance of the Good Law will not occur as long as a counterfeit of the Good Law has not appeared in the world. It is when the counterfeit of the Good Law appears in the world that the Good Law will disappear".

The same text explains that the counterfeit of the Good Law can be attributed to a lack of respect in the community towards the Master, the Dharma, the Saṃgha, mental practice and concentration.

Buddhaghosa, in his *Saṃyutta Commentary* (II, p. 201), specifies that this counterfeit affects both the efficacity (*adhigama*) of the Good Law by vitiating insight and knowledge (*vipaśyanājñāna*) of the truths, and scriptural information (*paryāpti*) by proposing a series of texts as antitheses to the authentic compilation, for example, *Dhātukathā, Ārammaṇakathā, Asubhakathā, Ñāṇavatthukathā, Vijjākadambaka, Guḷhavi-*

naya, *Gulhavessantara*, *Vannapiṭaka*, *Aṅgulimālapiṭaka*, *Raṭṭhapālagajjita*, *Ālavakagajjita* and *Vetullapiṭaka*.

Year 1,000. — By attributing to the Pratirūpaka the same duration as the Saddharma, the disappearance of the Good Law can be established in the year 1,000. That is no reason to compare this simple mathematical calculation with Western dreams of the millennium.

The *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 183, p. 918*a*) shows there is nothing
213 mysterious about it. After having quoted the canonical text which attributes to the Saddharma a duration of 500 years, it asks the following question :

"However, if the Saddharma in fact lasts for more than 1,000 years, why did the Buddha speak of [500 years]? The Buddha spoke in this way with the hidden implication (*saṃdhāya*) of the solidity of deliverance (*vimokṣa*) [ensured for the first 500 years]. Which means that, if he had not authorized women to take up the homeless life, the solidity of deliverance would have extended over 1,000 years. Now, during the next 500 years, there is only a solidity of the precepts (*śīla*), erudition (*śruta*), etc., but no longer a solidity of deliverance. All that is to be blamed upon having authorized women to take up the homeless life. — Other masters say : The Buddha speaks [of 500 years] while taking into account the non-observance of the eight strict rules (*gurudharma*) [by the nuns]. That means that, if he had authorized women to take up the homeless life without making them observe the eight *gurudharma*, then the duration of the Saddharma would have been reduced to 500 years. But now that the Buddha has imposed on them the practice of the eight *gurudharma*, the duration of the Saddharma reverts to 1,000 years".

The *Kośa* (VIII, p. 220) remarks more briefly :

"The Saddharma lasts for 1,000 years after the Nirvāṇa. It is explained that this figure refers to the *adhigama* [practice of the Good Law ensuring deliverance], but that the *āgama* [instructing of the Law] lasts for longer".

It is obviously on this basis that a great many sources attribute to the Law a duration of 1,000 years : Sūtra of the *Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭika* (T 2026, p. 2*a* 16); *Kāśyapasaṃgītisūtra* (T 2027, p. 6*a* 7); *Mūlasarv. Vin.*, (T 1451, ch. 39, p. 405*a* 7); *Legend of Aśoka* (T 99, ch. 25, p. 177*b* 23; T 2042, ch. 6, p. 126*b* 26). It is also the opinion of Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakaśāstra* (T 1564, ch. 1, p. 1*b* 29) and his *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 88, p. 681*b* 6).

The *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T 425, ch. 3, p. 21*a* 25) and the *Karmāvaraṇapratiśrabdhi* (T 1493, p. 1094*a* 17) specify that the Saddharma and the Pratirūpaka each last for 500 years.

Finally, a short Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇa* (T 390, pp. 1112-3) strives to specify the predominant characteristic of each of the ten

centuries constituting the duration of the Law : 1. the noble doctrine (*āryadharma*), 2. tranquillity (*śamatha*). 3. right conduct (*samyakcarita*), 4. renunciation (*vairāgya*), 5. the meaning of the Law (*dharmārtha*), 6. the teaching of the Law (*dharmadeśanā*), 7. the search for gain and honours (*lābhasatkāra*) 8. perverse quarrels (*vivāda*), 9. restlessness (*auddhatya*), 10. idle discoursing (*prapañca*).

214 Year 1,500. — Certain sources refuse to concede that the Saddharma and Pratirūpaka have an identical duration.

a. The Saddharma lasts for 1,000 years and the Pratirūpaka for 500, according to the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*, a text pertaining to the Mahāyāna (T 157, ch. 7, p. 211*b* 26-9; T 158, ch. 5, p. 270*a* 3-4).

b. The Saddharma lasts for 500 years and the Pratirūpaka for 1,000, according to the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* (T 397, ch. 56, p. 379*c* 5 and 9) and the *Mahāmāyāsūtra* (T 383, ch. 2, p. 1013*b-c*). The latter text makes a survey of the fifteen centuries of the Law's duration, noting in its passage some famous scholar and some important event : in the first century, five patriarchs from Kāśyapa to Upagupta, and the reign of Aśoka : in the second, the bhikṣu Śīlānanda; in the third, the bhikṣus Maudgalyāyana and Puṣpanetra; in the fourth, Gomukha; in the fifth, Ratnadeva, but the Saddharma comes to an end; in the sixth, the 96 kinds of heretics destroy the Law of the Buddha, but they are overwhelmed by Aśvaghoṣa; in the seventh, Nāgārjuna; in the eighth, the death in Kauśāmbī of the last Arhat and the last Tripiṭaka master.

The *Milindapañha* (pp. 130-4) points out three ways in which the Law disappears : disappearance of the acquisition of the degrees of holiness (*adhigama*) which occurs 500 years after the Nirvāṇa, disappearance of the observance of the precepts (*paṭipatti*) and, finally, disappearance of the external signs (*liṅga*) of adherence to the doctrine. The date of the last two disappearances is not specified, but we may suppose that they are also spaced at an interval of 500 years, which would result in fixing the complete disappearance of the doctrine in 1,500.

Year 2,000. — According to Bu-ston (II, pp. 103, 178), the year 2,000 would be the date fixed by the *Candragarbhasūtra* for the destruction of the Law. This is also the opinion of Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.), but his pupil Chi tsang (549-623), from whom we have this information (T 1824, ch. 1, p. 18*a* 18), observes that it is rather a generally admitted date : "The Law of the Buddha was originally due to last for 2,000 years, but because he authorized women to take up the homeless life, the duration of the Saddharma was reduced drastically by 500 years and in fact numbers only 1,500 years".

Year 2,500. — A passage in the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* (T 397, ch. 55,

p. 363*a-b*) maintains that the Good Law disappears after 5 periods of 5 centuries : in the first the bhikṣus and others will be strong in deliberation (i.e. will acquire *satyābhisamaya*); in the second, they will
215 be strong in meditation (*samādhi, dhyāna*); in the third, in Scriptures (*śruta*); in the fourth, in the foundation of monasteries; in the fifth, in quarrels and reproaches, and the white Law will become invisible.

In certain sūtras of the Mahāyāna such as the *Vajracchedikā* (ed. CONZE, pp. 30-1) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 282 (cf. T 262, ch. 5, p. 37*c* 29), we find the stereotyped formula : *Tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya paścime kāle samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ saddharmavipralope vartamāne* : "When the Tathāgata has entered complete Nirvāṇa, at the end of time in the final period, during the final period of 500 years, when the Good Law is in ruins". The Tibetan commentary upon the *Vajracchedikā* (*Mdo.*, XVI, fol. 234*a*) explains : "It is well known (*prasiddha*) that the teaching of the Bhagavat lasts 5 times 500 years; that is why the text explains : during the final period of 500 years, since it is then that the 5 *kaṣaya* develop".

Year 3,000. — Referring to the passage from the *Mahāsaṃnipāta* quoted above, Chi tsang (T 1824, ch. 1, p. 18*a* 23-6) introduces an interesting variant : "The *Ta chi ching* distinguishes between six successive predominances (*sāratā*) [in the history of the Good Law] : 1. in the first period of 500 years, a predominance of the acquisition of holiness (*adhigama*); 2. in the second, erudition (*śruta*); 3. in the third, concentration (*samādhi*); 4. in the fourth, stūpas and vihāras; 5. in the fifth, quarrels (*vivāda*); 6. in the sixth, foolishness (*moha*) : which makes 3,000 years in all".

Year 5,000. — In Ceylon, in the fifth century A.D., Buddhaghosa and his school fixed the disappearance of the Law in the year 5,000. That is the figure adopted by the Pāli chronicles and commentaries such as the *Mahāvaṃsa* (III, 38), *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (I, p. 25), *Atthasālinī* (p. 27) and *Samantapāsādikā* (I, p. 30).

The *Samantapāsādikā* explains that during the first millennium Buddhists can have access to analytical knowledge of the truths (*pratisaṃvid*) which brings about Buddhahood and to the four fruits of the religious life, namely, in decreasing order of value, the state of Arhat, *anāgāmin, sakṛdāgāmin* and *srotaāpanna*. During the second millennium, there is access only to the four fruits; in the third, to three; in the fourth, to two; finally, in the fifth, to the fruit of *srotaāpanna* alone. However, the text of the *Samanta*. varies depending on whether it is the Pāli recension (VI, p. 1291) or the Chinese one (T 1462, ch. 18, p. 796*c*) :

216 Pāli recension

The text of the Vinaya speaks of a thousand years in relation to those who have destroyed the impurities thanks to analytical knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*). Then follows a thousand years in relation to those who have destroyed the impurities as being dry-visioned (*sukkhavipassaka*). A further thousand years in relation to *anāgāmin*. Another thousand years in relation to *sakādāgamin*. Finally, another thousand years in relation to *sotāpanna*. Hence, the Saddhamma as a comprehension of the truths (*paṭivedha*) will last for 5,000 years. It is the same for the Dharma as knowledge of the holy texts (*pariyatti*). Since without *pariyatti* there is no *paṭivedha*, but if there is *pariyatti*, *paṭivedha* necessarily exists. Nevertheless, even when *pariyatti* has disappeared, the external signs [of adherence to the doctrine] (*liṅga*) will continue for a long time more.

Chinese recension

Is it true that after 1,000 years the Law of the Buddha will disappear entirely? No, not entirely. During that millennium, one obtains the triple knowledge (*trayī vidyā*) [of the Buddhas and Arhats]. In the following millennium, one becomes an Arhat having destroyed thirst (*tṛṣṇākṣaya*), but one no longer possesses the triple knowledge. In the following millennium, one becomes an *anāgāmin*. In the following millennium, one becomes a *sakṛdāgāmin*. In the following millennium, one becomes a *srotāapanna*. Afterwards, there are a further five millennia. Hence, during the [first] five millennia, one accedes to the Path; but in the last five, practise as one may, one will no longer accede to the Path. After those 10,000 years, the texts and literature disappear; there are only people who shave their heads and wear the religious *kāṣāya* robe.

Another commentary Buddhaghosa, the *Manorathapūraṇī* (I, p. 87) describes the gradual impoverishment of the Doctrine in five successive millennia which in turn entails the disappearance of the degrees of holiness (*adhigama*), the observance of the precepts (*paṭipatti*), knowledge of the holy texts (*pariyatti*), religious signs (*nimitta*) and, finally, of the relics (*dhātu*).

Repeated over the ages by various Sinhalese works such as the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, *Sāratthasaṅgaha*, *Saddhamaratnākara*, etc., in the fourteenth century this prophetic vision inspired King Lūt'ai of Siam to compose an inscription to commemorate the installation of a relic at Sukhodaya as well as the planting of a *bodhivṛkṣa* sapling[73].

217 Year 11,500 or 12,000. — From the sixth century onwards, the majority of the Chinese annalists such as Hui ssŭ (515-577), Chi tsang (549-623), Huai kan (613-681) and Liang p'i (717-777) were of the opinion that the disappearance of the Law occurs in "Three Degrees" (*san chieh*) : disappearance of the *chêng fa* (*saddharma*), of the *hsiang fa* (*pratirūpaka*) and finally of the *mo fa* (*paścimadharma*).

For Hui ssŭ (T 1933, p. 786c 4-6), the Saddharma lasts for 500 years,

[73] Cf. G. Coedès, *Le 2500e Anniversaire du Bouddha*, Diogène, No. 15, 1956, p. 1-16.

the Pratirūpaka for 1,000, and the Paścima for 10,000 : in all 11,500 years.

For Chi tsang (T 1824, ch. 1, p. 18*b* 2-5), Huai kan (T 1960, ch. 3, p. 48*c* 7-8) and Liang p'i (T 1709, ch. 7, p. 520*c* 10), who refer, among other documents, to an inscription engraved on a Jetavanavihāra in a foreign land, the Saddharma lasts for 1,000 years, the Pratirūpaka for 1,000, and the Paścima for 10,000 : 12,000 years in all.

2. Circumstances of the Disappearence

A persisting tradition maintains that the Good Law disappears at the end of time, following two orders of events, external and internal. A coalition of foreign kings will set India ablaze and cause bloodshed and will cruelly persecute the Buddhist religion : the monks will be massacred, monasteries destroyed and holy texts burnt. However, the king of Kauśāmbī will triumph over the foreign kings and will make his kingdom the last refuge for the Buddha's disciples. He will welcome numerous Buddhist monks to his court and offer them the greatest hospitality. However, residence in Kauśāmbī was never favourable to the destinies of the order. Already at the time of Śākyamuni, a schism had split the heart of the community, and the Buddha himself was unable to restore harmony. It will be the same at the end of time. Pampered by the pious laity, the monks will give themselves over to idleness and will no longer observe the rules of their order. Only a single Arhat will remain in their ranks, the last representative of the Good Law in the absolute sense (*paramārthasaddharma*), and a single Tripiṭaka master, the last representative of the Good Law in the conventional sense (*saṃvṛtisaddharma*). Both will meet their death during a quarrel marking the celebration of a final uposatha ceremony. Thus the Good Law will disappear from the world and a new Buddha will have to be awaited to restart it. The prediction concerning the disappearance of the Law is narrated in numerous texts, but with notable variants. The
218 most sober and best conceived version is found in the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 183, p. 918*a* 18-*b* 21) :

"How will the Saddharma of the Tathāgata perish? When the Saddharma of the Tathāgata is on the point of perishing, three kings will appear in Jambudvīpa : one of them will be religious, the other two will not. The religious king will be born in the eastern region : majestic, virtuous, compassionate and humane, he will overcome the five Indias. The two irreligious kings will be born among foreign slaves (*Ta hsü Mi li chê* : Dasyumleccha) : they will be stupid and will hate and despise the Law of the Buddha.

Having formed an alliance, the two kings will come from the west and,

pillaging as they go, will enter India and reach the eastern region. They will cause the greatest suffering to the faithful adherents of Buddhism. Everywhere they go, they will destroy stūpas, ruin *saṃghārāma* and massacre the communities of bhikṣus. Neither scholar (*bahuśruta*) nor regular practitioner (*śīladhara*) will escape them. They will burn the holy texts and nothing will remain of them.

Then the king of the eastern region, learning that the Dasyumleccha are ravaging India and have reached the eastern region, will raise an army and give battle to them. The troops of the good king, sometimes retreating and sometimes advancing, will finally capture the two bad kings. Both of them will be put to death.

Subsequently, the good king will send messengers to all the regions summoning all the Śākyaputrīya śramaṇas : 'I invite you all', he will say, 'to assemble in my kingdom; I will give you plenty of clothing, food, bedding, medicines and other commodities : you will lack nothing'. There upon all bhikṣus in Jambudvīpa will assemble in the kingdom of Kauśambī; each day, the king will put at their disposal the manifold offerings (*nānāvidhapūjā*) of the quinquennial assembly (*pañcavarṣa*).

However, all those bhikṣus will have taken up the homeless life in order to acquire advantages and ensure their subsistence. They will lack diligence in reciting the holy texts and will not seek solitude in order to meditate and reflect. During the day, they will gather in order to discuss worldly matters (*lokadharma*), they will become excited and give confused cries; during the night, tired and lazy, they will prolong their sleep. They will be devoid of reasoning (*vitarka*) and reflection (*upanidhyāna*). Since they will all neglect the true teaching of the Buddha, they will no longer follow the practices.

At that time, in the whole of Jambudvīpa there will be only two [true] practitioners of the Law (*dharmacārin*) : the first will be an Arhat named *Su la to* (Surata); the second will be a Tripiṭaka master named *Shê shih chia* (Śiṣyaka) or again *Pan chu* : he will be the head of the Saṃgha.

219 On that day, the Saddharma will be on the point of disappearing. At the start of that day, in the town of Kauśāmbī, five hundred pious householders (*gṛhapati*), led by the king, will simultaneously construct five hundred *saṃghārāma*. As soon as they learn that the Law is about to disappear, they will raise their arms to the sky and cry : 'The Buddha, at the time of his Nirvāṇa, confided the Law to two classes of disciples : 1. the laity (*gṛhastha*); 2. the religious (*pravrajita*). It cannot be said that the Law will perish today because we, lay disciples, have not been generous to the religious or that we have left them in need. It is only because you, monks, have not been of good conduct (*samyakcarita*) that the Saddharma will perish'. Others will say : 'In accordance with the rules of hospitality, from the beginning to the end, we have offered sustenance in abundance to the monks. Thus, from the appearance of the Saddharma until its disappearance, we have granted large amounts of necessities (*pariṣkāra*) and offerings (*pūjā*)'. Others will make the following remark : 'As long as the Law of the Buddha has not disappeared, the world still contains countless fields of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*); but if it disappears, the world will contain only a limited number of fields of merit. Fortunately, for us the Law of the Buddha has not yet disappeared. Until then, we will do our duty all together'. Others will say : 'When Śākyamuni was a Bodhisattva, he noticed that, under the Buddhas of the past, the Saddharma perished either through lack of provisions, or as a result of

famine. It was then that he expressed the following aspiration (*praṇidhāna*) : When I am a Buddha, I do not wish my Law to perish for such reasons. That is why, although the Law perishes today, supplies abound and establishments prosper'.

That very night, as the uposatha is being celebrated in the monastery, many bhikṣus will be assembled. Then the *karmadāna* will invite the head of the assembly, the Tripiṭaka master Śiṣyaka, to recite the Prātimokṣa in public. The Tripiṭaka master will accept, but will want to recite it in brief. Immediately, the Arhat Surata will rise from his seat, throw his cloak over one shoulder and, prostrating himself before the Tripiṭaka master, with his hands joined, will say : 'I would like the Elder (*sthavira*) to recite the Tripiṭaka in full'. Śiṣyaka will answer : 'If there is [a monk] in the assembly who is capable of observing all the precepts in the Prātimokṣa, let him invite me to recite it in full!'. The Arhat will respond : 'I myself am capable of observing the fine details (*prāntakoṭi*) of the ruling (*śikṣapada*) observed by the bhikṣus when the Buddha was alive; if that is what you call being capable of observing [the Prātimokṣa] completely, then I beg you to recite [the Tripiṭaka] in full'.

While the Arhat is speaking in that way, the disciples of the Tripiṭaka master will become extremely angry. Reviling the Arhat, they will say : 'Who is that bhikṣu who, in front of the assembly, contests our master and does not accept
220 his teachings?' After that, they will beat the Arhat Surata to death and from that time the Good Law in the absolute sense (*paramārthasaddharma*) will disappear.

However, the Devas, Nāgas and Yakṣas who revere that Arhat will become extremely angry and in their turn will kill the Tripiṭaka master Śiṣyaka. Others will say that it was the Arhat's disciples who killed the Tripiṭaka master in revenge. According to others, the king, learning that the Arhat had been put to death without being blameworthy, retained his affection for him and killed the Tripiṭaka master in a fit of anger. From that time the Good Law in the conventional sense (*saṃvṛtisaddharma*) will disappear. It is therefore at that moment that the twofold Saddharma of the *paramārtha* and the *saṃvṛti* will vanish from the world.

After seven days and seven nights have passed, the sky and the earth will grow dark, but the world will still not know that the Saddharma has already disappeared. Why so? Because in the past the Buddha, when he was a Bodhisattva, liked to cover the faults of others and never revealed secrets kept by others. In return for which, the Law will have disappeared for seven days without anyone knowing so.

However, after seven days, the great earth will quake and a shower of meteors will burn all the regions and sub-regions. In the air, the drum of the gods will begin to beat, and its sound will be most awesome. The god Māra and his retinue will feel great joy. In the air, a great white veil will unfurl. A loud voice will be heard in the air : 'As from today, the Saddharma of the Śākya, the great recluse, has disappeared'".

In the course of history, each time the Buddhist order felt itself to be threatened, this prophecy was re-edited and enriched by new details which tended to put it in harmony with contemporary events. Unfortunately, the Tibetan and Chinese translations have distorted the original proper names to such a degree that they are hardly recognizable.

1. The verse translation of the *Prediction to Kātyāyana* (T 2029, p. 11*b* 12), carried out under the Western Chin (265-316), records an invasion, not by two foreign kings, as in the *Vibhāṣā*, but by three :

"There were three bad kings : [he] of the *Ta ch'in* (Roman empire) located to the fore; he of *Po lo* (Pahlava) situated to the rear; he of the *An hsi* (Parthian Arsacid empire) sited in the middle. Because of them, the Saddharma will decline".

2. The prose translation of a sūtra of the same title (T. 2028,
221 p. 8*c* 24), carried out under the Sung between 420 and 479, is scarcely more explicit :

"In future generations three *devaputra* will emerge and ravage the continent : The first, called *Yeh lai na* (Yavana?), lives far away, in the Madhyadeśa of the South. Another *devaputra* inhabits a fief in the northern region. Another *devaputra* is called *Ch'ien chiu*. When the Law of the Buddha is on the point of disappearing, those three *devaputra* will leave their fiefs, ravage the lands, kill the inhabitants and destroy stūpas and *saṃghārāma*".

3. The *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 6, p. 126*c*), the last chapters of which were only translated under the Chin at the beginning of the fifth century, devotes a chapter to the destruction of the Law :

"In times to come, three cruel kings will appear : the first named *Shih chin* (Śaka), the second named *Yen wu na* (Yavana), the third named *Po lo jao* (Pahlava). They will persecute the people, destroy the Law of the Buddha". The text adds that those three kings came respectively from the South, the North and the West and that each of them was at the head of a hundred thousand vassals.

This passage could be referring to the troubled history of the last two centuries B.C. : in approximately 189, the Yavanas of Demetrius set out to conquer Gandhāra, the Punjab and the Indus Valley; a few years later, between 180 and 169, the Greek armies, under the leadership of the generals Apollodotus and Menander, penetrated central India and reached Pāṭaliputra. In about the year 90, the invasion by the Śakas of Maues overthrew the last Greek kings of Taxila. Finally, at the beginning of the Christian era, the Pahlava Gondophares, who had become Suren of eastern Iran, overthrew the Śaka Azes II and fixed his capital in Taxila.

4. It is not three, but four foreign kings which are mentioned in a fragment of the legend of Aśoka incorporated into the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 25, p. 177*c*), translated into Chinese in 436 and 443 :

"There will be the king *Shih chia* (Śaka), the king *Yeh p'an na* (Yavana), the king *Po lo p'o* (Pahlava) and the king *Tou sha lo* (Tuṣāra). They will rule respectively in the south, north, west and east".

The mention of a king Tuṣāra, incorrect for Tukhāra, constitutes a reference to later events : the conquest of North-West India by the Kuṣāṇas Kujūla and Vima Kadphises (c. 50-60 A.D.), who were of Tukhārian or Yueh-chih origin.

5. The *Candragarbhasūtra* belongs to those later chapters of the
222 *Mahāsaṃnipāta* which were translated by Narendrayaśas between 558 and 593. In both the Chinese version (T 397, ch. 56, p. 377*b*) and the Tibetan one (*Kanjur, Mdo* XXXII, pp. 216*b* 6-220*b* 4), reference is made to three foreign kings whose coming precedes the disappearance of the Good Law.

The Chinese text presents a king of the south *Po lo ti*, a king of the west *Po ssŭ* (Pārasika or Persia) and a king of the north *Shan i Shih chia* (the Śaka "Good Thought"). The Tibetan version speaks of three kings who were of neither Indian nor Chinese origin : Yavana, Pahlika and Śakuna.

It might be wondered whether Śakuna is a combination of Śaka and Hūṇa. If this hypothesis is correct, the old prophecy would have been intentionally rejuvenated in order to indicate the famous raid carried out in 455 A.D. by the Hunnish hordes against the Indian empire of Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.).

However it may be, the brief summary of the sources which has just been made reveals the influence exerted on the historical perspectives of the Buddhists by the ancient prophecy concerning the disappearance of the Good Law.

4. The succession of Masters

We saw earlier the conditions and spirit in which the Buddha left his disciples, without a master or hierarchy, each one of them having to be his own light and his own refuge. The Buddha himself withdrew behind the Law which he discovered and propounded, and it was that Law alone which he left as a heritage for his devotees. Nevertheless, at the moment of his ordination, a novice becomes the co-resident (*sārdhavihārin*) of his preceptor (*upādhyāya*) and the companion (*antevāsin*) of his teacher (*ācārya*); he should consider the former as his father and the latter as his mother in religion. Indeed, without them he would have no access to the doctrine and the discipline. "The word of the Buddha", it

is said, "is what reaches us traditionally as the word of the Buddha, through the succession of masters and pupils, that is to say what is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya and does not contradict the
223 Dharmatā, or nature of things[74]". The role of the seniors is to teach and guide the juniors, and to initiate them into the various disciplines of the Buddhist Doctrine, whether Sūtra, Vinaya, Mātṛkā or Abhidharma. In no way claiming any infallibility, the Elders performed this task conscientiously, and their pupils retained a grateful memory of them.

We have little information about the succession of Masters in the early times. Each school, each sect had its own, but did not draw up a list of them until a relatively late date. The Sinhalese tradition, which was standardized in the fourth or fifth century, has transmitted to us a list of Vinaya Chiefs (*vinayapāmokkha*) and Abhidharma Masters (*abhidhammācariya*) who, according to it, succeeded one another from the time of the Buddha's decease until the Aśoka's reign. No reference is made to the Masters of the Law (*dharmācārya*) who supposedly monopolized the Buddhist doctrine as a whole. However, a list of five Dharmācāryas was compiled on the mainland by the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins of the North-West, around the second century A.D. It was widely diffused, particularly in Kaśmīr and China, without, however, being accepted by all the mainland sects, and it was never recognized in Ceylon. The lack of uniformity which characterizes the Buddhist tradition in relation to the succession of Masters shows that the Saṃgha taken as a whole — the Community of the Four Regions — was without a universal, unanimously accepted leader, but that the various limited saṃghas scattered throughout India were never deprived of spiritual heads who exercised authority over larger or smaller groups of devotees.

THE VINAYA CHIEFS. — The *Parivāra* (*Vinaya*, V, pp. 2-3), the *Dīpavaṃsa* (IV, 27-46; V, 89-96), the *Mahāvaṃsa* (V, 95-153) and the *Samantapāsādikā* (pp. 32-3; T 1462, ch. 1, p. 677*b*) drew up a list of the first six Vinayapāmokkhas with precise indications of their date of birth, the year of their ordination and the length of time they were in authority. It should be remembered that these sources follow the long chronology which counts 218 years between the decease of the Buddha and the consecration of Aśoka.

1. Upāli, a barber and native of Kapilavastu, took up the religious life at the same time as the great Śākya princes and was ordained by the

[74] Pañjikā, p. 431 : *Yad guruśiṣyaparamparayāmnāyāyātaṃ buddhavacanatvena yac ca sūtre 'vatarati vinaye saṃdṛśyate dharmatāṃ ca na vilomayati tad buddhavacanaṃ nānyat.*

Buddha in the year 44 before the Nirvāṇa (530 B.C.); he specialized in the study of the discipline and won the foremost place among the
224 Vinayadharas. It was in that capacity that Kāśyapa entrusted him with compiling the Basket of the Discipline at the council of Rājagṛha. He was Vinaya chief for thirty years, from the year one to the year 30 after the Nirvāṇa (486-456 B.C.), and was in authority during the reigns of Ajātasattu and Udayabhadda.

2. Dāsaka was born in the year 4 after the Nirvāṇa (482 B.C.) into a brahmin family of Vaiśālī. He met Upāli in the Vālikārāma and was ordained by him in the year 16 after the Nirvāṇa (470 B.C.). He succeeded Upāli on the latter's death and was Vinaya Chief for 50 years, from the year 30 to 80 after the Nirvāṇa (456-406 B.C.), in the reigns of Udayabhadda, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa, Nāgadāsaka and Susunāga.

3. Soṇaka was the son of a caravaneer from Kāsi (Vārāṇasī). He was born in 45 after the Nirvāṇa (441 B.C.) and, having made the acquaintance of Dāsaka at the Veṇuvana in Rājagṛha, he was converted and entered the Order, at the age of fifteen, in 60 after the Nirvāṇa (426 B.C.). He became an Arhat and was in charge of a thousand bhikṣus. He succeeded Dāsaka as Vinaya Chief and remained in authority for 44 years, from 80 to 124 after the Nirvāṇa (406-362 B.C.), during the reigns of Susunāga, Kālāsoka and his ten sons. He can perhaps be identified with Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin (in the Sanskrit sources, Śānavāsa, Śāṇavāsika, Soṇavāsin) who played a part in the council of Vaiśālī in the year 10 of the reign of Kālāsoka (*Vin.*, II, pp. 298, 303).

4. Siggava, the son of a minister from Pāṭaliputra, was born in 82 after the Nirvāṇa (404 B.C.). Accompanied by his friend Caṇḍavajji, he paid a visit to Soṇaka at the Kukkuṭārāma and entered the order with five hundred companions in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa (386 B.C.). He was Vinaya chief for 52 years, from 124 to 176 after the Nirvāṇa (362-310 B.C.), in the reigns of the Ten Sons of Kālāsoka, the Nine Nandas and Candagutta.

5. Moggaliputtatissa was the son of the brāhmin Moggali from Pāṭaliputra. In his youth, he studied the Vedas, but was soon converted to Buddhism under the influence of Siggava and Caṇḍavajji. He received his ordination in the year 164 after the Nirvāṇa (322 B.C.), studied the Tripiṭaka and attained Arhatship. On the death of Siggava, he became Vinaya Chief and remained in authority, with some interruptions, for 68 years, from 176 to 244 after the Nirvāna (310-242 B.C.). He had great influence upon the emperor Aśoka, whose son Mahinda he ordained in 224 after the Nirvāṇa (262 B.C.). As abbot of the Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputra, he was unable to prevent the heretics from rushing into his

monastery in full force and, faced with the troubles which the intruders instigated, resigned his duties in 228 after the Nirvāṇa (258 B.C.) after having entrusted the direction of the monastery to Mahinda. Moggali-
225 puttatissa withdrew to the retreat on the Ahogaṅgapabbata near Mathurā and remained encloistered there for seven years, from 229 to 236 after the Nirvāṇa (257-250 B.C.). Recalled by Aśoka, he convened and presided over the third Buddhist council, that of Pāṭaliputra. During the sessions which were held in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), Moggaliputtatissa enabled the Vibhajjavādin point of view to triumph, composed a *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* then sent Buddhist missionaries to every region of India and to Ceylon. As for himself, he again took up his duties as Vinaya chief, which he carried out in Pāṭaliputra until his death in the year 244 after the Nirvāṇa (242 B.C.).

Moggaliputtatissa is known to the Sanskrit sources by the name of Upagupta, but the biographical information supplied by these sources diverges considerably from the Sinhalese tradition. Moggaliputtatissa is possibly also the *Mu lien* (Maudgalyāyana) whose Vibhajyavādin theories concerning the problem of time are refuted by the *Vijñānakāya* of the Sarvāstivādins (T 1539. ch. 1, p. 531*a* 25).

6. Mahinda, the son of Aśoka and Vedisa-Mahādevī, was born in Avanti in the year 204 after the Nirvāṇa (282 B.C.), when his father was acting as viceroy. He took up the religious life at the age of twenty and, in 224 after the Nirvāṇa (262 B.C.), was ordained at the hands of Moggaliputtatissa, Mahādeva and Majjhantika. He resided at the Aśokārāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra until the council in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.). Then on the orders of Moggaliputtatissa and after a brief stay at the monasteries of Ujjayinī and Vidiśā in Avanti, he went to Ceylon with some companions. He was quick to convert the island to the Buddhist religion and performed the duties of Vinaya chief there for 48 years, from 236 to 284 after the Nirvāna (250-202 B.C.). He lived in the reigns of Devānampiyatissa and Uttiya, died at the age of 80 and was cremated at the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura.

Mahinda, Mahendra in Sanskrit, is practically unknown to the Sanskrit sources. Apart from the Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā*, he is scarcely mentioned except in the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37*b*) which makes him a disciple of Ānanda. For Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*a*; ch. 10, p. 932*a*), he was a brother and not a son of Aśoka.

THE ABHIDHAMMA MASTERS. - In the *Atthasālinī* (p. 32), Buddhaghosa enumerated the masters who transmitted the Abhidhamma from the

226 beginning until the conversion of Ceylon : on the mainland first : Sāriputta, Bhaddaji, Sobhita, Piyajāli, Piyapāla, Piyadassin, Kosiyaputta, *Siggava*, Sandeha, *Moggaliputta*, Visudatta, Dhammiya, *Dāsaka*, *Soṇaka* and Revata; then in Ceylon, *Mahinda*, Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddanāma and Sambala. It will be noted that the names printed in italics already appeared on the list of Vinayapāmokkhas enumerated above; as for the others, with the exception of Bhaddaji and the companions of Mahinda, they are totally unknown to ecclesiastical history. Unnaturally overloaded in comparison with the previous one, this list seems to have no historical value.

THE MASTERS OF THE LAW. — A Sanskrit chronicle which describes the Buddha's journey to North-West India and Mathurā, his decease and funeral, the first council and the Nirvāṇa of the first five masters of the Law, is reproduced in full in the *Aśokavadāna* (T 2042, ch. 2-3, pp. 111*b* 28-121*b* 1; T 2043, ch. 6-9, pp. 149*b* 162*c* 10) and in extracts in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 348, 1.27-364, 1.10), the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, *Bhaisjyavastu* (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 1, pp. xvii, 3-7; T 1448, ch. 9, pp. 41*c* 18-42*b* 26) and *Kṣudrakavastu* (T 1451, ch. 40, pp. 408*c*-411*b* 18), *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 25, p. 177*b* 12-19) and the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37*b* 16-27)[75]. This chronicle is not very old, for it generally begins with an account of the Buddha's journey to the North-West, an account which contains a prophecy concerning the stūpa of Kaṇiska in Puruṣapura. Here, in a few words, is a summary of this chronicle :

Having arrived in Mathurā, after his peregrination in the North-West, the Buddha predicts the birth of Upagupta and the construction of the Naṭabhaṭa monastery on Mount Urumuṇḍa. He then goes to Kaśmīr and announces its future conversion through the activity of the missionary Madhyāntika. Stage by stage, the Buddha reaches Kuśinagara. It is there that he enters Nirvāṇa after having entrusted the Law to Kāśyapa, Śakra and, finally, the four Devarājas. Then follows an account of the Buddha's funeral and the first Buddhist council.

Once this is concluded, Kāśyapa, noting that he has fulfilled his mission, decides to enter Nirvāṇa. He transmits the Law to Ānanda and advises him to bequeath it later to a young man who has just been born
227 in Rājagṛha, garbed in hemp, and whose name is Śāṇavāsa. Having paid his final respects to the holy places, Kāśyapa, accompanied by Ānanda, enters Rājagṛha, sends his companion away and goes to Ajātaśatru's

[75] A French translation of most of these sources appears in J. PRZYLUSKI, *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde*, JA, 1914, pp. 493-568.

palace to warn the king of his forthcoming Nirvāṇa. However, since the king is sleeping, he does not wish to wake him, he climbs alone to the summit of Mount Kukkuṭapāda where he sits down cross-legged. He makes the wish that his body, robed in the *pāṃśukūla* of the Blessed One, may remain intact until the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya to whom Kāśyapa has to hand over the robe of his predecessor Śākyamuni. Then Kāśyapa enters Nirvāṇa or, according to a variant, *nirodhasamāpatti*; the earth quakes, Śakra places flowers on the great disciple's body and the mountain closes over him. Ajātaśatru, who has finally awakened, joins Ānanda in the Veṇuvana and goes with him to Mount Kukkuṭapāda. The mountain partly opens and Kāśyapa's skeleton appears before them. The king would have liked to cremate it, but Ānanda informs him that Kāśyapa's body must remain intact until the coming of Maitreya. The mountain closes up again and Ajātaśatru and Ānanda go away. The king makes Ānanda promise to attend his Nirvāṇa.

Young Śāṇavāsa returns safe and sound, enriched by a long sea voyage. He celebrates a *pañcavarṣa* for the benefit of the Community. Ānanda causes him to enter the order, and the new devotee makes a vow to wear the hempen robe in which he was born until his death. He learns the Law in its entirety and attains Arhatship. Meanwhile, a dispute breaks out between Ānanda and a bhikṣu from the Veṇuvana who insisted on reciting a Buddhist stanza inaccurately (cf. *Dhammapada*, No. 113; *Udānavarga*, XXIV, 6). Ānanda's remonstrances are insolently repulsed and the noble disciple, on being treated as a decrepit old man, decides that the time has come to enter Nirvāṇa. He entrusts the Law to Śāṇavāsa and orders him, with the assistance of the *dānapati* Naṭa and Bhaṭa, to erect a stūpa and a monastery on Mount Urumuṇḍa in the land of Mathurā. He also announces the forthcoming birth in Mathurā of a certain Upagupta who is destined to work like a Buddha. Ānanda has Ajātaśatru warned of his forthcoming death. In order to prevent the king of Magadha and the inhabitants of Vaiśālī from disputing over his relics, he decides to enter Nirvāṇa in the middle of the Ganges, at an equal distance between Vaiśālī and Rājagṛha. In a boat, he goes out to mid-stream, while the Magadhans and Vaiśālīans,
228 in order to assert their rights, station troops on both banks. Forewarned by an earthquake, five hundred Ṛṣis led by Madhyāntika arrive from the Snowy Mountains and gather round Ānanda on a golden isle which has miraculously emerged in the middle of the Ganges. At their request Ānanda confers ordination on them and they immediately attain Arhatship. Ānanda transmits the Law to their leader Madhyāntika and

entrusts him with the mission of establishing the Law in the kingdom of Kaśmīr. According to the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37*b*), he also sends the disciple *Mo shan ti* (Mahinda) to Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon) in order to make conversions there. Once these arrangements are settled, Ānanda manifests the eighteen transformations and enters the concentration of the Speed-of-the Wind; he divides his body into four (variant, two) parts which he allots respectively to Śakra Devendra, the dragon-king Sāgara, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha and the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Stūpas are immediately erected over his remains.

Madhyāntika, accompanied by his five hundred Arhats, goes to Kaśmīr where his arrival provokes the anger of a great dragon-king. A contest of magic takes place between the two adversaries. The dragon, who is vanquished, takes the three refuges and presents Kaśmīr to the Buddhist community on condition that five hundred Arhats live there forever. Madhyāntika then undertakes to colonize Kaśmīr, founds towns and villages there and introduces the cultivation of saffron (*kuṅkuma*) with seeds from Mount Gandhamādana. Once this work is done, he manifests the eighteen transformations and enters Nirvāṇa. His body is cremated with sandalwood (*candana*) and a stūpa is erected over his remains.

For his part, Śāṇavāsa, in accordance with Ānanda's orders, makes his way towards the land of Mathurā. Half-way there, at the monastery of P'i-to, he corrects the views of two Mahallaka monks and explains to them why he has the name of Śāṇavāsa "Hempen-clothed" : during a previous existence, he had presented a garment to a Pratyekabuddha who was dressed in hemp and wished to be clothed like him when he became a monk. Having reached the land of Mathurā, Śāṇavāsa comes into conflict with two dragons but easily quells them and, as the price of his victory, acquires Mount Urumuṇḍa. Two young men from Mathurā, Naṭa and Bhaṭa, provide the money necessary to build a monastery, the Naṭabhaṭīya, on it, where monks can devote themselves at leisure to *dhyāna*. In Mathurā, Śāṇavāsa brings about the conversion of the householder Gupta, and obtains from him a promise that one of his
229 sons would take up the religions life. However, Gupta keeps his two eldest, Aśvagupta and Dhanagupta, with him to help in his business; it is the third, Upagupta, who is to take up the homeless life. But he begins as a perfume-merchant. Śāṇavāsa teaches him to purify his thoughts, by noting the bad ones with black pebbles and the good ones with white pebbles. This mental asceticism enables Upagupta to resist the advances of the lovely courtesan Vāsavadattā and even to convert her when misfortune befalls her.

Upagupta finally obtains permission from his father to enter the religious life. He is ordained by Śāṇavāsa at the Naṭabhaṭa monastery, attains Arhatship and, as foretold, undertakes to work like a Buddha. He propounds to the crowds in Mathurā and teaches them summaries intended for the laity : the *anupūrvikathā* and *dharmadeśanā*. However, Māra disturbs his audience with a shower of precious objects and the appearance of heavenly maidens. In order to punish the Malign One, Upagupta ties corpses of snakes, dogs and men round his neck. Māra is unable to detach them and has to apologize. He confesses his past faults and commits himself never to molest the bhikṣus again. Upagupta agrees to free the demon from his troublesome burden, but in return asks him to show him the body of the Buddha to which Māra agrees on condition that Upagupta does not prostrate himself before the apparition. He then shows the Buddha's body with his wonderful marks and Upagupta, forgetful of his promise, throws himself at his feet. When Māra reproaches him for this, he explains that he prostrated himself, not before Māra, but before the Buddha whose form the demon had taken. Once the incident is over, Upagupta returns to his teaching and Māra himself invites the Mathurans to go and hear him; hundreds of thousands of conversions are made, and eighteen thousand young men take up the religious life and attain Arhatship : they are each counted by throwing a slip of wood (*śālākā*) into one of the monastery cells.

Delighted at his disciple's success, Śāṇavāsa leaves the kingdom of Mathurā and goes to Kaśmīr, there to practise *dhyāna* in peace. Remaining where he was, Upagupta feeds two young tigers whose mother has just died. The two cubs will be reborn into the family of a brāhmin in Mathurā, take up the religious life and become two famous disciples of Upagupta, both endowed with supernormal powers. However, in sou-
230 thern India, a young man who was an adulterer and matricide has taken up the religious life because he was unable to obtain his lover's hand. He studies the Tripiṭaka and instructs a great many pupils. Proud of his success, he comes to visit Upagupta, but the Master of the Law, who knows of his past, refuses to speak to him. Upagupta's disciples reproach their master for what they believe to be impoliteness, and Upagupta would have liked to enlighten them by appealing to his *upādhyāya* Śāṇavāsa. The latter, guessing his thoughts, arrives from Kaśmīr and sits authoritatively on the throne reserved for Upagupta, to the indignation of the disciples. However, Śāṇavāsa is able to prove to them that he possesses infinitely more *samādhi* and knowledge than Upagupta. The monks feel great respect for Śāṇavāsa, listen to his discourses and attain Arhatship. Śānavāsa then transmits the Law to

Upagupta, advising him to entrust it in turn to a young Mathuran, Dhītika. The old master then rises into space, performs the eighteen transformations and enters Nirvāṇa. Upagupta erects a stūpa over his remains. As a trustee of the Law, he will later become the spiritual adviser of Aśoka, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The legend of the five Masters of the Law which we have just summarized has no counterpart in the Sinhalese tradition; the latter is completely unaware of Kāśyapa's Nirvāṇa and situates that of Ānanda on the river Rohiṇī (*Dhammapada Comm.*, II, pp. 99-100); it makes Madhyāntika (Pāli, Majjhantika), the apostle of Kaśmīr, not the disciple of Ānanda, but a contemporary of Aśoka and associate of Moggaliputtatissa; its Vinayapāmokkha Soṇaka has nothing in common with Śāṇavāsa; the portrait it draws of Moggaliputta has only a faint resemblance to that of Upagupta; finally, its Mahinda is not the disciple of Ānanda, but the son of Aśoka and disciple of Moggaliputta. We can but conclude from the silence of the Pāli sources that the legend of the five Masters was not part of the original early tradition, but was elaborated after the conversion of Ceylon.

On the other hand, it was firmly established on the Indian mainland, as is proved by texts and monuments.

It is a well-known fact that Kāśyapa, clothed in the Buddha's robe and hidden, either in Nirvāṇa or in *nirodhasamāpatti*, in the depths of Mount Kukkuṭapāda, is awaiting the coming of Maitreya in order to hand over to him the robe with which he was entrusted. Besides the texts which have been cited above, we may also mention the *Ekottarāgama* (T
231 125, ch. 44, p. 789*a*), *Mahāmāyāsūtra* (T 383, ch. 2, p. 1013*b*), *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* in its various recensions (T 453, p. 422*b*; T 454, p. 425*c*; T 1456, p. 433*b*); *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 20, p. 99*b*; ch. 135, p. 698*b*), *Kośa* (VII, p. 120) and *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 3, pp. 78*b*-79*b*). Also in the fifth and seventh centuries, the Chinese pilgrims Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 863*c*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 9, p. 919*b-c*) obtained and recorded the legend when they visited Mount Gurupāda or Kukkuṭapāda, modern Kurkihār, twenty miles to the north-east of Bodh-Gayā.

The Nirvāṇa of Ānanda in the middle of the Ganges is also attested by the same pilgrims Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 862*a*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 7, p. 909*c*; ch. 9, p. 922*b*), who visited the stūpas built by King Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis of Vaiśāli over their respective part of Ānanda's bodily relics.

The colossal statue of Maitreya which stood on the slopes of the Darel was admired by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 858*a*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 884*b*) and attributed by the latter to the Arhat Madhyān-

tika who is thought to have gone three times to the Tuṣita heaven to contemplate the features of his holy model. With regard to the conversion of Kaśmīr, Hsüan tsang records a twofold tradition. The first, which agrees with the Sanskrit chronicle incorporated into the *Divyāvadāna*, *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* and *Aśokavadāna*, attributes the conversion of the kingdom to the Arhat Madhyāntika who was said to have occupied the region with his five hundred disciples in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*a* 19-*b* 10). The second, which merely reproduces a slight variation of the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 99, pp. 510*c*-512*c*), claims that Kaśmīr was converted in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa by five hundred orthodox Arhats, adversaries of the heretic Mahādeva and who had been forced to flee from Magadha by the declared hostility of Aśoka (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*b* 11-23). This second tradition is also adopted by Paramārtha in his commentary upon the *Treatise of Vasumitra* (cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes*, p. 37); it is quite close to the Sinhalese chronicle (*Dīpavaṃsa*, VIII, 4; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XII, 3; *Samanta*, p. 66) according to which Kaśmīra-Gandhāra was won over by Majjhantika immediately after the council of Pāṭaliputra in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.) under Aśoka the Great. In any case, and for reasons which will be explained further on, the conversion of Kaśmīr could not date back further than the time of Aśoka the Maurya.

232 Śāṇavāsa, Ānanda's disciple, is already well-known to the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 16, p. 79*b* 11; T 1546, ch. 10, p. 65*a* 8) which records that after his Nirvāṇa a large number of Avadānas, Sūtras and Abhidharmas disappeared; but, curiously enough, it makes him the *upādhyāya* of a certain Jīvaka, unlike the rest of the tradition which gives him as the teacher of Upagupta. In a monastery two or three *li* distant from Bāmyān, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 1, p. 873*b*-*c*) also saw the hempen robe of Śāṇavāsa : its abnormal dimensions diminished from year to year and it is supposed to vanish with the disappearance of the Good Law.

As for the history of Upagupta such as it has been narrated above, it is again found in a series of works from both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, the oldest of which cannot go further back than the second century A.D. The *Hsien yü ching* (T 202, ch. 13, pp. 442*b*-443*c*) and the Chinese compilation of the *Fu fa tsang yin yüan chuan* (T 2058, ch. 3, p. 304*c* sq.) reproduce it in full, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (T 201, ch. 9, pp. 307*c*-309*b*) and the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 135, pp. 697*c*-698*a*) relate the contentions between the Master of the Law and Māra; the *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka* (T 380, ch. 2, p. 954*a* 28) praises the apostolic work carried out by Upagupta and his disciples on Mount Urumuṇḍa; the *Upadeśa*

(T 1509, ch. 10, p. 129*b-c*) retains the memory of an unrecorded episode : the lesson in politeness given to Upagupta by a 120-year-old bhikṣuṇī who had known the Buddha in her youth. The *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 202-4 (cf. T 200, ch. 10, p. 256*b*) records the ordination of the young Sundara by Upagupta. Finally, the memory of the master was still alive in the region of Mathurā and in the Sindh when Hsüan tsang visited those areas at the beginning of the seventh century (T 1087, ch. 4, p. 890*b-c*; ch. 11, p. 937*b*).

The memory of the five Masters of the Law was so vivid on the mainland that they were placed at the top of the list of patriarchs when the enumeration of the latter was undertaken. We will return later to these Sarvāstivādin lists (T 202, ch. 13, p. 442*b*; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 152*c*; T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411*b-c*), but also to those of the Mahāsāṃghikas (T 1465, p. 900*a*), semi-Mahāyānists (T 618, p. 301*a*) and Chinese (T 2145, ch. 9, p. 66*c*). Nevertheless, these masters do not appear at all in the list of 27 masters compiled in the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 493*a*).



233 CHAPTER THREE

THE MAURYAN PERIOD

General features of the period*. — The Indian empire reached its zenith during the dynasty of the Mauryas which remained in power for 137 years (324-187 B.C.). The military exploits of Candragupta (324-300) averted the Seleucid threat in the west and achieved the unity of the empire; the political genius of the minister Cāṇakya established order and cohesion within its frontiers.

The great figure of Candragupta is eclipsed by that of his grandson Aśoka (272-236), the most notable personality in Indian history. After the bloody conquest of Kaliṅga, he was converted to Buddhism and undertook to raise the spiritual and moral level of his subjects by endowing them with a Dharma which appears as the model of an administration based on tolerance and shrewd understanding. The Aśokan Dharma, propagated by the emperor in person, by governors of provinces, itinerant officials and ambassadors abroad, was published in the form of edicts distributed throughout the empire. It should not be confused with the Good Law expounded by Śākyamuni, for it merely defines the principles of natural morality, already established by the Buddha for the use of lay adherents; it falls short of the fundamental theorems of the profound doctrine discovered by the Master and instilled by him in the religious.

The Buddhist legend has somewhat distorted the true countenance of Aśoka, as we see it in his edicts. It tried to take over the emperor, presenting him as the model upāsaka, the official defender of the Good Law, the great patron of the community. It is true, in fact, that the royal favours exerted a decisive influence on the erection of Buddhist monuments, the founding of monasteries, the recruiting of members of the Order and the expansion of the Good Law throughout the whole of India. Royal officials entrusted with propagating the Aśokan Dharma paved the way for Buddhist missionaries who profited from the favourable circumstances to intensify their activity.

234 Beyond the Hindūkush, Bactria remained outside the great movement of Indian civilization. After having been drawn for some time into the orbit of the lieutenants of Alexander and the Seleucids (325-250), she was able to take advantage of the Parthian revolt to declare herself as

independent. Diodotus I and II (250-225), by means of a skilful interplay of intrigues, firmly established their power. Their successor, Euthydemus of Magnesia (225-190), having successfully resisted the ventures of Antiochus III the Great, made Bactria a powerful state which soon became a threat to the Indian empire.

On the other hand, in Ceylon the kings Devānaṃpiyatissa (250-210) and Uttiya (210-200) submitted unreservedly to the demands and desires of the Mauryas. They welcomed Aśoka's messengers, exchanged embassies with the court at Pāṭaliputra and gave the Buddhist missionaries an enthusiastic reception. It is doubtless somewhat of an exaggeration to claim that the conversion of the island took only a week, but it is certain that Ceylon very quickly became one of the strongholds of Buddhism.

The successes achieved in the Mauryan period by the Buddha's religion did not fail to provoke serious difficulties within the order. The Sinhalese chronicle refers to a third Buddhist council convened in the year 250 at Pāṭaliputra in order to expel from the Saṃgha a crowd of heretics who had entered it surreptitiously. The Sanskrit and Chinese sources mention the untoward action of a certain Mahādeva whose heretical proposals set the Buddhist communities against each other. Both the northern and southern sources know of the existence of a schism which decided a large number of monks to separate from the main body of the Elders (*sthavira*) in order to form a sect of the dissident majority (*mahāsāṃghika*)*.

Through the fluctuations and inconsistencies of the tradition, one can get a glimpse of the difficulties which the Buddhist Saṃgha came up against in the first two centuries of its existence. From the time of the Buddha's decease, a closed group of Arhats inspired by Mahākāśyapa undertook to recite jointly the Word of the Buddha and to codify the discipline of the order. They set themselves up as authorized guardians of the teaching, as upholders of strict observance and, as Arhats, claimed a certain amount of spiritual privileges.

This initiative did not receive universal approval. Some monks prefer-
235 red to keep the teaching just as they themselves had heard it from the lips of the Buddha, even if it meant completing it with works of their own composition. Others would have liked a less strict discipline, with the minor precepts being abolished. Yet others, who had still not attained holiness, considered that the privileges claimed by the Arhats were exaggerated; they were supported by the laity who were regarded as subordinate members of the community, but who intended to bridge the gap which separated the upāsaka from the monk.

The discontent smouldered for quite a long period. It burst into

flames when a heretic put forward five proposals which were directly prejudicial to the honour of the Arhats. He was supported by several of the religious communities. When these proposals were condemned, a schism occurred. The objectors, who were the greater number, separated from the main body of the Elders (*sthavira*) and formed a dissident branch of the majority (*mahāsāṃghika*). The schism, which had been long in preparation, reached its culmination in the reign of Aśoka, possibly even a few years earlier, since it is doubtful whether the king had played an active part in that event.

The major event of the Mauryan period was the spreading of the Buddha's religion throughout the whole of India. The Sinhalese chronicle narrates those conversions and ordinations which constitute the *digvijaya* of the Good Law. Archaeological discoveries and cross-references to the northern sources often guarantee the accuracy of the details it supplies. However, the chronicle distorts the facts by ascribing the general conversion of India to the action of a handful of missionaries sent out by Moggaliputtatissa, and by giving that memorable event a precise date : 250 B.C. The northern sources provide a more accurate idea of the Buddhist propaganda. It was inaugurated by the Buddha and his immediate disciples and continued with varying success during the first two centuries of the Nirvāna, reaching its culminating point in the Mauryan period. Even though Magadha remained the main axis of the movement, the action of the secondary centres, Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī and Mathurā, should not be underestimated. While not ignoring the role played by private initiative in the propagation of the faith, emphasis should be given to the intrinsic power of expansion of the Good Law a power which, in order to show itself, only needed favourable political circumstances. These were best achieved in the reign of the great Aśoka.
236 From then on, the Good Law gained ground rapidly, and step by step Śākyamuni's messages reached all the regions of India and Ceylon.

Archaeological discoveries enable us to follow the steps of this progress. Undoubtedly the state of the ruins does not always allow of a decision as to whether a monument does indeed date back to the ancient era or whether it belongs to a later period. However, the Chinese pilgrims and particularly, Hsüan tsang who visited India at the beginning of the seventh century, have enumerated what they called "Aśokan stūpas" — funerary and commemorative monuments of an archaic type with hemispherical domes — which go back to the period of the Mauryas, or at least the Śuṅgas, and mark the trail of the triumphant progress of the Good Law.

I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

1. — THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

1st — The succession of kings

According to the *Purāṇa* (P., p. 30), the dynasty of the Mauryas lasted for 137 years, that is, if we abide by the chronological system adopted here, from 324 to 187 B.C. In order to establish the dates of the various reigns, we have at our disposal data supplied by the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 27-30) and the Sinhalese chronicles (*Dpv.*, V, 100-1; *Mhv.*, V, 16-22; XX, 1-6; *Sp.*, p. 41). It should be noted that the latter date the events, not in completed years, as has sometimes been claimed, but from the year of inception : this is what appears from a passage in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XX, 1-6) which assigns an interval of 37 years to events which occurred in the years 18+12+4+3+4, which would make a total of 41, and not of 37 (17+11+3+2+4), if they were counted in completed years.

The chronicles locate the assumption of power by Aśoka in 214 after the Nirvāṇa (272 B.C.), his consecration in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (268 B.C.) and, after that event, attribute to him a further 37 years of existence, i.e. from 218 to 255 after the Nirvāṇa (268-231 B.C.). The *Purāṇas* merely say that he ruled for 36 years; therefore if he assumed power in 272 B.C., from 272 to 236 B.C.

The Buddhist and Purāṇic traditions are not irreconcilable, since the northern Buddhists claim that, towards the end of his life, Aśoka sank into his second childhood and fell under the guardianship of his
237 grandson Sampadin; his actual reign, therefore, may well have ended some years before his death. As a working hypothesis, we posit here that Aśoka assumed power in 214 after the Nirvāṇa (272 B.C.), was consecrated in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (268 B.C.), ruled effectively from 214 to 250 after the Nirvāṇa (272-236 B.C.) and died several years later, in 255 after the Nirvāṇa (231 B.C.)[1].

Having said this, here is the order of succession of the Mauryan emperors who followed the kings of Magadha :

[1] There is no perfect agreement over the date of the assumption of power, consecration and death of Aśoka. Here are some dates proposed for these three events : 274-270-237 or 236 (F.W. Thomas), 274-270-232 (Allan), 273-269-232 (Vincent Smith, Majumdar, Basham), 269-264-227 (Geiger), 268-264-? (Hultzsch), 264-260-227 or 226 (Filliozat). P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956, has taken the problem up again in detail : he reaches the conclusion that Aśoka was consecrated on his accession to the throne, in 268 B.C.; he suggests 233 as the date of his death.

Sovereigns	Length of reign	Era of the Nirv.	Anc. Era (B.C.)
11. Candragupta	24 years	162-186	324-300
12. Bindusāra	28 years	186-214	300-272
13. Aśoka	accession	214	272
	consecration	218	268
	rules 36 years	214-250	272-236
	death	255	231
14. Last Mauryas	49 years	250-299	236-187

With regard to these last Mauryas, the sources disagree seriously :

1. The *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 27-30) give the following list :
1. Kuṇāla or Suyaśas, reigns 8 years
*2. [illegible]andhupālita, son of 1, reigns [illegible] years
*3. Indrapālita
4. Daśona, son of 3, reigns 7 years
5. Daśaratha, son of 4, reigns 8 years
6. Samprati or Saṅgata, son of 5, reigns 9 years
*7. Śāliśūka, son of 6, reigns 13 years
8. Devadharman or Devavarman or Somavarman, son of 7, reigns 7 years
9. Śatadhanvan or Saśadharman, son of 8, reigns 8 years
10. Bṛhadratha, reigns 7 years.

238 The names marked with an asterisk are passed over in silence by some of the Purāṇic recensions. The total of the reigns comes to seventy-five years, instead of the forty-nine calculated above. Several of these princes must therefore have reigned simultaneously in various parts of the empire.

2. The recensions of the *Aśokāvadāna* (*Divya*, p. 433; T 99, ch. 25, p. 181*b*; T 2043, ch. 5, p. 149*a-b*) refer to only six sovereigns :

Divya	T 99	T 2043
1. Kuṇāla	1. Kuṇāla	1. Kuṇāla
2. Samprati	2. Sampradin	2. Sampradin
3. Bṛhaspati	3. Bṛhaspati	3. Bṛhaspati
4. Vṛṣasena	4. Vṛṣasena	4. Vṛṣasena
5. Puṣyadharman	5. Puṣyasuma(na)	5. Puṣyavarman
6. Puṣyamitra	6. Puṣyamitra	6. Puṣyamitra

However, according to most of the Brāhmanical sources, Puṣyamitra pertained to the Śuṅga dynasty, and not the Maurya.

3. According to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha (p. 48 sq.). Aśoka's successors were Kuṇāla, Vigatāśoka and Vīrasena.

4. The *Rājataraṅginī* (I, 108-52) has a son of Aśoka, named Jalauka, reign in Kaśmīr.

5. According to the Edict of the Queen (Bloch, p. 159), Aśoka had, by his second wife Kāluvakī, a son named Tīvala.

6. Finally, in approximately the year 206, an Indian king named Sophagasenus (= Subhagasena), who probably belonged to the family of the Mauryas, was beaten in the Kabul valley by the Seleucid Antiochus III the Great and had to surrender a considerable number of elephants to the victor, as well as a large indemnity (Polybius, XI, 34, 11-12).

2nd — Candragupta

Origin. — Candragupta belonged to the kṣatriya clan of the Mauryas[2]. This small republic, the centre of which was the Pipphalavana on
239 the borders of the Nepalese Teraï, was admitted to the sharing out of the Buddha's relics and received the coals which had been used to cremate him (*Dīgha*, II, p. 166). Its subjects were related to the Śākyas and, after the massacre of the latter by Virūdhaka, took refuge in the Himālayas. Candragupta was therefore born in exile and was brought up by his mother, the former queen of the Mauryas, whose husband had just been murdered by a neighbouring king (*Mahāvaṃsa Comm.*, p. 181).

Other sources attribute a less noble origin to him. According to the classical historian Justin (XV, 4, 15), Sandracottus was of obscure birth; the Jaina tradition (*Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, VIII, 229) as well as the Brāhmanical (*Mudrārākṣasa*, II and IV) consider him as a descendant of the Nanda family and a humble village girl named Murā.

Youth. — A classical and probably apocryphal tradition claims that

[2] The origin of the Mauryas is a complicated question. Besides general works, information can be gleaned from P.L. Bhargava, *Candragupta Maurya*, Lucknow, 1936 (important for a translation of sources); H.K. Deb, *Was C. low-born?* IHQ., VIII, 1932, pp. 466-79; K.S. Sankar, *Some problems of Indian Chronology*, ABORI, XII, pp. 301-61; N.K. Bhattasali, *Maurya Chronology and Connected Problems*, JRAS, Ap., 1932, pp. 273-88; D. Sarma, *The So-called City Council of Pāṭaliputra*, IHQ, XI, 1935, pp. 145-6; C.D. Chatterjee, *Early Life of Candragupta Maurya*, B.C. Law Volume, I, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 590-610.

It is not impossible that C. married a Greek and that this misalliance earned him and his successors the hostility of the brāhmins. A. Ghosh, *The Caste of Candragupta Maurya*, IHQ, VI, 1930, pp. 271-83, points out a hitherto unremarked verse in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* : *Candraguptas tataḥ paścāt paurasādhipateḥ sutāṃ sulūbasya tathodvāhya yavanīṃ bauddhatatparaḥ*.

Androcottus often met Alexander in his early youth and later asserted that Alexander very nearly became ruler of India, since the king of that country [Dhana-Nanda] was generally hated and despised for his wickedness and the lowness of his birth (Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, LXII). However, the intrigues of the young Indian did not achieve the result he hoped since, "having offended king Alexander[3] by his effrontery, he was condemned to death and sought his safety in the swiftness of his legs" (Justin, XV, 4, 16). Having taken refuge in the jungle, he became the leader of a band of brigands, induced the Indians of the North-West to rebel and prepared to wage war on the Macedonian satraps (Id., XV, 4, 16-19).

SEIZURE OF THE THRONE (324 B.C.). — While retreating, Candragupta fell under the influence of Cāṇakya, also called Viṣṇugupta or Kauṭilya.
240 According to the *Mahāvaṃsa Commentary* (p. 181 sq.), this Cāṇakya was a brāhmin and native of Takṣaśilā. Having gone one day to Dhanananda's palace in Pāṭaliputra, he had been insulted there. In order to avenge himself, he abducted the king's son, Parvatakumāra; however, on meeting Candragupta and considering him to be more capable of serving his purpose than the young prince, he had Parvatakumāra put to death and transferred all his plans to Candragupta. He assembled troops, then incited Candragupta to rebel, kill Dhanananda and mount the throne of Magadha. The battle which set Candragupta against Dhanananda's armies commanded by Bhaddasāla was particularly murderous, a real "corpse-dance" (*Milindapañha*, p. 292). It concluded in complete victory for Candragupta and his domination over the whole territory of Jambudvīpa.

According to the dramatist Viśākhadatta of the ninth century, Cāṇakya, having been offended in his brāhmanic pride, left Magadha with his young protégé Candragupta and established a confederation of which the main leader, alongside Candragupta, was Parvataka, a king from the North-West, who has sometimes been identified with the Porus of the Greek historians[4]. Candragupta and Parvataka agreed to share Dhanananda's states after the victory; however, once the latter was gained, Cāṇakya, by ruse or by force, eliminated all the other claimants leaving Candragupta in sole power.

[3] It is indeed *Alexandrum* in Justin's text but western criticism makes the correction Alexandrum = Nandrum = Nanda. Indian scholars rightly protest against this alteration; cf. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political Hist.*, p. 265; *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 144.

[4] On this subject, see J. CHARPENTIER, JRAS, 1923, p. 505; H.C. SETH, *Identification of Parvataka and Porus*, IHQ, XVII, 1941, pp. 172-9.

Conquest of India. — According to Plutarch, Androcottus "at the head of an army of 600,000 men, overran and subdued the whole of India" (*Vita Alex.*, LXII). He began by liberating the North-West from the Macedonian yoke. In 321, at the partition of Triparadisus, the only Indian states located to the east of the Indus which acknowledged the foreign suzerainty were the Indian kingdoms of Taxiles and Porus, under the supervision of Eudemus; the satrapy of the Lower Indus entrusted to Peithon was reduced to the region neigbouring the Paropamisadae. In the years 317 and 316, the two governors, involved in the battles between the Diadochi, abandoned their territories. Candragupta immediately added them to his crown, since those regions no longer appear in the list of colonies which Antigonus distributed among his
241 lieutenants after his victory over Eumenes (316). The Indus marked the frontier between India and the Seleucid empire.

With the Punjab liberated, Candragupta proceeded with the conquest of Avanti and Surāṣṭra. The inscription of Rudradāman, on the Junāgarh rock in Kāthiāwār (Lüders, 965), recalls that the famous Sudarśana lake, in Girinagara, was originally dug by the vaiṣya Puṣyagupta, a provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta.

Some Tamil authors, Māmulanār, Paraṇar, etc., claim that at that early date the Mauryas had entered Koṅkan, crossed the district of Kongu (Coimbatore) and finally reached Podiyil Hill (Malaya). Similarly later inscriptions assert that Nāgarkhaṇḍa, in Mysore, was protected by the sage Candragupta, "an abode of usages of eminent Kṣatriyas"[5].

The war with Seleucus I (305-304 B.C.). — We saw above how, from the evidence of Appian, Strabo and Plutarch, Seleucus I, having crossed the Indus, waged war on Candragupta but ended by concluding a treaty of friendship and a matrimonial alliance with him. Some information supplied by the geographer Eratosthenes and supported by Strabo seems to indicate that the North-West frontier was moved back towards the west until it included all or part of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Gedrosia and even some districts of Aria. The new demarcation line remained unchanged until the beginning of the second century B.C.; it was crossed, in approximately the year 200 B.C., by the troops of Euthydemus of Magnesia and his son Demetrius.

Foreign embassies. — Once peace was concluded, the Seleucids and

[5] Raychaudhuri, *Political Hist.*, pp. 269-70, quoting himself Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 10.

Lagidae sent ambassadors to the court at Pāṭaliputra, capital of the new Indian empire : Megasthenes and Deimachus of the Plataeans represented the Seleucids, Seleucus I Nicator (312-280) and Antiochus I Soter (280-261), the first with Candragupta, the second with Bindusāra surnamed Amitraghāta; Dionysius was sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247), either to Bindusāra or to Aśoka. This is what appears from the evidence of the ancient historians : "There were sent as embassies to Palimbothra, first Megasthenes to Sandracottus, then Deimachus to Allitrochades, son of the former; and they left memoirs of their travels"
242 (Strabo, II, 1, 9). — "Megasthenes who was living with Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, asserts that he called several times on Sandracottus, the king of the Indians" (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 6, 2). — "Greek writers who had stayed at the Indian courts (Megasthenes and Dionysius sent by Philadelphus for this purpose) have described the strength of those peoples" (Pliny, VI, 58).

Megasthenes and Deimachus of the Plataeans in turn published *Indike* works of which only fragments remain, notable for the former (Müller, FHG, II, pp. 397-439), insignificant for the latter (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 440-1). Both authors are severely criticized by Strabo : "We will point out", he says, "that, even if it is true that, as a general thesis, all the authors who wrote about India lied most of the time, Deimachus surpasses them all in that respect, and Megasthenes comes right after him" (Strabo, II, 1, 9). On the other hand, Arrian, who cites Megasthenes profusely in his *Indike*, considers him as a serious historian and places him on the same level as the geographer Eratosthenes (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 5, 1). Although his critical sense was somewhat mediocre Megasthenes was nevertheless a keen observer and left us good descriptions of the town of Pāṭaliputra, the royal palace, the customs at the imperial court and the composition of the army. The information he supplies is the clearest of what the ancient world knew about India, and is far superior to that of his predecessors, such as Scylax of Caryanda, Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus of Halicarnassus and Ctesias of Cnidos. It deserves to be compared with the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* that code of universal law which describes in detail all the competences of the political, judicial and executive administration of the Indian state. Debate still continues over the question of knowing whether this is indeed the work of Cāṇakya, Candragupta's minister[6].

Death of Candragupta (300 B.C.). — Being closely controlled by

[6] On this question, see B. Breloer, *Kauṭalīya-Studien*, 3 vol., Bonn, 1927-34; Sten Konow, *Kauṭalya Studies*, Oslo, 1945.

the minister who had made his fortune, Candragupta was doubtless a faithful observer of brāhmanical customs. However, a late Jaina tradition, represented by the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (VIII, 415 sq.), claims that towards the end of his life the emperor embraced the religion of the Tīrthaṃkaras, abdicated in favour of his son Siṃhasena, and retired
243 with the holy Bhadrabāhu to a monastery at Śravaṇa-Belgola, in Mysore*. There he is said to have fasted to death in the Jaina fashion. Some inscriptions from Mysore, which date back to about the year 900, refer to the renowned couple, Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta[7].

One thing seems certain : namely, that the latter had no sympathy for Buddhism. The *Theragāthā Commentary* claims that, on the instigation of Cāṇakya, he had the father of the Buddhist Thera Tekicchakāri thrown into prison[8]. So it is not without reason that the majority of the Buddhist sources, such as the *Divyāvadanā*, willingly pass over him in silence. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 439-40) devotes only a few lines to him : he was, it says, a very wealthy sovereign, faithful to his promises and religious; but, bad advisers led him to kill many people. As for his prime minister Cāṇakya (vv. 454-6), he was fearful in anger, but successful in all his undertakings. These continued for three reigns.

3rd — Bindusāra

The life of the second Maurya appears to be a web of legends, both Sanskrit and Pāli. They are found in the *Aśokāvadāna* (*Divya*, pp. 369-73; T 99, ch. 23, pp. 162*a* 17-163*b* 17; T 2042, ch. 1, pp. 99*c* 20-100*c* 27; T 2043, ch. 1, pp. 132*b* 11-133*c* 2), the Sinhalese chronicles (*Dpv.*, V, 101; VI, 15; *Mhv.*, V 18 sq.; 38 sq.; *Sp.*, p. 44) and the *Mahāvaṃsa commentary* (pp. 187-9, 324).

Known to the Greeks as Amitrochades, Amitrochates or Allitrochades (cf. Amitraghāta "slayer of foes" in the *Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, 87, by Patañjali)[9], Bindusāra was, according to the Jaina texts, the son of Candragupta and Durdharā, a first cousin of the latter. Tradition attributes to him some hundred sons, of whom his eldest and favourite was named Susīma in Sanskrit, Sumana in Pāli. His chief wife, Janapadakalyāṇī, Subhadrāṅgī, or Dhammā, was the daughter of a brāhmin from Campāla, and gave him two sons, Aśoka and Vītaśoka (Tissa in Pāli). Among Bindusāra's five hundred ministers, we note the names of

[7] Raychaudhuri, *Political Hist.*, p. 295.
[8] C. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, London, 1937, p. 208.
[9] Cf. J. Charpentier, *Amitraghāta*, JRAS, 1928, pp. 132-5.

the old chancellor Cāṇakya, the soothsayer Piṅgala Vatsājīva or Piliṅgavatsa, and the prime minister Rādhagupta.

244 Tāranātha (pp. 88-9) presents Bindusāra and his minister Cāṇakya as tireless conquerors; they purportedly exterminated the kings and nobility of approximately sixteen cities and subjugated all the territories between the eastern and western seas. In fact, however, Bindusāra merely subdued the revolts brought about by the cruelty of his governors in various parts of his states. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 371-2), two uprisings broke out successively, at Takṣaśilā in the Punjab and at Khaśa in the South-west of Kaśmīr : Aśoka, commissioned by his father, succeeded in quelling them by treating the rebels with gentleness, by removing the bad governors and by setting up a feudal regime. The Pāli sources add that Aśoka also held a viceroyalty in Avantirāṣṭra (*Dpv.*, VI, 15, *Mhv.*, V, 39).

Bindusāra was on excellent terms with the Seleucids, his neighbours. We have already seen that he received at his court Deimachus of the Plataeans, the ambassador of Seleucus I Nicator, and we also know through Hegesander (*FHG*, IV, p. 421) that he corresponded with Antiochus I Soter : "The figs were so sought after by all men that even Amitrochates, the Indian king, wrote to Antiochus asking him to send him, in return for money, wine, figs and a sophist. Antiochus replied that he was sending him the figs and wine, but that the Greeks were not in the habit of selling sophists".

With regard to internal politics, Bindusāra patronised the brāhmins and ensured the daily maintenance of 60,000 adherents of the brāhmanical sects (*Sp.*, p. 44). Furthermore, he did not lack interest in religious wanderers, or Parivrājakas, at least one of whom, Piṅgalavatsa, exercised his talent, as soothsayer at the court (*Divya*, p. 370).

Bindusāra chose as his successor Susīma, his eldest son but his plans were thwarted by Aśoka who, immediately after his father's death, occupied Pāṭaliputra where, with the help of the minister Rādhagupta, he held all the other claimants at bay. Once his position was assured, legend has it that he killed all his brothers, except Vītaśoka (or Tissa), and exterminated the harem and the ministers.

4th — Aśoka

The greatest political and spiritual figure of ancient India was Aśoka Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin Rājā Magadhe : "Aśoka, the beloved of the
245 gods, of amiable expression, king of Magadha"[10]. Passed over in silence

[10] General studies on Aśoka :* D.R. BHANDARKAR, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., 1932; V.A. SMITH, *Aśoka, the Buddhist emperor of India*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1920; Ed. HARDY, *König Aśoka*,

by the Graeco-Roman historians, he is known as much from contemporary documents — the edicts which he had engraved on rocks and pillars — as from later legends the most important of which are Buddhist in origin : *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, 2043) — reproduced in extracts in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 348-434) and the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 23, pp. 161*b*-170*c*) — and the Sinhalese chronicles (*Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. I, V, VI, VII, XI; *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. V, XI, XX : *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 35 sq.), not to mention the innumerable allusions in the Buddhist sūtras and śāstras, Jaina texts and brāhmanical literature. There are considerable divergences between these sources; without attempting to make them consonant, we will analyze them in turn, passing from history to legend, in order to bring out the accretions collected by the latter.

a. — The Edicts

PUBLICATION OF THE EDICTS. — The inscriptions engraved by Aśoka — edicts on rock (R.) and edicts on pillar (P.) — that are known at the present time are thirty-three in number[11]. The language is Māgadhī, the official language of the imperial chancellery of Pāṭaliputra, influenced in
246 the Punjab (Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī) by northern Prākrit, and in Gujarat (Girnār) by the dialect of the South-West. The script is a variety of Brāhmī, except in the North-West where Kharoṣṭhī (Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī) or Aramaic script are used (Laghmān).

According to the probable or attested date of their publication, the edicts can be classed in six groups :

(1) *Year 12* of the consecration (230 after the Nirvāṇa, 256 B.C.) : the

3rd ed., Mainz, 1920; R. MOOKERJEE, *Aśoka*, London, 1928; V.R.R. DIKSHITAR, *The Mauryan Polity*, Madras, 1932; *Aśoka's Religion, the evidence of archaeology*, JORM, IV, 2 (scholarly studies, but with an anti-Buddhist bias); B.C. GOKHALE, *Buddhism and Aśoka*, Baroda, 1948; F. KERN, *Aśoka Kaiser und Missionar*, Bern, 1956. — Several articles in *Buddhistic Studies*, Calcutta, 1931 : B.C. LAW, *Some Ancient Indian Kings*, pp. 186-219; R. MOOKERJEE, *The Authenticity of the Aśokan Legends*, pp. 547-58; D.R. BHANDARKAR, *Aśoka and his Mission*, pp. 612-35.

[11] Editions of the edicts* : E. SENART, *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2 vol., Paris, 1881-86; E. HULTZSCH, *The Inscriptions of Aśoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, I), Oxford, 1925; A.C. WOOLNER, *Aśoka text and glossary*, Calcutta, 1924; J. BLOCH, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris, 1950; W.B. HENNING, *The Aramaic Inscription of Aśoka found in Lampāka*, BSOAS, XIII, 1949, pp. 80-8; G.S. MURTI and A.N.K. AIYANGAR, *Edicts of Aśoka with English Translation*, Madras, 1950. Also see the *addenda* below, pp. 711 sq.**

For the interpretation of obscure passages, in particular see : L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*..., pp. 101-19; J. FILLIOZAT, *L'énigme des 256 nuits d'Aśoka*, JA, 1949, pp. 143-53; *Les devas d'Aśoka, dieux ou divines Majestés*, JA, 1949, pp. 225-47; *Les festivités du Dhamma chez Aśoka*, JA, 1957, pp. 1-9. — Also see the articles collated by M. LALOU, *Bibliographie bouddhique*, III, Nos. 451-7; XXI-XXIII, Nos. 2094-2112.***

first two inscriptions of Barābar, in Magadha, comemmorating the gift to the Ājīvikas of the Nigrodha and Mount Khalatika caves.

(2) *Year 13* (231 after the Nirvāṇa, 255 B.C.) : the rock inscriptions known as Minor, found in different places : Bairāṭ (Jaipūr), Sahasrām (Bihār) and Rūpnāth (Jubbulpore District, Madhya Pradesh) in the north; Maski, Pālkiguṇḍu and Gāvīmath (Hyderābād), Siddāpura and Jatinga Rāmeśvara (Mysore), Yerraguḍi (Kurnool District, Āndhra Pradesh) in the south. The versions of Mysore and Yerraguḍi, both closely connected, also contain an addition, particularly developed at Yerraguḍi.

(3) *Year 13* : the single edict of Bhābrā, also known as the Inscription of Calcutta-Bairāṭ, addressed to the Buddhist Saṃgha.

(4) *Year 14* (232 after the Nirvāṇa, 254 B.C.) : the fourteen rock edicts found in seven versions of lesser or greater completeness at Girnār (Kāthiāwār), Kālsī (Dehra Dun), Shāhbazgaṛhī (Peshāwār), Mānsehrā (Hazāra), Dhauli (Puri), Jaugaḍa (Ganjam), and Yerraguḍi (Kurnool), without taking into account the fragments on the eighth rock edict found at Sopāra (Thānā District, Maharashtra) and at Laghmān (Kabul Valley).

(4 a) *Year 14* : the two separate edicts of Kaliṅga found at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where they replace rock edicts No. 11 to 13.

(1 a) *Year 19* (237 after the Nirvāṇa, 249 B.C.) : third cave at Barābar.

(5) *Year 20* (238 after the Nirvāṇa, 248 B.C.) : pillar inscriptions at Rummundei and Nigālī Sāgar or Niglīva (Nepal).

(6) *Years 26 and 27* (244-245 after the Nirvāṇa, 242-241 B.C.) : the seven pillar edicts. The seventh and most important appears, with the others, only on the pillar at Delhi-Toprā. The pillars at Delhi-Mīraṭh, Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh and Rāmpurvā (northern Bihār), Allahābād-Kosam (formerly Kauśāmbī) contain only the first six edicts, but Kosam includes two further short inscriptions, one entitled *The Edict of the Queen* and the other, directed against the Saṃghabheda, the *Edict of Kauśāmbī*.

247 (5 a) *Towards the end of the reign* : the smaller pillar edicts found in Sāñcī and Sārnāth, which reproduce the *Edict of Kauśāmbī* forbidding the schism.

THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE. — The distribution of the edicts and their contents gives us an approximate idea of the limits of the empire and its administrative divisions.

Among the provinces immediately governed by the king himself or his

direct officials (*mahāmātra*), mention must be made of Magadha and the central districts such as Kauśāmbī.

Kumāras or royal princes, as viceroys, administered Kaliṅga, capital Tosalī, a conquest of Aśoka; Avanti, capital Ujjayinī; Uttarāpatha, an area in the northern Punjab, capital Takṣaśilā; finally, Dakṣiṇa or southern region, capital Suvarṇagiri, to be sought in Nizam.

The frontier regions, the list of which appears in the edicts, were under the domination of feudal minor kings, and constituted *rājaviṣaya*.

Outside the empire, but linked with it through bonds of assured friendship, there remained the Dravidian states in the extreme south of the peninsula : Coḷa (Trichinoply and Tanjore), Pāṇḍya (Madura), Satyaputra (Mangalore), Keralaputra (Malabar) and Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon).

Noteworthy dates of the reign. — The edicts contain indications of some important events of the reign dating from the time of the consecration.

Year 8 (226 after the Nirvāṇa, 260 B.C.). — During the conquest of Kaliṅga, 150,000 persons were deported, 100,000 were killed; several times that number perished. This catastrophe severely affected all the inhabitants, brāhmins and śramaṇas, as well as the believers and devout citizens. Smitten with remorse, the king decided to substitute the reign of the Dharma for that of violence (R. XIII, Bloch, pp. 125-9). He became a faithful layman, that is, an upāsaka[12], but for a year was not very zealous (Minor Edicts, Bloch, p. 145).

Year 10 (228 after the Nirvāṇa, 258 B.C.). — A year and a half after taking his upāsaka vows, the king's zeal became extreme (Bloch,
248 p. 146). Ten years after his consecration, he set out for Enlightenment (*uyāya saṃbodhim*), inaugurating a tour of the Dharma (*dharmayātrā*) with audiences, instructions and distributions of gold to the religious and the old (Bloch, p. 112) : 256 nights were spent on tour (Bloch, p. 149).

Years 12 (230 after the Nirvāṇa, 256 B.C.). — the king ordered his district officers (*yukta*) to set out on circuit every five years with a special edict on the teaching of the Dharma (Bloch, pp. 95-97). Making use of reproductions of edifying pictures, this initiative did much to extend the practice of the Dharma (Bloch, pp. 98-9). In order to prolong its effect, the king ordered the edict of the Dharma to be engraved on rock

[12] Aśoka was a Buddhist layman, an upāsaka, but never a monk. This question is discussed by B.C. Law, *Did Aśoka become a Bhikkhu?*, IC, I, pp. 123-4.

(*dharmalipi*). Notwithstanding, he donated the Banyan and Mount Khalatika caves to the Ājīvikas (BLOCH, p. 156).

It was no doubt also in the year 12 or 13 of the consecration that Aśoka considered himself as having won the victory of the Dharma, both in foreign kingdoms and in his own empire (BLOCH, p. 130, see also p. 93).

Among the foreign sovereigns who received his message, he quotes the Greek king Aṃtiyoga (Antiochus II Theos of Syria, 261-246) and, more distant than Antiochus, four kings : Turamaya (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285-247), Aṃtekin (Antigonus II Gonatas of Macedonia, 276-239), Magā (Magas of Cyrene, deceased in 258), and Alikasudara (Alexander of Epirus, 272-256)[13]. The Colas of Coromandel, the Pāṇḍyas in the south of the peninsula, Satyaputra which has not been definitely identified, Keralaputra in Malabar and finally, Tāmraparṇī or Ceylon were mentioned as borderland Indian kingdoms.

Year 13 (231 after the Nirvāṇa, 255 B.C.). — Aśoka created overseers of the Dharma (*dharmamahāmātra*) to supervise the sects and favour those faithful to the Dharma among the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandhārans, Ristikas and Pitenikas (BLOCH, p. 103).

Year 14 (232 after the Nirvāṇa, 254 B.C.). — Aśoka doubled the size of the stūpa of the Buddha Konākamuni at Nigālīsāgar (BLOCH, p. 158).

Year 19 (237 after the Nirvāṇa, 249 B.C.). — Gift of the third cave of Barābar to the Ājīvikas (BLOCH, p. 156).

Year 20 (238 after the Nirvāṇa, 248 B.C.). — Aśoka visited the Lumbinī garden, the Buddha's birthplace (BLOCH, p. 157), and paid further homage to the stūpa of Konākamuni (BLOCH, p. 158).

249 *Year 26* (244 after the Nirvāṇa, 242 B.C.). — Publication of the first six pillar edicts (BLOCH, pp. 161, 163, 165, 168).

Year 27 (245 after the Nirvāṇa, 241 B.C.) — Publication, at Delhi-Toprâ, of the seventh pillar edict (BLOCH, p. 172).

THE DHARMA OF AŚOKA. — The remorse which Aśoka felt after the bloody conquest of Kaliṅga led him to embrace the Buddhist religion. He became an upāsaka, but for a year his zeal was far from ardent. A year and a half later, during a pilgrimage to the Bodhi tree, he visited the community of monks and, after a peregrination which lasted for two hundred and fifty-six nights, he promulgated the fourteen rock edicts (ca 254 B.C.), which were followed, fourteen or fifteen years later (ca 242-241 B.C.), by the seven pillar edicts which aimed at substituting the victory of the Dharma for the reign of coercion and violence.

[13] On the use to be made of these synchronisms for the date of Aśoka, see J. FILLIOZAT, *Inde Classique*, I, p. 219.

Aśoka himself established a clear distinction between his personal Dharma, which as sovereign he intended to render triumphant "in order to discharge his debt to creatures", and the Buddhist Law expounded by the Buddha and which, according to the recognized expression, he designated in his edict at Bhābrā by the name of *Saddharma* "Good Law"[14].

Therefore it would be fruitless to seek in his edicts the profound ideas and fundamental theories of Buddhism; no mention is made of the four noble truths, or the eightfold path, or the doctrine of dependent origination, or the Buddha's supernatural qualities; neither the name nor concept of Nirvāṇa is encountered. Aśoka might have believed he was failing in his duties as an impartial sovereign by favouring a particular religion to the detriment of others. His Dharma is superimposed on various beliefs without any claim to absorb them; acceptable to all, the lay and the religious, Indians or foreigners, it is also compulsory for all.

The Dharma is only an expression, in its most universal form, of the great principles of natural law; it teaches "proper conduct according to the ancient rule"[15], a rule which kings in the past had already tried to promote[16]. To avoid sin, practise virtue and perform the duties of
250 human solidarity, such is the essence of Aśoka's Dharma. Therefore, its parallels are not to be found in the Buddhist sūtras devoted to the exaltation of the religious life, but in the Dharmaśāstras, the descriptions of lay morality scattered throughout the ancient anthologies of universal wisdom, *Dhammapada, Suttanipāta*, as well as the *Advice to Upāsakas* dispersed throughout the canonical writings, *Lakkhaṇasuttanta*[17], *Siṅgālovāda*[18] and the various *Gahapativagga* in the *Majjhima*[19], *Saṃyutta*[20] and *Aṅguttara*[21]. As we have seen in the first chapter, this advice to the laity merely promotes the general rules of moral life, under the aegis of the Buddha.

For Aśoka, all men were his children, and he worked for their welfare and happiness in order to ensure them bliss in this world but especially

[14] J. BLOCH, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, p. 154.
[15] ID., p. 151.
[16] ID., p. 168.
[17] *Dīgha*, III, pp. 142-79.
[18] *Dīgha*, III, pp. 180-93.
[19] *Majjhima*, I, pp. 339-413.
[20] *Saṃyutta*, II, pp. 68-80.
[21] *Aṅguttara*, IV, pp. 208-35.

in the heavens of the other world[22]. Happiness in this world and beyond is the reward promised to upāsakas by the *Itivuttaka* : "Whoever desires joy, may he aspire to heavenly joys or may he yearn for human happiness"[23].

In order to achieve his ideal, Aśoka concerned himself personally with public affairs and displayed extreme zeal in doing so : "At every moment, whether I am at table, in the women's apartments, in my room, on the farmlands, in a vehicle, in the gardens, anywhere, informants must acquaint me with public affairs... The main thing is to work and to bring affairs to a successful conclusion"[24]. Not content with being kept informed, he organized Dharma tours (*dharmayātrā*) with audiences and the distribution of gold to the brāhmins, śramaṇas and the aged, instruction in the Dharma and questions on the Dharma to the people of the provinces"[25]. He expected his family, sons, grandsons and the other princes, sons of his queens, to follow his example[26]. He was assisted in his task by officials "appointed for the welfare and happiness of the people" : envoys (*dūta*) who carried his message throughout the
251 empire and among the foreign kingdoms[27]; district officers (*yukta*), inspectors (*rājuka*), and local governors (*prādeśika*) who, every five years, set out on tour with his special edict[28]; overseers (*mahāmātra*) in Kaliṅga, entrusted with winning the affection of the people[29]; overseers of the Dharma (*dharmamāhamātra*), charged with the care of the religious, the elderly, the wretched and prisoners[30], and who were eventually to be concerned separately with the various sects : the Buddhist Saṃgha, the brāhmins, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, etc.[31].

The king's zeal also found expression in the carrying out of a large number of public works : the planting of banyans, shady trees and mango groves; the sowing of medicinal herbs, upkeep of the highways, with resting-places, wells and tanks[32]. Such undertakings were what the Buddhists liked to attribute to good rulers and of which the *Mañjuśrī-*

[22] BLOCH, pp. 103, 109, 118, 121, 132, 164, 167.
[23] *Itivuttaka*, p. 112.
[24] BLOCH, pp. 106-8.
[25] ID., p. 112.
[26] ID., pp. 100, 102, 132, 171.
[27] ID., p. 131.
[28] ID., p. 96.
[29] ID., p. 137.
[30] ID., pp. 103-4.
[31] ID., pp. 170-1.
[32] ID., pp. 94-5, 170.

mūlakalpa, for example, delights to give details in its execrable Sanskrit[33].

We saw earlier how the old *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*[34] promises an increase in merits and good rebirths to princes who provide watering places in the desert, plant trees, build bridges, etc.; other Buddhist texts list the seven meritorious material deeds (*puṇyakriyāvastu*) which are recommended to the laity.

Such merits in no way equal the value of the teaching of the Dharma which Aśoka disseminated up to the confines of the inhabited world, and which was immortalized on rock[35]. What was this Dharma? Basically it amounts to : "The absence of the cause of sin and the abundance of good actions"[36], such a lapidary formula can be compared with a Buddhist stanza which has become a classic : "Avoiding all sin, doing good, purifying the mind : such is the teaching of the Buddha"[37].

252 Sin, Aśoka asserted, is easily committed; to combat a wrong inclination, demerit, is difficult for everyone, but especially so for the members of upper classes[38]. His reasoning agrees with that of the *Dhammapada* and the *Udāna* : "Easily performed are wrong actions and whatever harms the self; but what is beneficial and good is very difficult to accomplish"[39].

The misdeeds which the fivefold morality proscribes for the upāsaka are taking life, theft, sexual misconduct, falsehood and the use of fermented drinks. Aśoka was less demanding and only condemned taking life or violence exerted on creatures[40] and he recommended loyalty and truthfulness[41]. He emphasized respect for life to such a degree that he limited, then definitively forbade the slaughtering of animals for culinary use[42]. He showed himself to be even more strict than the monks of the Hīnayāna who allowed the use of meat and fish on condition that it had not been seen, heard or suspected that the animal had been killed in order to serve as food for the religious.

In the field of domestic virtues, Aśoka unceasingly counselled obe-

[33] *Mmk.*, vv. 540, 545, 648-9, 685-6, etc.
[34] T 1425, ch. 4, p. 261*a*.
[35] Bloch, pp. 109, 133, 143, 149, 162, 169.
[36] Id., p. 162.
[37] Dīgha, II, p. 49; Dhammapada, v. 183; Mahāvastu, III, p. 420.
[38] Bloch, pp. 102, 118-19.
[39] Dhammapada, v. 163; Udana, p. 61.
[40] Bloch, pp. 97, 99, 172.
[41] Id., pp. 150, 162, 171.
[42] Id., pp. 92-3, 162, 165-6, 172.

dience to one's father and mother, obedience to one's teachers, irreproachable courtesy towards one's friends, acquaintances, companions and family, kindness to the poor, the old and the weak as well as to slaves and servants, generosity towards brāhmins and śramaṇas[43]. The Buddha gave exactly the same advice to the young householder Siṅgālaka : "How does the noble disciple protect the six regions of space? These six regions are composed as follows : father and mother are the east; teachers are the south; sons and wife are the west; friends and companions are the north; slaves and servants are the nadir; śramaṇas and brāhmins are the zenith"[44]. Just as Aśoka extolled in his subjects "the minimum of spending and the minimum of assets"[45], so the Buddha warned the laity against vices which could lead to the loss of their fortune[46].

253 Such are the meritorious actions which constitute the true Ceremonies of the Dharma (*dharmamaṅgala*), and which are quite different from the various ceremonies which people hold on the occasion of illness, marriages, births or a journey. Even if they have to be performed, such ceremonies are of little use, since the result wished for is not always acquired; only the ceremony of the Dharma enables one to obtain the happiness sought in this world and, in any case, creates endless merit in the other world[47]. Similarly, the true disciple of the Buddha does not consider festivities and ceremonies (*kotūhalamaṅgala*) organized in such circumstances to be essential[48].

If charity is worthy, "there is no gift or assistance which is equivalent to the gift of the Dharma, the assistance of the Dharma"[49]. That is a truth to which the Buddhist texts return unceasingly : "There are two kinds of gifts", says the *Aṅguttara* "a material gift and a gift of the Law, but the foremost of those two gifts is the gift of the Law"[50]. By virtue of that principle, every associate, parent, companion should, on each occasion, preach : "This is one's duty, one's good, this is how to reach the heavens"[51]; father, son, brother, teacher or friend, associate, relation and even the mere neighbour should come and say : "That is good,

[43] ID., pp. 96, 98-9, 115, 120, 126, 150, 171.
[44] Dīgha, III, pp. 188-9.
[45] BLOCH, p. 97.
[46] Dīgha, III, pp. 182-3.
[47] BLOCH, pp. 113-17.
[48] Majjhima, I, p. 265; Aṅguttara, III, p. 439.
[49] BLOCH, pp. 116, 119.
[50] Aṅguttara, I, p. 91.
[51] BLOCH, p. 116.

that is duty"[52]. — In order that relations could have the opportunity to administer such a fraternal admonition, Aśoka allowed those condemned to death an interval of three days so that their intimates could intercede for them or so that they could prepare themselves for death by means of alms-giving and fasting[53]. The king, indeed, was aware of the importance of the last thought or, as the Buddhists put it, the "thought (at the time) of death" (*maraṇacitta*), since, in accordance with Indian and Buddhist beliefs, that thought determines one's future destiny. Hence, the Buddha exhorted his cousin Mahānāman to lead a holy life "because the tree falls to the side on which it is leaning"[54]; he asked that the pious layman, when he is sick, suffering or struck by some cruel disorder, be "comforted by another pious layman with the aid of the
254 four comforting teachings"[55]. In order to perform this duty, the mother of Nakula prepared her husband to die contentedly, by endeavouring to inspire him with feelings of joy and peace[56].

Many are the vices condemned by Aśoka, as well as the virtues recommended by him. He invited his subjects and, most especially, his officials to combat inwardly jealousy, irritability, cruelty, hastiness, obstinacy, idleness and lassitude[57], and to obviate those "accesses to faults" which consist of ill-will, callousness, anger, pride and envy[58]. He listed the "virtues of the Law" (*dharmaguṇa*) the practice of which ensures happiness in this world and in the next : security, mastery over the senses, equanimity and gentleness[59]; obedience, pity and truthfulness[60]; devotion to the Law, vigilance, docility, circumspection and vigour to the greatest degree[61]; pity, charity, truthfulness and purity[62]. These lists of faults and virtues are very similar to those found in the Buddhist writings, particularly in the Abhidharma. However, the quality to which the emperor attached the greatest importance was exertion (*parākrama*) or fortitude (*utsāha*), a condition of spiritual progress, as had already been perceived by the Buddhist texts : "Be alert, do not be

[52] Id., p. 120.
[53] Id., p. 165.
[54] Saṃyutta, V, p. 371.
[55] Saṃyutta, V, p. 408.
[56] Aṅguttara, III, pp. 295-8.
[57] Bloch, p. 138.
[58] Id., p. 163.
[59] Id., p. 129.
[60] Id., p. 150.*
[61] Id., p. 161.
[62] Id., p. 162.

heedless! Observe the Law of beneficial practices : whoever observes that is happy in this world and the next"[63].

Among those beneficial practices, Aśoka recommended the examination of one's conscience : not to consider only the good one has done, but also the evil which one has committed[64]. It is a Buddhist belief that an offence confessed is lightened, and the Buddha "removed his offence" from the Licchavi Vaḍḍha who had acknowledged his fault and vowed not to repeat it; indeed, explained the Master, "the one who, acknowledging his fault, confesses and promises not to repeat it represents a gain for the Law"[65].

255 Aśoka was an unbiased sovereign, and protected all the sects impartially; he allowed them to reside where they wished[66], and, in order to pay homage to them, went to them in person[67]. Being a convinced Buddhist, he named overseers of the Dharma in order to watch over the particular interests of each sect : Buddhist Saṃgha, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, etc.[68]. Twice, at an interval of seven years, he made a gift of caves to the Ājīvikas[69]. While not interfering with their particular doctrines and disciplines, he demanded of his religious a dignified life in keeping with their social condition : mastery over the senses, mental purity, acknowledgement and steadfastness in faith[70]. From the external point of view, his dearest wish was that the sects which he supported and honoured would progress in the essence (*sāravṛddhi*), namely, that restraint of speech which causes one to refrain from honouring one's own sect or from irrelevantly denigrating those of others; other sects should even be honoured every time the opportunity arose[71]. The Buddha also had condemned religious intolerance, the foolishness of teachers who considered they alone possessed the truth and treated their adversaries as fools and ignoramuses : "I do not call truth what the foolish confront each other with; they make their own view the truth; that is why they treat their opponents as fools"[72].

From this brief survey it ensues that the Dharma extolled by Aśoka is clearly different from the Buddhist Saddharma; it merely sets out in

[63] Dhammapada, v. 168.
[64] Bloch, p. 163.
[65] Vinaya, II, pp. 124-7.
[66] Bloch, p. 110.
[67] Id., p. 168.
[68] Id., pp. 170-1.
[69] Id., p. 156.
[70] Id., pp. 110-11.
[71] Id., pp. 121-2.
[72] Suttanipāta, v. 82.

traditional Indian formulas the principles of natural law which the Buddhists had already tried to inculcate in their lay followers; it does not teach *ex professo* the four noble truths or the system of dependent origination which constitute the basis of the Word of the Buddha. Aśoka was a pious and zealous ruler, and not a sectarian propagandist. It was never his intention to found a Buddhist State, but to chide his subjects and edify his neighbours. His envoys, inspectors, overseers were in no way Buddhist missionaries, but officials preoccupied with the present and future happiness of those under their administration. Nevertheless, by promulgating the edict of the Dharma all over India, they
256 prepared people's minds to receive the Buddhist message and opened the way for religious propagandists.

AŚOKA'S BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS. — Having confined himself, generally speaking, to the role of head of state, Aśoka thought he could, as a devout Buddhist, address the Saṃgha which owed him so much. His Buddhist inscriptions are three in number : the Bhābrā edict, the rescript at Kauśāmbī and the inscription in Rummindei.

1. In the Bhābrā edict, which in all likelihood was promulgated in the year 13 of his reign, the king of Magadha "greets the Community and hopes it has little affliction (*appābādhatta*) and is well at ease (*phāsuvihālatta*)". This is, in an abbreviated form, the traditional Buddhist formula of greeting[73].

Then follows a profession of respect (*gaurava*) and faith (*prasâda*) in the Three Jewels, the Buddha, his Law and his Community, in conformity with the taking of the vows by the laity.

After that, there follows the assertion that "all that the Blessed Lord Buddha spoke was well spoken" : an appeal to the omniscient Buddha, the first of the four "great authorities" (*mahāpadeśa*) which are formulated in the *Dīgha* (II, p. 123), *Aṅguttara* (II, p. 167), *Sūtrâlaṃkāra* (ed. LÉVI, p. 4), etc.

Finally, assuming the role of spiritual adviser, Aśoka recommends to the religious and the laity the reading and study of the seven Sermons on the Law (*dhaṃmapaliyāya*), the list of which is as follows :

[73] In Pāli, *appâbâdhaṃ appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phasuvihāraṃ pucchati* (Dīgha, I, p. 204; II, p. 72; III, p. 166; Majjhima, I, pp. 437, 473; Aṅguttara, III, pp. 65, 103; Milinda, p. 14). In Sanskrit, *alpâbâdhatāṃ paripṛcchaty alpātaṅkatāṃ yātrāṃ laghūtthānatāṃ balaṃ sukhavihāratāṃ ca paripṛcchati* (Mahâvastu, I, p. 254; Divya, p. 156; Avadānaśataka, I, pp. 168, 325; II, pp. 90, 92; Pañcaviṃśati, p. 14; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 429). The terms in this greeting are commented upon in detail by the Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 10, p. 131.

a. *Vinaya-samukkase* "Praise of the Discipline". — It can be supposed that this is an eulogy of the Prātimokṣa as it is found in the *Aṅguttara* (I, pp. 98-100).

b. *Aliya-vasāṇi* "the Genealogy of the Noble Ones". — The interpretation of this is uncertain, but brings to mind the ten rules of living practised by the holy ones (*dasa ariya-vāsā*) which are mentioned in the *Dīgha* (III, pp. 269, 291) and the *Aṅguttara* (V, p. 29); or, better still, the four noble lineages (*cattāro ariya-vaṃsā*) from which true monks are
257 born : "to be satisfied with clothing, food and lodging; to delight in Nirvāṇa and the path to Nirvāṇa" (*Aṅguttara*, II, p. 27; *Kośa*, VI, p. 146).

c. *Anāgata-bhayāni* "Future Dangers". — There are several groups of five future dangers (*pañca anāgata-bhayāni*) which constitute as many temptations for monks living in solitude. The *Aṅguttara* (III, pp. 100-10; 206-20) lists a series of them. They are also mentioned, although less systematically, in a great number of other texts.

d. *Munigāthā* "Stanzas of the Sage. — Some *Munigāthā* formed part of the "Chanted Recitations" which, as we saw earlier, are closely connected with the "Minor Texts" (*kṣudraka*). The *Suttanipāta* contains a *Munisutta* (I, vv. 207-21), in which the sage is defined as a solitary being, dwelling in meditation and far removed from the desires of his time; he has overcome obstacles, is all-knowing and differs from the layman as does a peacock from a swan. However, the *Suttanipāta Commentary* informs us that the *Munisutta* is an artificial collection of verses with no logical link between them, and which were uttered by the Buddha on various occasions. It seems they existed independently : hence, verse 211 is quoted in the *Mahāvastu* (III, pp. 118 and 326), verse 213 in the *Mahāvastu* (III, pp. 110, 123), verse 221 in the *Upadeśa* by Nāgārjuna (T 1509, ch. 3, p. 84*b*), etc.

e. *Moneyasūte* "Discourse on Silence". — Mention is made of the three silences (*tīṇi moneyyāni*) of body, speech and mind in the *Dīgha* (III, p. 220), the *Aṅguttara* (I, p. 273) and the *Itivuttaka* (p. 56). On the other hand, the *Suttanipāta* (III, 11, v. 698 sq.) devotes a long eulogy to the perfect way of the sage (*moneyyaṃ uttamaṃ padaṃ*).

f. *Upatissapasine* "The Questions of Upatissa". — Among the enormous number of sūtras in which the Buddha and Śāriputra (alias Upatiṣya) appear, the *Sāriputtasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (IV, 6, vv. 955-75) is a dialogue in which the Buddha explains to Śāriputra the dangers to which a monk is exposed.

g. *Lāghulovāde musāvādaṃ adhigicya bhagavatā buddhena bhāsite* "The Discourse concerning falsehood addressed to Rāhula by the

Blessed Lord Buddha". — A reference to the *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda-sutta* in the *Majjhima* (I, pp. 414-20), which has its correspondents in the *Madhyamāgama* (T 26, ch. 3, pp. 436*a*-437*b*), the Chinese *Dharmapada*
258 (T 211, ch. 3, pp. 599*c*-600*a*; T 212, ch. 11, p. 668*a*) and the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 13, p. 158*a*), in which the condemnation of falsehood is indeed the most categorical. This sūtra is different from another Exhortation to Rāhula, the *Mahā-Rāhulovādasutta* incorporated into the *Majjhima* (I, pp. 420-6) and which has its correspondent in the *Ekottarāgama* (T 125, ch. 7, p. 581*c*).

By recommending the study of these texts to the religious and laity, Aśoka hoped to ensure that the Good Law would last for a long time. However, his advice was not devoid of all political ulterior motives. He invited the bhikṣus to conform to their discipline, be content with their lot, overcome their temptations, delight in solitude, enclose themselves in wise silence and avoid the traps laid at their feet, because he hoped to keep, if not bring round, the Saṃgha to a correct understanding of his state duties. Indeed it does seem that the favours granted by the king had the unexpected effect of attracting into the order undesirable recruits whose greed and recalcitrant attitudes threatened the tranquillity of the state. This is why Aśoka was led to check those who wanted to enter the Order and take measures against any schismatics.

It is true that modern exegeticists have striven to find the seven "Discourses of the Law", mentioned by the Bhābrā edict, in the canonical writings, and agreement over the proposed identifications is far from unanimous[74].

The significance of the edict for the history of the writings has in turn been overrated and undervalued. Certain people claim to see in it "a historical document which proves decisively the existence, in the third century B.C., of a Buddhist canon in the same form and with more or less the same titles as those which are known to us now". Others, on the contrary, consider the Bhābrā enumeration to be incompatible with the existence of a well defined canon : "There are many reasons to doubt whether Buddhism possessed a canon already at that time".

We can merely remark that the Bhābrā edict proves, if it is necessary,

[74] See the bibliography on this subject in WINTERNITZ, *Literature*, II, pp. 606-9, and the discussion of the identifications in L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 126-33. Since then, S. MITRA, *Vinayasamukase in Aśoka's Bhābrā Edict*, JDLC, XX, 1930; V. BHATTACHARYA, *Buddhist Texts as recommended by Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1948.*

259 the early existence of holy texts, but presents those texts in a form which is not the same as that of the canons which have come down to us.

First of all, there is nothing to prove that the titles given by Aśoka are traditional titles. A century later, the Bhārhut sculptures were to provide yet other titles, quite different from those supplied by the texts.

Secondly, the language in which these titles are drafted is not that of any universally attested canonical language. It is neither Pāli nor Sanskrit, but Māgadhī. Furthermore, it is phonetically a much more evolved Māgadhī than the diplomatic Māgadhī of the eastern group in which Aśoka drafted his edicts. This Buddhist Māgadhī pronounced *l* and not *r* (*L*āghula instead of *R*āhula), *gh* instead of *h* (Lā*GH*ula instead of Rā*H*ula), *g* instead of *k* (adhi*G*icya instead of adhi*K*ṛtya), *cya* instead of the Sanskrit *tya* and Pāli *cca* (adhigi*CYA* instead of adhikṛ*TYA* or adhigi*CCA*); finally, its nominative singular of topics in *-a* was in *-e* and not *-o*.

It is probably in this language, called pre-canonical by S. Lévi, proto-canonical by L. de La Vallée Poussin[75], that the first Buddhist texts were recited, but the data supplied by the edict does not allow for any pronouncement concerning their extent. One can only note their paucity in relation to those seventeen discourses which, according to the Sinhalese chronicles, Moggalitissaputta's envoys were to propound during their spectacular missions some years later, to be precise in 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.). However, as we shall see further on, this collection of discourses, which presupposes the existence of the Pāli canon in its present form, is only one of the many anachronisms attributable to the authors of the *Dīpa-* and *Mahāvaṃsa*.

2. In the edict of Kauśāmbī published simultaneously in Kosam, Sāñcī and Sārnāth towards the end of the reign, Aśoka directly addressed the Saṃgha of bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs. After having formulated certain restrictions concerning entry into the order, he insisted on the unity which should prevail between members of the order, condemned "disunion in the Community" (*saṃghabheda*) and compelled whoever
260 might have provoked it to return to the white robe of the layman and to live away from the religious dwelling.

Properly speaking, a *saṃghabheda* is not a schism but, according to the canonical definition (*Vinaya*, II, p. 204), the separation over a point of doctrine or discipline by a group of at least nine bhikṣus, possessed of all the religious privileges, belonging to the same creed and dwelling in

[75] S. Lévi, *Observations sur une langue précanonique du b.*, JA, 1912, pp. 495-514; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Indo-Européens...*, pp. 200-6; also see Ch. VI further on.

the same parish (*sīmā*). It is a question, adds the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (*Gilgit Man.*, III, 4, p. 248), of a formal secession following a public declaration (*jñaptikarman*) and a vote (*śalākāgrahaṇa*); after that, the dissidents performed the religious acts, ceremonies of confesion etc., apart. During the Buddha's own lifetime, the followers of Devadatta and the monks of Kauśāmbī had provoked such disruptions. It is probable that in the time of Aśoka, the increase in number of the religious added to the causes of friction and threatened the cohesion of the most populated parishes : Pāṭaliputra, Vārāṇaṣī, Kauśāmbī and Sāñcī.

The king's intention was to reduce dissidents to lay status, by forcing them to return to the white robe (*avadātavasana*) of householders (*Dīgha*, I, p. 211; III, pp. 118, 124, 210; *Majjhima*, I, p. 491; II, p. 23; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 73; III, p. 384; IV, p. 217). However, his orders were not followed. The community split up into various schools, and the opposition between rival sects culminated in the formation of schisms, the most important of which was that of the Mahāsāṃghikas.*

3. In his rock edicts, Aśoka had already referred to his pilgrimage to the place of the Saṃbodhi (Bloch, p. 112), his visits to the Community (p. 146) and his pious tours (p. 149). Two inscriptions of a private nature, discovered at Rummindei and Nigālī Sāgar (Niglīva), were intended to immortalize two such ventures. Twenty years after his consecration, the king went in person to the Lumbinīvana, the Buddha's birthplace; there he built a high wall of stone and erected a pillar; finally, he freed the inhabitants of the village from tax and he "set them at 1/8 th" (Bloch, p. 157). He went twice to Nigālī Sāgar, to the stūpa of the former Buddha Konākamuni, he doubled it in size and embellished it in various ways.

The Aśoka of the inscriptions shows himself to have been a zealous, conscientious ruler, preoccupied with the present and future happiness of
261 his subjects and neighbours. Personally, he was a convinced Buddhist; however, even if his preferences led him to favour the Saṃgha of bhikṣus and to take special measures to ensure the duration and harmony of the order, he retained enough insight to protect all the sects impartially. It is not at all surprising, however, that the Buddhist texts present him in a somewhat far-fetched light and make him out to be a sectarian, more preoccupied with the construction of stūpas and endowment of the Saṃgha than with internal order and state finances.

b. — The Aśokāvadāna

In the paragraph concerning the Masters of the Law, the chapters of

the *Aśokāvadāna*[76] devoted to Upagupta and his four predecessors were the subject of a brief analysis, but the main object of the work is the Exploits of Aśoka which will be summarized here. We will attempt to establish that the chronicle of Aśoka, as it appears in this work and directly related sources, was widely disseminated on the Indian continent and inspired men of letters and sculptors. The various episodes which are narrated concerning the king are no doubt of different date and origin; however, some of them, attested on the monuments at Sāñcī, are quite early in date and were already circulating in the second century B.C.

THE GIFT OF EARTH AND BIRTH OF AŚOKA (T 2042, ch. 1, pp. 99*a*-102*b*; T 2043, ch. 1, pp. 131*b*-135*b*; T 99, ch. 23, pp. 161*b*-165*b*; *Divya*, pp. 364-82). Arriving from the Kalandakavana, the Buddha enters Rājagṛha in order to beg for his food. His entry into the town is marked by several wonders. Two little boys, Jaya and Vijaya, are playing in the road and amusing themselves with making houses and granaries out of earth. On seeing the Buddha, Jaya respectfully offers him a handful of earth; Vijaya, his hands joined, approves his companion's action. The Buddha predicts to Ānanda that, one hundred years after his Nirvāṇa, young Jaya will be the holy king Aśoka, who will reign in Pāṭaliputra over the whole of India and will build 84,000 stūpas; Vijaya will be his minister, with the name of Rādhagupta.

In fact the Mauryan king Bindusāra had two sons, Aśoka and Vītaśoka by a brahmin girl from Campāla; the first was to fulfil the
262 Buddha's prediction. At the time of his birth, the seer Piṅgalavatsa asserted that he would succeed his father, to the detriment of the crown prince Susīma. In his youth, Aśoka was sent by Bindusāra to Takaṣaśilā and Khaśa to quell the revolts which had been provoked by the governors' extortions. He accomplished that mission so skillfully that, on the death of Bindusāra, the ministers made him mount the throne of Magadha. However, since Susīma claimed his right to the crown, Aśoka shut himself up in Pāṭaliputra and set guards before the doors. Susīma, while attempting to enter the town, fell into a cleverly hidden brazier and perished in it.

Now in power, Aśoka named Rādhagupta as his prime minister. He picked a quarrel with his counsellors and his women folk and had five hundred ministers and five hundred concubines put to death. These executions earned him the name of "Aśoka the Cruel" (Caṇḍāśoka). On the advice of Rādhagupta, he built a prison modelled on the Buddhist

[76] Cf. J. PRZYLUSKI, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, Paris, 1923.*

hells and entrusted the guardianship of it to the cruel Girika, with the order to put to death all those who entered it.

The holy monk Samudra entered it inadvertently and was tortured by Girika; but as he had attained Arhatship, the torment did not affect him. Aśoka came to see this wonder for himself, and the holy one reproached him for his cruelty and revealed the Buddha's prediction according to which Aśoka was to become a holy king of the Law. Seized with remorse, Aśoka embraced Buddhism and took the upāsaka vows. He had the executioner Girika burned alive and the prison razed.

Aśoka decided to erect a large number of monuments commemorating the glory of the Buddha and so withdrew the relics deposited by Ajātaśatru and his contemporaries in the first seven stūpas. However, the dragon-king Sāgara and his companions, who guarded the stūpa at Rāmagrāma, refused to give up their share to him. When he was in possession of all the relics available, Aśoka divided them among 84,000 precious caskets. The Yakṣas who were under his orders were dispersed all over Jambudvīpa and built 84,000 stūpas in which the caskets were placed. The Sthavira Yaśas, abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma, gave the signal to start work by hiding the sun with his hand[77], and all the stūpas were completed at the same time. Their construction earned Aśoka the title of
263 "King of the right Law".

The gift of earth by Jaya and Vijaya, the future Aśoka and Rādhagupta, is narrated in detail in the *Hsien yü ching* (T 202, ch. 3, p. 368*c*) and mentioned briefly in the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 12, p. 147*a*); it is represented on bas-reliefs of Gandhāra (*Art gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 517; fig. 255, 256) and of the Andhra region (*Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, p. 37, pl. 36*b*).

The struggles Aśoka had to sustain in order to accede to the throne, and the massacres he perpetrated among the members of his family at the time he assumed power are known to the Sinhalese tradition. Nevertheless, reference is often made in the edicts to the "sons, grandsons and great grandsons" of the king, beloved of the gods (BLOCH, pp. 100, 102, 171).

The episodes concerning Aśoka's Hell are narrated in the *Fên pieh*

[77] Certain authors see in Yaśas' gesture an allusion to an eclipse of the sun : R. FAZY, *Note sur une éclipse de soleil du temps d'Aśoka*, JA, 1930, pp. 135-6; K.P. JAYASWAL, *An exact date in the reign of Aśoka*, JBORS, XVII, 1931, p. 400; D. SIDERSKY, *Une éclipse du soleil au temps d'Aśoka*, JA, 1932, pp. 295-7; P.H.L. EGGERMONT, *The Chronology*..., p. 122 sq. The authors have a choice between four eclipses of the sun visible in Vārāṇasī at the time of Aśoka : 24 March 275, 4 May 249, 15 June 242, 19 November 232.

kung tê lun (T 1507, ch. 3, p. 39*a-c*), and the ruins of the prison were visited by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 863*b-c*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 911); it consisted of a small fortified town of more than a thousand inhabitants.

Aśoka attributes his conversion to Buddhism to the remorse he felt after the Kaliṅga massacres. Tradition has it that he embraced the religion under the influence of a monk (Samudra in the *Aśokāvadāna*, Nigrodha in the Sinhalese chronicle) or following the example of one of his women (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, T 201, ch. 5, p. 286*b*).

All the sources without distinction, save the edicts, attribute the simultaneous construction of 84,000 stūpas to Aśoka. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 353-79) says in substance :

"One hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa, there will be in Kusumapura a prince, a protector of the earth, known by the name of Aśoka. He will be violent, cruel and pitiless at first; but, on meeting a friend of the good in the person of a disciplined, calm and disinterested bhikṣu, and because of merits he had acquired previously through the "gift of earth", he will become a successful prince, capable of distinguishing the Dharma from the Adharma, compassionate and clement. Formerly that prince, without knowing [the Buddha] and as a game, had with joined hands placed some specks of earth in the alms-bowl of the Victorious One Śākyasiṃha. [The latter had said to him] : "Excercise your
264 kingship, O Protector of the Earth, over Jambudvīpa and its forests'... Then, in the Veṇuvana at his capital Rāja, he piously removed from the reliquary the relics which are to be found there, and, after having paid homage to the ancient stūpa, he divided the relics into hundreds of portions and, in a single moment, called upon the Yakṣas to adorn the whole of Jambudvīpa with stūpas and transform the earth into a reliquary. At his command the Yakṣas, in half a night, erected stone pillars (*śilāyaṣṭi*) of superhuman beauty, and several thousand pilasters (*stambha*) were built in order to honour the Caityas and mark the presence of the bodily relics... Then the prince rapidly entered his chariot and having loaded it with gold, silver, copper and the most diverse ornaments, went in an instant to the places where the reliquaries had been erected and made them many offerings. From then on, he was known by the name of Dharmāśoka 'Aśoka the Pious'".

The legend of the stūpa of Rāmagrāma, collected on the spot by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 861*b*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 6, p. 902*b-c*) consists of two episodes. In order to endow the 84,000 stūpas which he had just had erected, Aśoka removed the important relics contained in the first seven stūpas which had been built after the decease of the Buddha. When he came to divest the eighth, that of Rāmagrāma, the Nāgas, who were the guardians of the monument, opposed his claim, took him to their palace, and showed him the riches they had accumulated as homage. Aśoka, considering that he could not match that,

forewent emptying the stūpa and left it in the charge of the Nāgas. This first episode is represented on the southern door at Sāñcī (*Sāñcī*, pl. 11, 2) and on several bas-reliefs in the region of Andhra (*Amarāvatī*, p. 166, fig. 5*a*; pl. 61, 2; *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, V, pl. 8, 2 and 11, 2), where one can see the Nāga-serpents, with human figures surmounted by a cobra's hood, calmly but firmly opposing the king's archaeological venture.

The second episode, narrated by the same pilgrims, follows the previous one. Encroached upon by the nearby jungle, the stūpa of Rāmagrāma continued to be honoured by a troop of Nāga-elephants who came to pay homage to it. The scene is represented on the eastern door at Sāñcī where one can see a long procession of elephants approaching the monument (*Sāñcī*, pl. 46, 3).

However, there is a variation of the legend according to which the Rāmagrāma stūpa was exploited by Aśoka, as the preceding seven had been. The *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 23, p. 165*a* 16-17) states that the
265 king of the Nāgas led Aśoka to the Serpents' palace, but that Aśoka "demanded the *śarīra* in order to pay homage to them, and the Nāgas gave them to him". The Sinhalese legend (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXI, 18 sq.) claims that the relics from the Rāmagrāma stūpa were delivered by Mahākāla the dragon-king to the disciple Soṇuttara, a companion of Mahinda, who transported them to Ceylon. They were placed in the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhapura which had been built by Devānaṃpiya, a contemporary of Aśoka.

The monastery of the Kukkuṭārāma, referred to by the *Aśokāvadāna* had been built by the king in Pāṭaliputra, on the site of the old Kukkuṭārāma "Cock's Park" already mentioned in the canonical texts (*Vin.*, I, p. 300; *Majjhima*, I, p. 349; *Saṃyutta*, V, pp. 15, 171; *Aṅguttara*, V, p. 342). While the Sanskrit sources (*Divya*, pp. 381, 430) continued to use the old name Kukkuṭārāma for the new monastery, the Pāli sources (*Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvaṃsa*, V, 80) prefer to call it the Aśokārāma. According to the Sanskrit sources, the abbot of the monastery was the Sthavira Yaśas (*Divya*, pp. 381, 385, 399, 404, 406, 423), probably a former minister who had been won over to Buddhism by Aśoka himself (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, T 201, ch. 3, p. 274*a*) : this person, unknown to the Pāli sources, was familiar to the Chinese pilgrims, in particular Hsüan tsang who also refers to him as the abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*c* 2), then notes the presence of the "Great Arhat" at the Samajñā monastery in Khotan (*Ibid.*, ch. 12, p. 944*b*). According to the *Annals of the Li-yul*, he emigrated to

Khotan with seven thousand adherents, and became the spiritual adviser to King Kustana[79].

The avadāna of king Aśoka (T 2042, ch. 1-2, pp. 102b-106a; T 2043, ch. 2-3, pp. 135b-141b; T 99, ch. 23-24, pp. 165b 170c; *Divya*, pp. 384-405). — The Venerable Yaśas informs Aśoka that during a journey to Kaśmīr, Gandhāra and Mathurā the Buddha had predicted the birth, one hundred years after himself, of the sage Upagupta who would do Buddha deeds. The monk is at present with 18,000 Arhats on Mount Urumuṇḍa, at the Naṭabhaṭikā monastery, near Mathurā. Aśoka decides to go and visit him but, foreseeing his wishes, Upagupta and his disciples go by raft to Pāṭaliputra. Aśoka sets out to meet them and
266 prostrates himself before the master of the Law. The venerable monk strokes his head an invites him to help him protect the Buddhist Law.*

Aśoka, who has already built 84,000 stūpas, wishes to erect some more in the regions through which the Buddha had travelled in the past. Upagupta offers to show him all those places. The two pilgrims visit in turn the Lumbinīvana where the Buddha was born, Kapilavastu whence he made the Great Departure, Bodh-Gayā where he attained supreme and perfect Enlightenment, Vārāṇasī where he preached his first sermon, Śrāvastī where he performed the Great Wonder, Sāṃkāśya where he descended from the heavens accompanied by gods, and finally, Kuśinagara where he entered Nirvāṇa. Aśoka erected a stūpa in all those places. After which, he went to pay his respects to the reliquaries of the Buddha's great disciples : Śāriputra (in the Jetavana of Śrāvastī), Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa, Vakkula and Ānanda.

Of the stūpas commemorating the four great wonders — Lumbinī, Bodh-Gayā, Vārāṇasī-and Kuśinagara —, Aśoka paid most homage to the stūpa of the Bodhi tree. Jealous of that preference, the wicked queen Tiṣyarakṣitā attempted to make the tree die. At her command, the Caṇḍāla Mātaṅga ties a bewitched thread to the Bodhivṛkṣa and attempted to kill it with incantations. However, the king's sorrow was so bitter that Tiṣyarakṣitā herself restored the tree by having it watered with a thousand pitchers of milk. The Bodhivṛkṣa revived and, in order to celebrate the happy event, Aśoka summoned all the followers of the Buddha to a Pañcavarṣa assembly, including those from Kaśmīr and the mythical regions. Three hundred thousand monks, a third of whom were Arhats and a number of the laity, gathered in Pāṭaliputra. One place remained vacant : that of the Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, the missionary from Kauśāmbī, who had known the Buddha when he was still in this

[79] F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, I, London, 1935, pp. 100-5.

world**. He descended from Mount Gandhamādana with thousands of Arhats. His body was like that of an old man. He told Aśoka of the important events in the life of the Buddha which he had witnessed, then imperiously demanded food. The ceremony of the Pañcavarṣa took place : Aśoka presented to the Saṃgha his gold, his women, his ministers, his son Kuṇāla and even his own body; he had an enclosure built round the four sides of the Bodhi tree, then mounted it himself and sprinkled the tree from thousands of precious pitchers filled with perfumed liquid; finally he distributed food and clothing to the religious.

267 The audiences and distributions of gold to the brāhmins and śramaṇas, and the pious tours which continued for 256 nights, the pilgrimage to Lumbinī and to the Bodhi are so many historical facts attested by the edicts. As for Tiṣyarakṣitā's attempt on the Bodhivṛkṣa, even if it does not have a similar guarantee, it is nevertheless known to the Sinhalese tradition and represented on carved monuments dating from the second century B.C. On the southern door of the stūpa at Sāñcī, there is a figure in royal dress, supported by two queens, and fainting with grief before the withering Bodhi tree (*Sāñcī*, pl. 18, *b*2); on the eastern door, the king, the queens and their retinue are going to the Bodhi tree with offerings of all kinds, especially pitchers of perfumed water with which to sprinkle it (*Sāñcī*, pl 40, 3).

The two sculptures, like those at Bhārhut (pl. 14, 1), represent the Bodhivṛkṣa surrounded by a protective colonnade erected around it by the piety of the king. When Hsüan tsang visited Bodh-Gayā, that stone wall, ten feet in height, was still in existence, and the master of the Law narrates Tiṣyarakṣitā's unsuccessful attempt regarding it (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 915*b*-*c*).*

The oral tradition collected by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 862*b*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 911*c*) has preserved the memory of the Pañcavarṣas which Aśoka celebrated : in Pāṭaliputra, near the temple enclosing the Footprints, the two pilgrims noted a thirty-foot high stone pillar bearing an inscription : "Aśoka, strong in his faith, three times gave Jambudvīpa as an offering to the Buddhist Saṃgha and three times bought it back with his own riches".

Avadāna of Aśoka's younger brother (T 2042, ch. 2, pp. 106*a*-107*c*; T 2043, ch. 3, pp. 141*b*-144*a*; *Divya*, pp. 419-29). — Aśoka's younger brother — Vītaśoka in T 2043 and the *Divya*, Sudatta in T 2042 — had faith in heretical doctrines and mocked the Buddha's disciples whom he reproached for their easy life. In order to bring him round to the Good Law, Aśoka resorted to a stratagem. While he was taking his bath, the ministers, in connivance with him, invited Vītaśoka to try on

the royal crown the hazards of succession might perhaps lead him to assume. Vītaśoka followed their advice and, mounting the throne, put on the crown. The king came out of his bathing room and, seeing his
268 brother seated on his throne, treated him as a usurper and handed him over to caṇḍālas to be put to death. However, in order to give him a chance to repent, he agreed to let Vitaśoka rule for seven days, after which he would be executed. Vītaśoka enjoyed all the royal prerogatives but each morning the caṇḍālas counted the days which remained to him and reminded him of his coming death. After the seventh day, Vītaśoka was brought before his brother, the king. Aśoka asked him for his impressions of those days of reigning and Vītaśoka replied : "All the pleasures of the senses with which I was gratified were vitiated by the prospect of my coming end. Tormented by the fever of death, I remained sleepless for whole nights". Aśoka, embracing his brother, said to him : "I shall not have you put to death; I wanted to bring you to have faith in the Buddha's Law and to explain to you how his disciples, even while they abstain from the arduous practices imposed on the brāhmins, turn away from the sense-objects which they consider as nothing but vanity".

Vītaśoka then went to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery where he received religious instruction from the Sthavira Yaśas. After that, with his brother's permission, he left the world and withdrew to Videha where he attained Arhatship. He then returned to Pāṭaliputra and visited King Aśoka and his minister Rādhagupta; it was his turn to confirm them in their faith, by performing various wonders.

The Arhat flew as far as the frontier-regions of Puṇḍavardhana. There he fell ill, but Aśoka sent a physician to him who tended him and restored him to health. Meanwhile, the Jainas of Puṇḍavardhana had drawn some images of the Buddha and represented him as prostrating himself before the Nirgrantha Mahāvīra. On learning of this news, the king became angry and speedily dispatched his Yakṣas to punish them. In a single day, 18,000 Nirgranthas were put to death. Vītaśoka, who was staying in the dwelling of a Jaina, was also taken to be a Jaina and was beheaded. His head was brought before the king and the latter, having recognized it, was deeply saddened. Having learned that many Buddhist śramaṇas had been confused with the heretics and been put to death with them, he promulgated an edict forbidding the execution of any śramaṇa whatever.

The stratagem to which Aśoka had recourse in order to convert his half-brother is well-known to the whole Buddhist tradition, Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese, but the name of the brother in question varies

according to the sources : Vītaśoka in the *Aśokasūtra* (T 2043, ch. 3,
269 p. 141*b*), the *Divya* (p. 419 sq.) and the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 20, p. 211*a*); Sudatta or Sugātra in the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 2, p. 106*a*), the *Chu yao ching* (T 212, ch. 6, p. 641*a*) and the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 3, p. 39*c*); Mahendra in Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*a*), Tissa-kumāra in the Sinhalese chronicle (*Mahāvaṃsa,* V, 154 sq.).

According to Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 862*a-b*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*a*), when Aśoka's brother, having become an Arhat, had performed the wonders at Pаṭāliputra, he withdrew to a deserted gorge on the Gṛhrakūṭaparvata. Aśoka, however, persuaded him to return to the capital by promising to have a cave constructed for him. To this end, he invited the lesser gods to a festival and advised them each to bring a stone by way of a seat. When the festivity was over, the gods were requested to pile up the stones in such a manner as to build an "empty house". This doubtless explains the title of Ekavihāriya "Solitary dweller" which is applied to Tissa by the Pāli tradition.

With regard to the death of the latter, only the Sanskrit sources claim that he was confused with the Nirgranthas of Puṇḍavardhana and beheaded by Yaksas. According to the Sinhalese chronicle (*Mahāvaṃsa,* V, 241), he merely escaped being executed with his colleagues of the Aśokārāma when Aśoka wanted to punish those monks for not celebrating the uposatha with the heretics who had entered the order surreptitiously.

Avadāna of Kuṇāla (T 2042, ch. 3, pp. 108*a*-110*b*; T 2043, ch. 4, pp. 144*a*-147*c*; *Divya,* pp. 405-19).* — The very night when Aśoka erected his 84,000 stūpas, one of his wives, Padmāvatī, gave birth to a son. The infant's eyes were so lovely that he was called Kuṇāla, after the name of a bird known for the splendour of its gaze. He was also named Dharmavivardhana "Increase of the Law". He grew up and took as wife the princess Kāñcanamālā. The Sthavira Yaśas, abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma, instructed him in the Buddhist religion, and Kuṇāla's piety was beyond all praise. However, the chief queen, Tiṣyarakṣitā, became enamoured of him and made improper proposals to him. He repulsed her indignantly and she sought an occasion to avenge herself.

In the meantime, a rebellion had broken out in Takṣaśilā, and Kuṇāla was given the mission of quelling it. The prince's arrival was enough to restore order, and he remained in Takṣaśilā as governor.

270 Meanwhile, in Pāṭaliputra, Aśoka fell ill. The wicked Tiṣyarakṣitā was the only one who could tend and cure him. As a reward for her services, Aśoka authorized her to rule in his stead for seven days. Tiṣyarakṣitā

immediately drafted an edict and profited from the king's sleep to seal it with the mark of the sovereign's teeth. The edict was sent to Takṣaśilā : it ordered the inhabitants to gouge out Kuṇāla's eyes and banish him. Everyone objected to such a barbarous order. Kuṇāla himself had his eyes gouged out by a caṇḍāla and, far from bearing a grudge against his stepmother, he blessed her inwardly for the opportunity she gave him to practise patience.

With banishment imposed on him, Kuṇāla wandered from town to town, playing the vīna to earn his living. He ended up in Pāṭaliputra, at the gate of his father's palace. Taking shelter in a shed, he played the vīna at day-break. Moved by his voice, Aśoka sent for him and, recognizing his son in that wretched beggar, he fainted. When he had recovered, he embraced his son warmly and asked him who had gouged out his eyes. Kuṇāla considered his misfortune merely as just punishment for some past fault and refused to say who was guilty. The queen denounced herself, and Kuṇāla's intercession was unable to avert the royal wrath : Tiṣyarakṣitā was tortured and burned alive, and the same punishment was inflicted on the inhabitants of Takṣaśilā. According to certain sources, Kuṇāla regained his sight because of his merit.

In many respects the story of Kuṇāla bears so striking a resemblance to other tales, such as the adventures of Phaedra and Hippolytus and especially the Byzantine story of the love-affair between Fausta, the wife of Constantine the Great, and Crispus, the emperor's son, that it is difficult not to establish a connection between the Indian story and the Byzantine tale. Furthermore, the Pāli tradition passes in complete silence over the avadāna of Kuṇāla. Nevertheless, the legend is most solidly established on the mainland. On the north side of a hill situated to the south-east of Takṣaśilā, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 885*a*) saw a hundred-foot high stūpa, erected, it is said, by Aśoka on the spot where his son, Prince Kuṇāla, had had his eyes gouged out through the fault of his stepmother; the blind used to go there to pray, and many recovered their sight. The hill noted by Hsüan tsang is that of Hathiāl, and Kuṇāla's stūpa stood on the eastern fortifications of Takṣaśilā-Sirkap :
271 the site has been described by Sir John Marshall in his monumental work on *Taxila* (Vol. I, p. 348 sq.; III, pl. 86-8). Furthermore, a prose version of the legend of Kuṇāla was incorporated in the *Liu tu chi ching* (T 152, ch. 4, p. 17*c*), translated in the third century by K'ang Sêng kuei, and a version in verse is the subject of Taishō No. 2045, translated in the fourth century by Dharmanandin. Kuṇāla is also mentioned in the *Avadānaśataka* (II, pp. 200-1) and its Chinese version (T 200, ch. 10, p. 256*b*), and his story is narrated in full by Tāranātha (p. 48). Finally,

the Khotanese chronicle claims that functionaries from Takṣaśilā, banished by Aśoka for having blinded his son, settled in Khotan where they came into conflict with Chinese colonists (T 2087, ch. 12, p. 943*a*).

Avanāna of the half Āmalaka (T 2042, ch. 3, pp. 110*b*-111*b*; T 2043, ch. 5, pp. 147*c*-149*b*; T 99, ch. 25, pp. 180*a*-182*a*; *Divya*, pp. 429-34).* — Aśoka, who had always dreamed of distributing up to a hundred *koṭi* of gold to the Saṃgha, realized towards the end of his life that he had still only given ninety-six. On the advice of his minister Rādhagupta, he prepared to complete his liberality. However, Sampadin, Kuṇāla's son and Aśoka's grandson, who was named heir presumptive, took advantage of his grandfather's illness to make off with all he possessed. Nothing remained to Aśoka but a golden dish and a silver dish which he immediately sent to the monks at the Kukkuṭārāma. Finally, the king was given half a myrobalan (*āmalaka*). On his orders, the fruit was taken to Yaśas, the abbot of the monastery and the latter had it grated and put into the monks' soup so that they could all share in the offering. Feeling his end was near, Aśoka made his will and entrusted it to his minister Rādhagupta : he left to the Saṃgha the whole of Jambudvīpa, bordered by the four oceans. After the death of the king, Rādhagupta and his colleagues bought Jambudvīpa back from the community for four *koṭi* of gold and restored it to the their Sampadin.

This last episode, which is unknown to the Sinhalese tradition, was exploited by Kumāralāta in his *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (T 201, ch. 5, pp. 283*a*-284*c*); Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*b*) saw, near the Kukkuṭārāma, the Āmalakastūpa intended to commemorate the episode.

Avadāna of the reward given by Aśoka. — Under this misleading title, the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 7, pp. 128*b*-131*a*) records a dozen
272 unconnected little stories concerning Aśoka, his queens, his ministers and the preachers he welcomed to his palace. They are summarized by J. Przyluski in his *Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka* (pp. 186-91); he found parallels for them in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* or, more precisely, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (T 201), *Avadānaśataka*, *Avadānakalpalatā*, *Tsa p'i yü ching* (T 204), *Tsa pao tsang ching* (T 203) and other similar collections. We can add that some of these stories — such as the tale of the Bhikṣu with Perfumed Breath — are again found in the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 11, p. 144).

Finally, in order not to be too incomplete, we would point out in the *Saṃgharakṣasamuccaya* (T 194, ch. 2, pp. 144*c*-145*b*), a prediction concerning Aśoka, and in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* (T 387, ch. 4, pp. 1097*b*-1098*a*), a panegyric of his queens and ministers.

c. — The Sinhalese chronicle on Aśoka

The Sinhalese chronicle of the *Dīpa* (Dpv.) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Mhv.), possibly completed by the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp.), the *Mahāvaṃsa Commentary* (MT) and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (Mbv.), have the advantage over the *Aśokāvadāna* of presenting the events systematically classified and carefully dated.*

Bindusāra had sixteen queens who gave him a hundred and one sons; the crown prince was named Sumana (the Susīma of the Sanskrit sources). Aśoka was the son of Bindusāra and the aggamahesī Dhammā, a native of Moriyavaṃsa (*MT*, p. 125; *Mbv.*, p. 98); the spiritual adviser to the family at that time was the Ājīvika Janasāna. Aśoka's step-brother was called Tissa; the Sanskrit sources call him Vītaśoka or Sudatta, and Hsüan tsang confuses him with Mahendra, the son of Aśoka.

During his youth, from 203 to 214 after the Nirvāṇa (283-272 B.C.), Aśoka was viceroy in Avanti. Before reaching Ujjenī, the capital of the kingdom, he stopped in Vedisā (present-day Bhīlsa in the district of Gwalior) where he made the acquaintance of a certain Devī, the daughter of a merchant, whom he later wedded. She gave birth in Ujjenī first to Mahinda, born in 204 after the Nirvāṇa (282 B.C.); then, two years later, to Saṃghamittā, born in 206 after the Nirvāṇa (280 B.C.) (*Dpv.*, VI, 20; *Mhv.*, XIII, 8-11). Both children were to enter the order. However, before donning the religious robe, Saṃghamittā was given in
273 marriage to Aggibrahmā, Aśoka's nephew, by whom she had a son, Sumana.

In 214 after the Nirvāṇa (272 B.C.), the date of the death of Bindusāra, Aśoka left Ujjenī and reached Pāṭaliputta. He made himself master of the town and mounted the throne. He killed his hundred brothers, sparing only Tissa, born from the same mother as himself. That massacre earned him undisputed sovereignty over the whole of Jambudvīpa, but also the appellation of Caṇḍāsoka, Asoka the Cruel (*Dpv.*, VI, 21-2; *Mhv.*, V, 20-1, 39-40, 189; *Mbv.*, pp. 98-9; *Sp.*, p. 41).

It was not until he had ruled for four years that in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (268 B.C.) Aśoka received the royal consecration (*abhiṣeka*) with great pomp. He entrusted his step-brother Tissa with the viceroyalty (*Dpv.*, VI, 1; *Mhv.*, V, 21-33; *Sp.*, pp. 41-2). His first wife, Devī, did not follow him to Pātaliputta so he took as queen Asaṃdhimittā who was a devout Buddhist (*Mhv.*, V, 85).

Years 1 to 3 of the consecration (219-221 after the N; 267-265 B.C.). — During the first three years of his reign Aśoka, following his father's example, continued to favour the sixty-two false doctrines and the

ninety-six heretical sects (*pāsaṇḍa*) : Brāhmins, Nigaṇṭhas, Acelakas, etc., and he gave hospitality to 60,000 brāhmins. However, the greed of all these Titthiyas disappointed him (*Dpv.*, VI, 24-30; *Mhv.*, V, 34-6). It was then that, from a window in his palace, he perceived the young śramaṇa Nigrodha who was on his alms-seeking round. This Nigrodha was the king's own nephew, the son of his brother Sumana. When Aśoka had Sumana put to death so that he could assume power, the wife of the latter, who was also named Sumanā, had taken refuge in a caṇḍāla village where she gave birth to a son who was given the name of Nigrodha. The Arhat Mahāvaruṇa had discovered signs of his destiny on the child and had induced him to enter the Buddhist Order; the very day of his ordination, Nigrodha attained Arhatship. He was still only seven years old when Aśoka saw him from his window and summoned to his palace. Nigrodha recited the *Appamādavagga* from the *Dhammapada* to him and the king, profoundly impressed, was converted to Buddhism : he took his refuge in the Three Jewels, and the whole palace was converted after him. From then on, Aśoka stopped his support of the heretics and transferred his favours to Nigrodha and the members of the Saṃgha (*Dpv.*, VI, 34-56; *Mhv.*, V, 41-72; *Sp.*, pp. 46-8).

Year 4 (222 after the N; 264 B.C.). — Having learnt from Moggali-
274 puttatissa, the Vinaya chief, that there were 84,000 articles of the Law, Aśoka decided to build an equal number of Buddhist monuments. At a cost of 96 *koṭis* of gold vihāras were constructed in 84,000 towns of the empire. Aśoka himself founded, on the site of the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputta, a monastery which took the name of Asokārāma. The construction of the vihāras required three years of work (*Dpv.*, VI, 99; *Mhv.*, V, 79, 173). Furthermore, with the help of the Nāga-king Mahākāla, the king erected a life-size statue of the Buddha and paid much homage to it (*Mhv.*, V, 87-94; *Sp.*, p. 43).

The same year Tissakumāra, Aśoka's brother and viceroy, took up the religious life (*Mhv.*, V, 171). Previously he had asked the king why the Buddhist monks were so lacking in joy and gaiety and Aśoka's only answer was to place him on his throne for a week, but with the warning that, once the seven days were over, he would be put to death. Tissa then understood how the Buddhists, aware of the frailty of things human, could not thoughtlessly devote themselves to joy. The prince requested admission to the Asokārāma and there received ordination at the hands of Mahādhammarakkhita. Aggibrahmā, Aśoka's nephew and son-in-law, the husband of Saṃghamittā, followed his example (*Mhv.*, V, 154-72; *Sp.*, pp. 54-6).

Year 6 (224 after the N; 262 B.C.). — The two children Aśoka had by Devī took up the religious life simultaneously; they were respectively twenty and eighteen years old. The upajjhāya of Mahinda was Moggaliputtatissa; the pabbajjā ordination was conferred upon him by the Thera Mahādeva, and Majjhantika uttered the ritual words of the *kammavācā*. Once the ceremony was over, he immediately attained Arhatship. It was the same for his sister Saṃghamittā whose uppajhāyā was the bhikkhuṇī Dhammapālā and whose ācāriyā was Ayupalā (*Dpv.*, VII, 24-6; *Mhv.*, V, 204-11; *Sp.*, pp. 51-2). Aśoka, who until then had only been a *Paccayadāyaka* "Donor of requisites", was promoted to the title of *Sāsanadāyāda* "Benefactor of the religion" to which he had just given his children (*Mhv.*, V, 196-7; *Sp.*, pp. 50-1).

Year 8 (226 after the N., 260 B.C.). — The death of the Theras Tissa and Sumitta. Sons of the kinnarī Kuntī, they were ordained by Mahāvaruna and won Arhatship. Tissa died of a poisonous insect-bite, as there was not enough time to get him the *ghee* which could have saved him. Sumitta met his death while he was devoting himself to meditation in the Caṅkama of the Asokavihāra. Both attained Nirvāṇa (*Dpv.*, VII, 32-3;
275 *Mhv.*, V, 212-27; *Sp.*, p. 52). The king then made arrangements for a plentiful supply of medicines to be given to the Community. His daily revenue amounted to 500,000 pieces of cash : 100,000 were reserved for Nigrodha, 100,000 were spent on offerings of incense and flowers at the Buddhist shrines, 100,000 were given to preachers, 100,000 were distributed to the Saṃgha and, finally, 100,000 were used for the buying of medicaments, placed at the disposal of the public at the four gates of the town (*Sp.*, p. 52).

Year 10 (228 after the N., 258 B.C.). — Its continually increasing revenue attracted into the Order a great number of heretics who, from pure greed, donned the yellow robe of the Buddhist monk and mingled with the bhikkhus. They taught their own doctrines as being those of the Buddha (*Mhv.*, V, 228-30). At that time, Mahinda, who had been ordained for four years, had completed his cycle of studies under the direction of Moggaliputtatissa : he knew the Basket of the Suttas by heart, just as it had been compiled at the first two councils; he was versed in the three knowledges, the six supernormal powers and the four analytical doctrines. In brief, he was a past master of the writings (*Dpv.*, VII, 27-30). However, Moggaliputta, alarmed by the growing success of the heresy, decided to go into retreat and, after having entrusted the leadership of the bhikkhus to his pupil Mahinda, he withdrew for seven years to Mount Ahogaṅga on the upper Ganges (*Mhv.*, V, 231-3).

During his absence, the unruliness of the heretics continued to

increase : Paṇḍarangas, Jaṭilas, Nigaṇṭhas, Acelikas and Ājīvikas, scattered throughout all the vihāras, were destroying the doctrine of the Buddha. The uposatha and pavāraṇā ceremonies were being celebrated by incomplete assemblies, since the bhikkhus refused to take part in them (*Dpv.*, VII, 34-8; *Mhv.*, V, 234-5; *Sp.*, p. 53).

Year 17 (235 after the N., 251 B.C.). — In order to put an end to this schism, Aśoka called upon all the monks of the Asokārāma, 60,000 members in all, to celebrate a joint uposatha. A minister was despatched to the monastery to see that this order was carried out, but the theras obstinately refused to join the heretics. The minister, showing more zeal than enlightenment, undertook to behead them one by one. However, when the monk Tissa, the king's step-brother, presented himself for the fatal blow, the minister interrupted the execution and submitted the matter to the king. The latter, deploring the fact that his orders had been so misinterpreted, was seized with remorse and wondered whether it was
276 himself, or his minister who was responsible for the massacre. He consulted the bhikkhus, but opinions were divided. He was referred to the Thera Moggaliputta, who was still in retreat on the Ahogaṅga. Three embassies were sent to him, and the Thera ceded only to the entreaties of the third and went to Pāṭaliputta by raft. Aśoka welcomed him on his arrival and extended his right hand to him to help him disembark. Moggaliputta was received in the Rativaḍḍhana garden where he caused an earthquake and appeased the king's remorse over the massacre of the monks : "There is no guilt without wrong intent", and in connection with that he recited the *Tittirajātaka* (*Dpv.*, VII, 44-9; *Mhv.*, V, 234-64; *Sp.*, pp. 53-4; 56-60).

Year 18 (236 after the N., 250 B.C.). — It was in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa that, according to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VII, 37, 44), Aśoka convened the third Buddhist council at the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta. However, in the words of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (V, 280), this council took place in the 17th and not 18th year of the reign. The council continued for nine months, after which Moggaliputtatissa, who had presided over it, sent teams of missionaries to the various regions of India as well as to Ceylon. This council and the missions which followed it will later be the subject of a detailed exposition.

In 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), Devānaṃpiyatissa, the sixth of his lineage, mounted the throne of Anurādhapura (*Dpv.*, XI, 14; XVII, 78; *Mhv.*, XI, 40). The start of his reign was marked by important events which were to result in the conversion to Buddhism of the island of Ceylon.

Year 26 (244 after the N., 242 B.C.). — The death of Moggaliputta-

tissa who had been ordained in the year 164 after the Nirvāṇa (322 B.C.) and had acted as Vinaya Chief since 176 after the Nirvāṇa (310 B.C.). Cf. *Dpv.*, V, 69, 81, 95, 96, 102, 107.

Year 29 (247 after the N., 239 B.C.). — The death of Queen Asaṃdhimittā, a devout believer (*Mhv.*, XX, 2).

Year 32 (250 after the N.; 236 B.C.). — Aśoka raised the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen (*Mhv.*, XX, 3).

Year 34 (252 after the N.; 234 B.C.). — Jealous of the attention which Aśoka was paying to the Bodhi tree, the proud Tissarakkhā attempted to destroy the Bodhivṛkṣa with poisonous thorns (*Mhv.*, XX, 4-5).

Year 37 (255 after the N.; 231 B.C.). — The death of Aśoka (*Mhv.*, XX, 6).

277 d. — A Comparison between the Edicts and the Buddhist sources*

All the sources concerning Aśoka agree that the emperor was an exceptionally generous sovereign and a convinced Buddhist. According to the edicts, he propagated a Dharma, quite different from the Good Law, in which he merely defined the great principles of natural Law; he was an impartial sovereign, and favoured all the sects equally until the end of his life. Having been converted to Buddhism after the conquest of Kaliṅga, he proved his piety by increased zeal for the Dharma, pious tours, pilgrimages to Bodh-Gayā, Lumbinī and the Kaunakamuni stūpa. When he interfered in the affairs of the Saṃgha it was only in order to recommend the reading of certain texts and to reduce the instigators of a schism to lay status.

In contrast, in the Buddhist sources Aśoka appears as the official protector of the Saṃgha. The *Aśokāvadāna* explains the emperor's attitude by the Jātaka of the gift of earth and a prediction made by the Buddha Śākyamuni. However, the emperor's youth hardly predisposed him to piety : as viceroy, he had to quell the rebellions at Takṣaśilā and Khaśa, or to govern Avanti. On the death of his father, he seized the throne by violent means and, once in power, put to death his brothers, concubines and ministers. Only his step-brother, Vītaśoka or Tissa, escaped his wrath. The construction of a prison modelled on the Buddhist hells is patent proof of his cruelty. On the other hand, during the early years of his reign he favoured brāhmins and heretics.

The Buddhists do not attribute Aśoka's conversion to the remorse he felt after the massacre of Kaliṅga, but to his meeting with a young monk, Samudra or Nigrodha, who was related to him. Having become an upāsaka, the emperor showed himself to be a supporter of the Saṃgha, as generous as he was intolerant.

The new convert's zeal was manifested in three ways : the construction of Buddhist monuments, pilgrimages to the holy places and, finally, the taking up of the religious life by members of his family.

The *Aśokāvadāna* concurs with the Pāli chronicle in attributing to Aśoka the erection of 84,000 stūpas, duplicated by as many vihāras, as well as the celebration of several Pañcavarṣas. The most famous vihāra was that in Pāṭaliputra, the Kukkuṭārāma, also called Aśokārāma after the name of its founder. The *Aśokāvadāna* declares that its abbot was the Venerable Yaśas, but the Pāli chronicle says he was the Vinaya chief,
278 Moggaliputtatissa, soon to be assisted by Mahinda, the king's own son.

In conformity with the edicts, the *Aśokāvadāna* attaches great importance to the visits paid to the holy places by Aśoka under the guidance of the Venerable Upagupta. According to this source, Upagupta was based at the Naṭabhaṭa monastery on Mount Urumuṇḍa in Mathurā, and had no connection with the Aśokārāma. However, several features of his story link him with the Moggaliputtatissa of the Pāli sources, that same Moggaliputta who presided over the fortunes of the Kukkuṭārāma, but then withdrew for seven years to the Ahogaṅga, a hill near Mathurā, and who in the end met the emperor in Pāṭaliputra by using a raft, as did Upagupta, to descend the river Ganges[79].

Concerning those in the king's entourage who were ordained, the *Aśokāvadāna* mentions only his step-brother, Vītaśoka, in Pāli Tissa. The Buddhist sources concur in recounting the stratagem to which the king resorted in order to convert him, his taking up of the religious life and, finally, his experience with the royal officials : he is thought to have been confused with the Nirgranthas of Puṇḍavardhana and executed by Yakṣas, or else he was beheaded by the minister entrusted with restoring harmony among the recalcitrant bhikkhus of the Aśokārāma. The Sinhalese chronicle, while also recording the story of this step-brother, attaches much more importance to the religious calling of Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, respectively the son and daughter of Aśoka. It is to them that it attributes the conversion of the island of Ceylon. Conversely, the chronicle is wholly unaware of the story of Kuṇāla, the missionary at Takṣaśilā, to whom the *Aśokāvadāna* devotes a long chapter.

Both traditions know of the treacherous Tisyaraksitā's attempt on the Bodhi tree, but the *Aśokāvādāna* alone records the unfortunate end of Aśoka who was reduced by Sampadin to a bare living and had nothing to offer the Saṃgha but half a myrobalan.

[79] On Upagupta-Moggaliputta, see L.A. WADDELL, *Upagupta, the fourth Buddhist Patriarch and High Priest of Aśoka*, JASB, 1897; *Identity of Upagupta... with Moggaliputta Tissa*, Proc. ASB, 1899; J. PRZYLUSKI, *Légende...*, p. 112.

According to the Sinhalese chronicle, the year 17 or 18 of the reign was marked by two events of extreme importance : the council of Pāṭaliputra and the sending out of Buddhist missionaries by Moggali-
279 putta. The *Aśokāvadāna* and related sources do not mention them at all. However, other Sanskrit sources, of Kaśmīrian origin, record that, in the year 16 of his reign, Aśoka intervened in the internal affairs of the Saṃgha, and that this intervention resulted in splitting the community into rival groups, the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas.

It is difficult to decide on the respective value of the two Buddhist traditions. Both try to satisfy the reader's taste for the wondrous and the sensational. The *Aśokāvadāna* abounds in racy anecdotes and childish stories, which are, however based on the evidence of the whole continental tradition and which were expressed in literature and art. The Sinhalese tradition is more systematic and provides exact dates, but is only valid for Ceylon : it was unknown to or neglected by writers on the mainland. Furthermore, the titles of the suttas and jātakas uttered by the monks and missionaries whom it presents (cf. *Dpv.*, VI, 52; VII, 43, 56; VIII, 5 sq.; *Mhv.*, V, 68, 264, 278; XII, 26, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 41, 51), presuppose the complete and final codification of the Pāli canon in its present form, and such a codification — as we have seen earlier — could not have been undertaken before the fifth century A.D., at the time of Buddhaghosa. It does indeed seem that the Sinhalese records concerning Aśoka were revised and brought up to date at a later period when the Pāli canon was definitively settled. However, its collators may well have made use of earlier documents.

e. — Aśoka and Kaśmīr

Kalhaṇa who, in the twelfth century, compiled the Kaśmīrian chronicle of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* links Aśoka to the ancient royal lineage and gives as his great-grandfather a certain Śakuni, unknown elsewhere. However, he is not unaware that Aśoka was a devout adherent of the Buddha's doctrine and even attributes to him the founding of a large number of stūpas and vihāras in the region of Śuṣkaletra and Vitastrāta (*Rājat.*, I, 102-3). So far, no trace of these have been found, but it should be noted that Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*a*) had also recorded the existence in Kaśmīr of four Aśokan stūpas, each containing a bushel of relics.

Still according to Kalhaṇa (I, 104-7), the foundation of Śrīnagarī on the site of the present-day village of Pāndreṭhan could be traced back to Aśoka. His Buddhist convictions did not prevent him in the least from

280 showing his respect for Śivaism : he replaced the old enclosure of the Vijayeśvara shrine at Vijabron by a stone wall and enriched the sanctuary with two new temples which received the name of Aśokeśvara; he made a pilgrimage to the holy Mount Haramukuṭa where he gained the favour of Śiva Bhūteśa : the god granted him a son, Jalauka, who was destined to fight the Mlecchas who threatened the frontiers of the kingdom.

In the Kaśmīrian chronicle, Jalauka is presented as a popular hero : he repulsed the Mlecchas, undertook vast conquests, introduced new colonies into Kaśmīr and for the first time organized a complete system of administration. Having been instructed in the Śivaite religion by the holy Avadhūta, the "destroyer of Buddhist theoreticians", he became the official protector of the sanctuaries of Śiva Vijayeśvara and Nandīśa. However, after opposing Buddhism, he adopted a more friendly attitude thanks to the intervention of a Buddhist enchantress, in memory of whom he built the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra (*Rājat.*, I, 108-52).

If there is any historical truth in this tradition, it seems to be submerged under a spate of anachronisms.

f. — Aśoka and Nepal[80]

We have already seen, from the evidence of the *Aśokāvadāna*, how in his youth the emperor had had to quell an uprising in Khaśa. The historian Tāranātha (p. 27) states that the rebellious movement extended to the hill-people of Nepal : the young prince easily mastered them and instituted taxes and tributes. The edicts of Rummindei and Nigālī Sāgar prove that Nepal formed part of the imperial states, and that Aśoka went there in person to pay homage to the birthplace of the Buddha and the stūpa of Kaunakamuni. The Nepalese tradition adds that the pilgrimage made by Aśoka went as far as Nepal, that the king founded the town of Patan, two miles to the south-east of Kathmandu, and built five caityas, one in the centre and four on the periphery of the new city.
281 The first still exists today : it is a stūpa of an archaic type. On this journey, Aśoka was probably accompanied by his daughter Cārumatī, who was to marry a Nepalese kṣatriya named Devapāla. The young couple settled in Nepal, where they founded the town of Deopatan;

[80] We have merely reproduced here the information supplied by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905-08, Vol. I, pp. 67, 223; II, pp. 24, 336; III, p. 161 sq.; *Cambridge History*, pp. 501-2; N. Sastri, *Age of the Nandas*, p. 221. However, the two scientific expeditions led by G. Tucci will shortly add to our knowledge on the subject. In the interim, see G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on two scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Rome, 1956.

towards the end of her life, Cārumatī retired to a vihāra which she had built to the north of the city and which still bears her name : the Vihāra of Chabahil. Tradition still links Aśoka with the famous shrine of the primordial Buddha Svayambhunātha, located in Western Nepal.

g. — Aśoka and Khotan[81]

Some sources which go no further back than the seventh century A.D. attribute to Aśoka or his sons the founding of the kingdom of Khotan in Central Asia. It is unlikely, however, that the Mauryan empire extended beyond India itself.

The most reasonable version of the legend is recorded by Hsüan tsang in his *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 12, p. 943*a-b*) : Aśoka banished from his empire the officials of Takṣaśilā who, carrying out the orders of the cruel Tiṣyarakṣitā, had blinded his son Kuṇāla. The exiles crossed the Snow Mountains and settled in a desert which covered the western part of Khotan. At the same period, a Chinese prince, who was also in exile, occupied the eastern part of Khotan. The two colonies came to blows; the leader of the Taxilians was vanquished and forced to flee, but he was captured and finally beheaded. The Chinese prince occupied the central portion of the kingdom, which extended between the two colonies — Chinese and Indian —, and established his capital there.

The *Life of Hsüan tsang* (T 2053, ch. 5, p. 251*a*) records these events in a somewhat different way : it is Kuṇāla himself, Aśoka's son, who
282 was banished and withdrew to Khotan where he set up his capital. Since he had no descendants, he went to the temple of the god Vaiśravaṇa and asked him for a son. A male child emerged from the god's brow and, having no mother, was fed from a breast which issued miraculously from the ground near the temple. Hence the name of Kustana (*stana* "breast") given to the child.

The Buddhist prophecy in the *Gośṛṅgavyākaraṇa*[82], compiled about

[81] On the history of Khotan, A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907; S. Konow, *Khotan Studies*, JRAS, 1914, p. 233 sq. More recently, H.C. Seth, *Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire*, IHQ, XIII, 1937, p. 400; *The Kingdom of Khotan under the Mauryas*, IHQ, XV, 1939, pp. 389-402; P.C. Bagchi, *Indian Culture in Central Asia*, JBORS, XXXII, 1946, pp. 9-20. — J. Brough, *Legends of Khotan and Nepal*, BSOAS, XII, 1948, pp. 333-9, notes the kinship of the Buddhist traditions concerning the origins of Khotan and Nepal. It seems that certain legendary facts, not easily explicable if of Nepalese origin, would be much more explicable if they were of Khotanese origin and later transferred to Nepal.

[82] Translated and commented upon by F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, I, London, 1935, pp. 11-36.

the seventh century, tells how a king of China had asked Vaiśravaṇa for a son and the god brought him an Indian boy who was none other than Aśoka's son. A breast which appeared miraculously from the ground fed the child who took the name of "Breast of the Earth — Breast of the Mother" (*Sa-las-nu-ma-nu*), a periphrase which serves to translate Kustana. His adoptive father named him king of Khotan. He went to occupy his territory with the Lord Chancellor Hjaṅ-śo (Yaśas) and several Chinese army units. The Chinese were soon joined by a numerous Indian tribe coming from the western region. An agreement was reached between the two colonies over the communal use of water and, throughout the territory, Hjaṅ-śo established Chinese and Indian towns and villages.

The Tibetan chronicle of the *Li-yul*[83] supplies date and details : it locates Aśoka's accession in 184 after the Nirvāṇa (302 B.C.), the birth of Kustana in 215-6 after the Nirvāṇa (271-72 B.C.), his accession in 234-5 after the Nirvāṇa (252-51 B.C.) and the death of Aśoka in 239-40 after the Nirvāṇa (247-46 B.C.). The Indian king Dharmāśoka, who was converted to Buddhism by his "spiritual friend" the Arhat Yaśas, went one day to Khotan. It was there that his wife, fertilized by an apparition of the god Vaiśravaṇa, gave birth to a male child. Aśoka, fearing he might be dethroned by that son, abandoned him on the spot, but the child was fed from a breast which came out of the ground, and his name was Kustana. At that time, a Chinese king (Shih huang ti?) who had as yet only 999 sons, asked Vaiśravaṇa for a thousandth one. The god gave Kustana to him, and the king welcomed him among his own. Once he had grown up, the adopted son quarrelled with his brothers and father and returned to Khotan, his native country, with ten thousand Chinese
283 colonists. Yaśas, Aśoka's minister, who had become insufferable at the Indian court, also went to Khotan with seven thousand men. There he came up against Kustana and the Chinese. After some frictions which were appeased by the god Vaiśravaṇa, an agreement was reached : the Chinese occupied Skam-śed to the east of the rivers; the Indians settled in Koṅ-śed to the west of the rivers; the centre of the country was exploited jointly by both colonies.

If there is the slightest element of truth in the Khotanese legend, it concerns the establishment of an early Indian colony in Khotan. Some documents in Prākrit of the North-West and in Kharoṣṭhī script, the oldest of which date back to the third century B.C., have been discovered in the southern part of the Tarim Basin, mainly at Niya and Endere.

[83] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 89-136.

They deal with affairs of public administration and private life, and the persons who signed them have Indian names — such as Bhima, Baṅgusena, Nandasena, Śamasena, Śitaka, Upajīva — or they are adapted from Indian, such as Aṅgacha, Kuṣanasena, etc. These documents prove that one or several Indian colonies came and settled in Khotan during the last centuries B.C. and spoke a dialect linguistically related to Prākrit of the North-West (Taxila).

5th — The last Mauryas

The Indian empire, conquered after a hard-fought struggle by Candragupta, politically organized by Cāṇakya, and spiritually unified by Aśoka, fell into a decline on the death of the latter. By favouring the sects in general and Buddhism in particular, the pious emperor possibly alienated the sympathy of the brāhmins, the traditional supporters of the throne. The doctrine of Ahiṃśa or Non-Violence, which was strictly enforced after the conquest of Kaliṅga, had perhaps avoided bloody wars, but it also contributed to the weakening of military power in the empire and deprived the central authorities of an indispensable instrument of domination. In reality, the Mauryan empire began to disintegrate and then collapsed under the very weight of its size, a victim of the centrifugal forces which brought pressure on it, palace intrigues, communication difficulties, the greed of local governors and autonomist movements instigated by their exactions. Its final disintegration was the result of Greek invasions and a military revolt.

The last Mauryas are known from the Purāṇic and Buddhist lists
284 reproduced above (pp. 216-218). There are too many of them for the space of 49 years assigned to their reigns. It is probable that several of them ruled simultaneously over different provinces of the empire.

The legend woven around Kuṇāla situates him in North-West India, in Takṣaśilā, possibly even Khotan.

Although he is unknown to the Buddhist and Jaina sources, the Daśaratha of the Purāṇic list left three short dedicatory inscriptions (LÜDERS, 954-6) which commemorate the gift of the Vahiyakā, Gopikā and Vaḍathikā caves to the Venerable Ājīvikas "by the beloved of the gods (*devānaṃpiya*) Daṣalatha". They are to be found on the Nāgārjunī Hill near the Barābar caves which Aśoka presented to the same sect.

In the *Aśokāvadāna*, reference has already been made to Sampadin or Sampati, grandson of Aśoka and son of Kuṇāla. He opposed the foolish expenditure of his ageing grandfather and held him in thrall before inheriting the throne when it was bought back from the Saṃgha by

Aśoka's ministers. The Jaina sources (*Pāṭaliputrakalpa* by Jinaprabhasuri) also refer to him as Aśoka's immediate successor; he ruled in Pāṭaliputra and, after his conversion to Jainism under the influence of Suhastin, "he established vihāras for the (Jaina) Śramaṇas as far away as non-Āryan countries".

Śāliśūka, his successor according to the *Purāṇa*, is mentioned in the *Yogapurāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṃhitā* (vv. 89-93) : "In pleasant Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra), Śāliśūka will reign. That king, the son of his deeds, wicked and pugnacious, will oppress his kingdom : he based his authority on the Dharma, being himself irreligious... And that madman will establish the supposed Victory of the Law". The text is corrupt and the passage obscure but, if we have understood it correctly, the author, from the viewpoint of his brāhmanic orthodoxy, is reproaching Śāliśūka for a triumph of the Law which would have made him an emulator of his great ancestor.

Should the Vṛṣasena of the Buddhist list or the Vīrasena of Tāranātha be identified with the Sophagasenus (Skt. Subhāgasena) who, in approximately the year 206, was to make way for Antiochus III the Great, after a long war which the latter waged against Euthydemus of Magnesia, the king of Bactria? According to Polybius (XI, 34, 11-12), once the hostilities were over, Antiochus "having crossed the Caucasus (Hindūkush) and having entered Indian territory, renewed his friendship with
285 King Sophagasenus. He received elephants from him, so that in all he had one hundred and fifty and, after having supplied his troops with wheat, he returned with his army; however, he left behind Androsthenes of Cyzicus to bring back the treasure which had been granted to him by the king".

As will be seen further on, Bṛhadratha, the last of the line, was killed during a military parade by his commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra; however, the Buddhist sources are wrong in identifying the latter as a member of the Maurya family. The fall of the empire did not completely extinguish the lineage : there was still a Pūrṇavarman in Magadha, some Mauryan princes in Koṅkan, a Dhavala in Rājputana, a Govindarāja in Khandesh and the memory of the Mauryas endured in Karṇāṭaka until the eleventh century[84].

2. — THE GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA

Bactria from 325 to 250 B.C.[85]. — From the year 325 B.C. onwards, the Greek military colonists who had been settled in Bactria by

[84] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, p. 353; N. Sastri, *Age of the Nandas*..., p. 248.
[85] Besides general works, see particularly, W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

Alexander, rebelled; they separated from the Macedonians and, 3,000 in number, strove to return to their native land (Diodorus, XVII, 99, 5-6). They occupied the citadel of Bactra and their leader, Athenodorus, even assumed the title of king, less through greed for power than a desire to bring back to Greece those who acknowledged his authority. One of his compatriots, Biton, who was jealous of him, had him assassinated during a feast by the Bactrian Boxus. However, the rebels would not acknowledge Biton as king and were about to slay him (Quintus Curtius, IX, 7, 3-4). He returned to his country, but the majority of the colonists were still in the higher satrapies when Alexander's empire was shared out by Perdiccas in 323, a partition which confirmed Philippus as satrap of Bactria (Diodorus, XVIII, 3, 3).

However, the rebellious movement spread. The mercenaries chose the Aenean Philo as their general and built up an army of 20,000 infantry-
286 men and 3,000 cavalrymen who had all taken part in warfare and were noted for their bravery. In order to subdue them, Perdiccas withdrew 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry from the Macedonian army, and put the contingent in charge of General Peithon, the satrap of Media. The latter easily defeated the rebels. He would have liked to spare them, but his soldiers, obeying the orders of Perdiccas, were pitiless and massacred the vanquished taking them unawares. Peithon, frustrated in his wishes, could only take his Macedonians back to Perdiccas (Diodorus, XVIII, 7, 1-9).

Nevertheless, the Greek element did not disappear from Bactria. At the partition of Triparadisus in 321, the satrapy passed, together with Sogdiana, into the hands of Stasanor of Soloi (Diodorus, XVIII, 39, 6). The latter, with his colleagues from the higher satrapies, embraced the cause of Eumenes in his battle against Antigonus : including troops supplied by Stasandrus, satrap of Aria and Drangiana, the Bactrian contingent consisted of 1,500 infantry and 1,000 cavalry (Diodorus, XIX, 14, 7). However after the indecisive battles waged in Paraecene and Gabiene, Eumenes was delivered to Antigonus by his argyraspides and strangled in his prison (316); the satraps then disbanded and each of them thought nothing but his own safety. Stasanor of Soloi returned to Bactria, his possession of which was officially confirmed by Antigonus (Diodorus, XIX, 48, 1).

During the final partition of Alexander's empire, Iran, as we know, fell to the Seleucids. From then on, the higher satrapies revolved in the

2nd ed., Cambridge, 1950, pp. 71-128; A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, I, Paris, 1943; F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, I, Halle, 1947, p. 286.*

orbit of the court of Antioch, in the reigns of Seleucus I Nicator (312-280) and Antiochus I Soter (280-261). They were to break away, at least in part, in the reign of Antiochus II Theos (261-247). This prince, engaged in the West during the second Syrian war (260-255) and allied with Macedonia, retook from the Egypt of the Ptolemies, the coast of Asia Minor and fortified towns in Coele-Syria. His second marriage (252) to Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II, and the repudiation of his wife and cousin Laodice involved the empire in a difficult problem of succession which, together with the external wars, enabled Bactria and Parthia to proclaim their independance.

Diodotus I, King of Bactria (ca 250-235 B.C.). — Taking advantage of the troubles which had broken out in the trans-Taurian region
287 subsequent to the lack of attention which the kings of Syria and Media, too busy elsewhere, could give to that remote part of their states, the leaders to whom those possessions had been entrusted roused Bactria and the whole adjacent region" (Strabo, XI, 9, 2). This defection took place in 250 B.C. "under the consulate of L. Manlius Vulso and M. Attilus Regulus". The satrap of Bactria and Margiana at the time was Diodotus, designated by Justin by the name of Theodotus : "Theodotus, the governor of a thousand towns in Bactria, defected and assumed the title of king" (Justin, XLI, 4, 5).

"The Scythian Arsaces, in turn, followed by a band of Dahae nomads, called Dahae Parni, who lived along the Ochus (Hēri-rūd), attacked and seized Parthia" (Strabo, XI, 9, 2). Justin states that, at the time, Parthia was governed by a certain Andragoras, some of whose coins have been found; Andragoras was killed, and Arsaces became ruler of the nation (Justin, XLI, 4, 6-7).

It is generally believed that Arsaces was a Scythian, although "some authors claim that he was a native of Bactria and that it was because he was not able to hold out against the increased power of Diodotus that he fled to Parthia and incited it to revolt" (Strabo, XI, 9, 3). Arrian gives the Arsacids, Arsaces and Tiridates, as the sons of Phriapita and grandsons of Arsaces (*Parthica*, fr. 1); Syncellius has them descend from the Achaemenid Artaxerxes II, king of the Persians (Syncell, p. 284*b*). According to these two authors, Parthia, at the time of the revolt, was governed by the Macedonian Pherecles or Agathocles, appointed satrap by Antiochus II Theos; this governor made an indecent attack on Tiridates' person, so the two brothers instigated a plot and killed him. The same fact is recorded by Zosimus (I, 18). Arsaces I ruled for two years (250-248); Antiochus II did not dispute his conquest, any more than he had troubled Diodotus I.

Tiridates succeeded his brother under the name of Arsaces II, and reigned from 248 to 214. The Parthian era begins on April 14th 247, a date which has been established by a Babylonian tablet which gives both dates, Seleucid and Parthian.

In Syria, Antiochus II Theos, poisoned by Laodice, the wife he repudiated, left two children : Seleucus II Callinicus and Antiochus Heirax. Seleucus II ruled from 247 to 226. He spent his life on
288 campaigns. During the third Syrian war (246-241), his kingdom was invaded as far as the Tigris by Ptolemy III and he had only just repulsed this invasion when he had to engage his own brother, Antiochus Heirax, in implacable warfare which cut off his states in Asia Minor to the north of the Taurus (before 236).

In the meantime, Tiridates, promoted to the title of King and Great King in Parthia, had seized Hyrcania without any opposition and so was ruler of two kingdoms. It was only in 236 that the legitimate sovereign, Seleucus II, considered disputing his conquest. He allied himself with another rebel, Diodotus I, the king of Bactria and marched against Tiridates. Faced with this danger, the latter "raised a great army because he feared Seleucus and Diodotus, king of Bactria" (Justin, XLI, 4, 8).

DIODOTUS II (ca 235-225 B.C.). — The Bactro-Syrian coalition had made Arsaces II Tiridates fear-stricken : following the example given in the past by Bessus and Spitamenes, he took refuge with the Scythians, his compatriots : "Fleeing from Seleucus II Callinicus, he withdrew to the land of the Apasiacae (of the Massagetae race on the Middle Oxus)" (Strabo, XI, 8, 8). However, before hostilities began, Diodotus I died and was replaced by his son Diodotus II. The latter immediately broke off the alliances and, parting definitively from the court of Antioch, embraced the Parthians' cause. Thus it was that Tiridates "freed from anxiety by the death of Diodotus (I), made peace and allied himself with that prince's son also named Diodotus (II); shortly afterwards, he came to blows with Seleucus who came to punish the rebels and he was the victor" (Justin, XLI, 4, 9). Now that he was the uncontested ruler of Bactria, Diodotus II struck staters of gold and tetradrachms of copper with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ : the obverse represented the profile of the prince as a young man; the reverse, a standing Zeus, throwing a thunderbolt.

EUTHYDEMUS OF MAGNESIA (ca 225-190 B.C.). — The Diodotus lineage was overthrown by a certain Euthydemus of Magnesia, who later boasted to the Seleucids that he had put to death the descendants of the rebels (Polybius, XI, 34, 2). Whether or not he acted at the

instigation of the Antioch court, he ruled in Bactria with the name of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ, and struck coins representing on the reverse, no longer the Diodotus Zeus, but Heracles, sitting on a rock and holding a club in his right hand.

289 Euthydemus came up against a powerful opponent in the person of Antiochus III the Great. The latter, the son of Seleucus II who had died in 226, succeeded his elder brother Seleucus II Soter in 223, and immediately took steps to restore his kingdom. His attempt to reconquer Ptolemaic Syria and Palestine failed at the Egyptian victory of Raphia which ended the fourth Syrian war (219-216). He was more fortunate in Upper Asia where, from 212 to 204, he undertook an armed circuit comparable to the Anabasis of Alexander. With one hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry, he traversed Southern Armenia, Sophene, the dynasty of which submitted; he then dealt with Arsaces III Artaban, king of the Parthians (214-196); finally he proceeded to attack Bactria (208).

According to Polybius (X, 49), Antiochus III entered the district of Tapuria (Tapuri on the Upper Atrek) which was defended by Euthydemus, crossed the river Arius (Hēri-rūd) by surprise, and put to flight the ten thousand Bactrian cavalrymen who were responsible for its defence. Fear-sticken, Euthydemus withdrew with his army to the town of Zariaspa in Bactria where Antiochus came and besieged him (Polybius, XXIX, 6A, 5). Hostilities continued for two years (208-206), while Scythian hordes were a dangerous threat to the northern frontiers of the kingdom. This peril was skilfully exploited for Antiochus by Teleas, kinsman of Euthydemus, who pointed out the dangers which a fratricide battle between the Seleucids and the Greek king of Bactria would hold for the cause of Hellenism. Euthydemus, far from defecting, had killed the descendants of the rebel Diodotus, and it was wrong of Antiochus to try and dethrone him. The Bactrian king wished for peace and only asked to retain his title. A refusal would benefit only the nomad Scythians, who were ready to invade the country (Polybius, XI, 34, 1-5).

The plea of Teleas was heard. Only too happy to end the war which was dragging on, Antiochus agreed to deal with Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, who had been sent to him to conclude peace : "Having received him with favour, and judging the young man to be worthy of ruling, as much because of his good looks as the majesty of his address, Antiochus promised him the hand of one of his daughters, and granted his father Euthydemus the title of king. Having settled the other points with a written agreement and concluded a sworn alliance, he struck camp after having copiously revictualled his army and taking with him

290 all the elephants which had belonged to Euthydemus" (Polybius, XI, 34, 9-10).

Instead of returning to his country by the direct route, Antiochus, as we have seen, crossed the Hindūkush and entered Indian territory. He renewed with the Maurya Subhāgasena the treaty which had been concluded formerly between Seleucus I and the emperor Candragupta, not without imposing on the Indian king a heavy war tax. Finally, he returned to Syria across Arachosia, Drangiana and Carmania.

Strengthened by the alliance concluded with the Seleucid, and making the most of the weakness of the last representative of the Mauryas in the North-West, Euthydemus and his son Demetrius extended their kingdom towards the north-west, at the expense of the Arsacids, and to the south-east to the detriment of the Indians. Euthydemus seems to have asserted his authority over Arachosia and the regions located to the west of the Indus. His coinage is wide-spread, and the variety of the monograms indicates the existence of many mints. The places where the coins were found suggest an extensive domain, and the variations of his effigy, going from youth to old age, bear witness to a long reign. It is believed that he died about the year 190. The weakening of the Seleucid empire by the defeats at Thermopylae, Magnesia under Sipylos and Corycus, the shameful peace of Apamea (188), soon followed by the death of Antiochus III (187), the collapse of the Mauryan empire after the assassination of Daśaratha (ca 187), made Bactria the most powerful state of eastern Iran. Demetrius was able to take advantage of the circumstances to carve out an Indian empire for himself.

Greek through its dynasts, Bactria had remained Iranian in its beliefs and way of life : "Formerly", says Strabo, "there was hardly any difference, between the Nomads on the one hand, and the Sogdians and Bactrians on the other with regard to their way of life and all their manners and customs" (Strabo, XI, 11, 3). Homeland of Zoroastrianism, Bactria remained faithful to the cult of Fire and Anaitis, goddess of the Oxus, who, with her crown of rays, appears on the coins of Demetrius. According to Onesicritus, the Bactrians who reached old-age or who fell sick were thrown alive to "entomber-dogs"; the Tapurian males wore black and had long hair, and the bravest had the right to marry the woman of their choice; the Caspians left septuagenarians to die of hunger and exposed their bodies in the desert, where they were
291 devoured by birds of prey. For a long time, Bactria was to remain faithful to her ancestral customs and force all her conquerors to become Iranized to a considerable degree. It was only after the Kuṣāṇa period that she was to become accessible to Buddhist propaganda, whatever the

efforts made by the missionaries may have been up till then. Ceylon on the contrary, if the tradition can be believed, embraced the Good Law in the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa, a contemporary of Aśoka.

3. — CEYLON FROM 250 TO 200 B.C.*

While Aśoka and the last Mauryas occupied the throne of Magadha, two kings reigned in Ceylon whose names and dates are supplied to us by the chronicles :

Sovereign	Length of reign	Era of the Nirv.	Ancient Era (B.C.)
6. Devānaṃpiyatissa	40	236-276	250-210
7. Uttiya	10	276-286	210-200

The event of greatest importance was the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon and the establishment of communities of bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs which, under the protection of the kings, were able to develop freely.

As we saw earlier, it was in about the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign (256-255 B.C.) that Aśoka boasted in his edicts (BLOCH, pp. 93, 130) that he had made the Law victorious in foreign lands, in the kingdoms of South India and, in particular, Tāmraparṇī or Ceylon. His envoys who, we should remember, were not Buddhist propagandists, no doubt arrived on the island towards the end of the reign of the fifth sovereign Muṭasiva, who gave them a warm welcome. Five or six years later, Muṭasiva died and the throne passed to his second son Devānaṃpiya.

DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA (236-276 after the Nirvāṇa, 250-210 B.C.). — The history of his reign, which lasted for forty years, is narrated in detail in the chronicles of the *Dīpa* (XI, 14 sq.; XII, 7; XVII, 92) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XI, XIII-XX). Here, we will merely record its main facts.

The day of his first coronation was marked by the miraculous appearance of wonderful treasures. The king decided to send part of
292 them to the emperor Aśoka, with whom he was on friendly terms. An embassy, led by Mahāriṭṭha, the king's nephew, was entrusted with conveying them to Pāṭaliputra. Aśoka, who had just initiated the third Buddhist council, graciously received the gifts which were made to him. He sent the embassy back to Ceylon with the material needed for a second coronation. At the same time, he sent a pressing invitation to Devānaṃpiyatissa to embrace the Buddha's religion : "I have taken,

my refuge", he wrote to the king, "in the Buddha, the Law and the Community; I have proclaimed myself to be a lay disciple in the religion of the Sons of the Śākya; it is your turn, O best of men, to appease your mind through faith and take your refuge in those three supreme Jewels". On the return of the embassy, Devānaṃpiyatissa was solemnly crowned a second time, and prepared to receive the Buddhist message.

Shortly after, at the full moon in the month of Jeṭṭha in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (May, 250 B.C.), the king, who was engaged in a hunting party on Mount Missaka (Mihintalē, eight miles north of the capital), saw landing at his side seven Buddhist missionaries who had flown through the air to convert the island of Ceylon. Mahinda, the head of the mission, expounded a sutta to him and the king, who wished for nothing else than to be converted, embraced Buddhism. His retinue, numbering five hundred persons, followed his example.

The following day, he took Mahinda and his companions to his capital and settled them in the Nandana and Mahāmeghavana parks, situated to the south of Anurādhapura. The missionaries organized a series of sermons which brought the number of converts to 8,500.

During the mission, which lasted for seven days, the king offered the Mahāmeghavana to the Saṃgha by pouring into Mahinda's hand the contents of a water pitcher, as a sign of an everlasting donation (*Mhv.*, XV, 14-15; 24-5). Then, in order to ensure definitively the "establishment of the religion of the Victorious One" (*jinasāsanapatiṭṭhāna*), he fixed with Mahinda the boundaries of the parish (*sīmā*) where the uposatha ceremonies and other acts of the Saṃgha were to take place (*Dpv.*, XIV, 21-5; *Mhv.*, XV, 180-94).

On the twenty-seventh day after the arrival of the missionaries fifty-five young Sinhalese, Ariṭṭha among them, donned the religious robe and received ordination. The bhikkhus withdrew to Mount Missaka and spent the rainy season there. It was there that the king built the
293 Cetiyapabbata vihāra for them (*Mhv.*, XVI, 12-17).

The monks' retreat ended at the full moon of the month of Kattika (October). Immediately, at Mahinda's instigation Devānaṃpiyatissa sent the sāmaṇera Sumana, Aśoka's grandson, who had come to Ceylon with Mahinda, to Pāṭaliputra. Sumana acquired from his grandfather, as well as from the god Sakka, a quantity of precious relics, in particular the right clavicle (*dakkhiṇakkhaka*) and the alms-bowl (*patta*) of Śākyamuni. One they reached Ceylon, all these relics were placed provisionally in the Cetiyapabbata (*Mhv.*, XVII, 9-23).

Finally, Princess Anulā, Muṭasiva's daughter and Devānaṃpiya's step-sister, expressed the desire to take up the religious life with some

companions; it thus became necessary to acquire a chapter of Buddhist nuns so they could be ordained authentically. A third embassy, under the leadership of the bhikkhu Mahāriṭṭha, was therefore sent to Aśoka's court. Ariṭṭha asked the emperor of India not only for some ten nuns, but also for the southern branch of the tree of Enlightenment (*mahābodhidakkhiṇasākha*). His request was granted, and the nun Sáṃghamittā, Aśoka's own daughter, was sent to Ceylon with ten other bhikkhuṇīs; they carried with them the branch of the holy tree. Aśoka himself escorted them through the Vindhyas to the port of Tāmalittī (Tamralipti, present-day Tamluk), on the eastern coast. The holy women, accompanied by Magadhan nobles, took to sea on the first day of the month of Maggasira (November). After a rapid but stormy crossing, they landed in Ceylon, at the port of Jambukola, where the king awaited them in the midst of a throng of people who had come from all parts of the island. The planting of the holy branch was performed with great ceremony. Saplings were planted in Anurādhapura and the surrounding area, in Jambukolapaṭṭana, in the village of Tivakka Brāhmaṇa in the north, in Kājaragāma in the south, and in a place known as Candanagāma which has not been identified. Later, thirty-two saplings were distributed throughout the island (*Mhv.*, XVIII-XIX).

Saṃghamittā and the bhikkhuṇīs conferred ordination on Princess Anulā and her companions. The Upāsikā-vihāra, where the last-named lived, was transformed and enlarged, and was given the name of Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra or Bhikkhunupassaya. Saṃghamittā set up her quarters there (*Mhv.*, XIX, 65-71).

Tradition attributes to Devānaṃpiyatissa the founding of some twen-
294 ty Buddhist monuments some of which still exist today : but they underwent so many transformations in the course of time, that any hope of discovering their original form is lost.

The most important of them are to be found within precincts of the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery, including the Mahāmeghavana which was presented to the Saṃgha by Devānaṃpiya and laid out under the orders of Mahinda. The place was visited by the Buddha Śākyamuni and his three predecessors (*Dpv.*, II, 61, 64; *Mhv.*, I, 80; XV, 86).

The Thūpa "par excellence" was erected by the king near the walls to the south of Anurādhapura. A monastery adjoined it and was given the name of Thūpārāma (*Mhv.*, XVII, 62-4). It was in the Thūpārāma Dāgaba that the relic of the Buddha's right clavicle, brought back from Pāṭaliputra by the śrāmaṇera Sumana, was placed (*Mhv.*, XVII, 50). Today the monument is still an object of fervent veneration by millions of Buddhists, not only from Ceylon but also from other countries which

adhere to the Theravāda. It has undergone so many transformations that it is impossible to decide what the original was like. At present, it is a small-sized stūpa, the base of which has a diameter of 12 metres. It is surrounded by a row of stone columns surmounted by delicately sculpted capitals which must at one time have supported a wooden superstructure. This dāgaba is probably the first stūpa to be built in Ceylon, although tradition claims that the Mahiyaṅgaṇa Dāgaba, in the province of Uva, and that of Girihaṇḍu on the north-eastern coast, were erected on the island during the Buddha's life-time.

The branch of the Bodhi tree which Saṃghamittā and her companions brought from Gayā was planted by the king withing the precincts of the Mahāvihāra, to the south-east of the Thūpārāma Dāgaba (*Mhv.*, XIX, 57). Very early on, the tree was surrounded by a pavilion to protect it, as was done at Bodh-Gayā. Bas-reliefs discovered at Bhārhut, Amarāvatī and other sites on the sub-continent give an idea of these constructions which were in use in India from the second century B.C. onwards. In any case, in the reign of Goṭhakābhaya (299-312 A.D.), the holy tree at the Mahāvihāra was surrounded by a stone palisade (*silāvedikā*); to the north of the tree there was a gateway (*toraṇa*) and, at the four cardinal points, stood pillars (*tambha*) each supporting a Wheel of the Law (*Mhv.*, XXXVI, 102-3). Dhātusena, who ruled from 460 to 478 A.D., was, it seems, the first to build a true *Bodhighara*, or house for
295 the holy tree (*Cūlavaṃsa*, XXVIII, 43) : this consisted of a wooden roof protecting the trunk of the holy tree — always very short in the case of *ficus religiosa* — while the branches developed in the open air.

The present "Bodhi-tree shrine" at Anurādhapura has been altered so much in the course of the last few years that it gives only a very imperfect idea of the old Bodhigharas. However, the shrine discovered at Nillakgama in the disctrict of Kurunegala, and which dates back to the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, is a good example of this type of construction.

The Mahāthūpa which at present stands to the south of the Thūpārāma Dāgaba was built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (104-80 B.C.) in circumstances which we will narrate further on. However, tradition has it that Devānaṃpiya planned its construction and, on Mahinda's indications, marked with a pillar the spot where the monument was to be erected (*Mhv.*, XV, 173).

On Mount Missaka, the king also built for the first monks in Ceylon a monastery which was named the Cetiyavihāra (*Mhv.*, XVI, 12-17). It was there that the relics given to the śrāmaṇera Sumana by Aśoka and the god Śakra were temporarily stored. Soon, however, the right clavicle

of the Buddha was enshrined in the Thūpārāma Dāgaba (*Mhv.*, XVII, 50), while Śākyamuni's *pātradhātu* or alms-bowl was preserved in the royal palace (*Mhv.*, XX, 13), and became the national "palladium" of the Sinhalese, as was later the case with the relic of the tooth.

A complete list of establishments attributed to Devānaṃpiyatissa can be found in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XX, 17-26) : most of them are located in Anurādhapura, but there were some in other places on the island. Thus, a Jambukolavihāra was built by him in Nāgadīpa, on the spot where the Bodhi tree had been disembarked.

The chronicles claim that all the events narrated here, particularly the conversion of the whole island to Buddhism and the various religious constructions of King Tissa, occurred in the first year of a reign which was to continue for forty years. There is complete silence regarding the other years. We cannot help thinking that these chronicles gave a tendentious presentation of facts which, in other respects, contain part of the historical truth, namely the conversion of the island through the combined efforts of the Buddhist missionaries and the Sinhalese kings
296 who occupied the throne during the Maurya period. The account abounds in marvellous deeds : Mahinda and his companions land in Ceylon after flying through the air; Saṃghamittā and her nuns, by crossing over the sea, but the latter voyage, normal though it may appear, was disturbed by an attack of giant monsters which the therī controlled by magic, taking the form of a Garuḍa. The relics which Sumana acquired did not come only from Magadhan reserves but also and especially from Indra's heaven. Just as astonishing, and even miraculous, was the conversion of such an extensive island in the space of one week : there is no attempt to hide the fact that, in order to achieve this result, the propagandists emphasized the teaching with the help of their supernormal powers. The canonical texts which they recited during that mission and of which the chronicles supply the exact titles are taken as much from the *Peta-* and *Vimānavatthu* as the *Jātaka* and basic *Sūtra*. However, what we said earlier shows that at this period the Buddhist canon was still in the process of formation, and as yet did not constitute a body of scriptures fully settled in their composition, subdivisions, titles and sub-titles. Finally, without denying the relations Aśoka the Great established with distant Tāmraparṇī, it is doubtful whether he was on such friendly terms with the Sinhalese kings that he could issue them with a veritable spiritual ultimatum by inviting them to adhere to Buddhism. The continual comings-and-goings between Anurādhapura and Pāṭaliputra for the sole purpose of acquiring relics and nuns at the very least lacks any verisimilitude.

Uttiya (276-286 after the Nirvāṇa, 210-200 B.C.). — Devānaṃpiyatissa died childless, and four of his brothers succeeded him in turn on the throne. In the year 8 of Uttiya's reign (284 after the Nirvāṇa, 202 B.C.), Mahinda, the missionary to Ceylon, died at the age of 80. He had been ordained for 60 years and acted as Vinaya chief in Ceylon for 48 years, from 250 to 202 B.C. The following year (285 after the Nirvāṇa, 201 B.C.), he was joined in death by his sister, the nun Saṃghamittā, and five of the six missionaries who had come with him from Magadha : Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, sâmaṇera Sumana and Bhaṇḍuka. At the same time, the death also occurred of Mahāriṭṭha, Devānaṃpiyatissa's nephew, who had succeeded Mahinda as Vinaya chief in Ceylon. Mahāriṭṭha had proceeded to make a complete recitation of the Vinaya at the Thūpārāma, in the presence of Mahinda and 68,000 bhikkus (*Samantapāsādikā*, p. 102 sq.). After his death, the teaching of the Tipiṭaka was continued by a long series of masters the list of whom is found in the *Samantapāsādikā* (pp. 62-3; T 1462, ch. 2, p. 684*b-c*).

297 The chronicle devotes a long chapter to the Nibbāna of the "Thera" (Mahinda) and his sister (*Dpv.*, XVII, 94 sq.; *Mhv.*, XX, 32, sq.). King Uttiya gave them splendid funerals. After lying in state for a week in the Mahāvihāra, the body of the holy one was cremated near the Mahāthūpa, and the site of the pyre was given the name of Isibhūmaṅgaṇa "Place of the Sage". Some of his remains were deposited in a cetiya which was specially built for them; the rest were distributed to various vihāras, particularly the Cetiyapabbata.

The Cetiyagiri stūpa, founded on that occasion by Uttiya on the summit of Mount Missaka or Mihintalē, is known today by the name of Ambasthala and held in great veneration : its architectural form, the pillars surrounding it and its small size (9 metres in diameter) link it closely with the first stūpa founded on the island by Devānaṃpiyatissa, the Thūpārāma Dāgaba mentioned above.

II. — BUDDHIST LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS

There is a dark side to every picture, and the successes achieved by the Good Law in Aśoka's time were not without inconveniences for the Saṃgha itself. The royal favours attracted into the order many unworthy recruits whose mentality and conduct had to be corrected. The increase in vocations provoked a levelling down, a veritable democratization, which was harmful to the very quality of the religious ideal. Soon, the new tendencies, formulated as theoretical proposals, bordered on heresy. The dissension between the monks finally culminated in a schism which split the Community into two rival clans.

In the present section, we will deal with the circumstances which caused the so-called "Council of Pāṭaliputra", the supposed heresy of Mahādeva and finally the schism of the Mahāsāṃghikas, three events which occurred around the time of Aśoka's reign.

1. — THE THIRD BUDDHIST COUNCIL IN PĀṬALIPUTRA

DESCRIPTION OF THE TRADITION. — The council of Pāṭaliputra is mentioned only in the Sinhalese sources, of which the main ones are the *Dīpavaṁsa* (VII, 34-43; 44-59), the *Mahāvaṃsa* (V, 267-82), the *Saman-*
298 *tapāsādikā* (pp. 60-1) and its Chinese recension (T 1462, ch. 2, p. 684*a-b*).

The date of the council is generally given as the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa, i.e. 250 B.C. (*Dpv.*, VII, 37, 44; *Sāsanavaṃsa*, I, p. 8; *Nikāya-saṃgraha*, p. 9), in the 17th or 18th year of Aśoka's reign (*Mhv.*, V, 280). However, one passage, which we would like to think of as corrupt, in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (I, 24-5; also cf. V, 55-9) locates the same event in 118 after the Nirvāṇa; and Buddhaghosa, in his *Atthasālinī* (p. 4), comes down in favour of the year 218 after the Nirvāṇa.

We saw earlier the unfortunate events which marked the year 236. For seven years already, discord prevailed among the monks of the Aśokārāma. In trying to induce the monks to celebrate a communal uposatha, one of Aśoka's ministers did not hesitate to behead the recalcitrant ones and only stopped the butchery when confronted with the Venerable Tissa, the king's own brother. Aśoka thought he was to blame for the massacre and his remorse was appeased only by the coming of Moggaliputtatissa. The master put an end to his doubts and taught him the Dharma for seven days.

On the seventh day the king went to the Aśokārāma and gathered the whole assembly of bhikṣus around him. Seated with Moggaliputtatissa behind a curtain, he questioned each of the monks of the various tendencies in turn on the teaching of the Blessed One. They attributed to the latter the sixty-two heretical theories which are described and condemned in the *Brahamajālasuttanta* : radical eternalism (*śāśvata-vāda*), partial eternalism (*ekatyaśāśvata*), scepticism (*amarāvikṣepa*), etc. Aśoka, who had just brushed up his knowledge, immediately realized that the supporters of these theories were not authentic bhikṣus but quite simply heretics. In conformity with his decision which he promulgated in the Kauśāmbī edict, he reclothed them in the white robe of the laity and expelled them from the community. The heretics were 60,000 in number.

The king then summoned the other bhikṣus and asked them which

doctrine the Buddha had professed. They answered him that it was the doctrine of the Vibhajyavāda or of Distinguishing. Having been assured by the Thera Tissa that this was the case, Aśoka happily concluded that the assembly was purified (*śuddha*) and proposed that it celebrate the uposatha; after which, he returned to the town. The orthodox monks were 60,000 in number according to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VII, 50) and the Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 684*b* 9), 6,000,000 according
299 to the Pāli recension of the same text (p. 61, lines 11-12).

The Thera Moggaliputtatissa selected from among them 1,000 bhikṣus who were versed in the Tripiṭaka, and proposed that they undertake a new compilation of the true Law (*saddharmasaṃgraha*). According to the Pāli sources, in the middle of the council he produced the Pāli *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* in order to refute the heretical doctrines but this important detail is deliberately omitted from the Chinese recension of the *Samantapāsādikā*, which merely says that he refuted the heretical views (p. 684*b* 10). After which, following the example of Mahākāśyapa at the council of Rājagṛha, and of Yaśas Kākaṇḍakaputra (Sonaka in the Chinese version) at the council of Vaiśālī, the Thera Tissa and his colleagues proceeded with the third compilation of the Dharma and Vinaya in the course of the sessions, which lasted for nine months.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TRADITION. H. Kern found nothing in the account of the council but a mass of impossibilities and an accumulation of dogmatic fables[46]. We will merely remark that Aśoka's direct intervention in the purging of the Saṃgha is not appropriate to a sovereign who, in his edicts, professed to support all religions impartially and named overseers of the Dharma to watch over their particular interests.

The fact that the Pāli sources are alone in mentioning the council of Pāṭaliputra indicates that it was a local tradition, limited to a particular school : that of the Sinhalese Theravādins. By making the Buddha a Vibhajyavādin, the account commits an anachronism and attributes to the Master the special views of certain Buddhist schools, considered to be Vibhajyavādin because they assert the existence of the present and part of the past, namely, an action that has not borne fruit; and the non-existence of the future and part of the past, namely, an action which has borne fruit (cf. *Kośa*, V, p. 52). These Vibhajyavādins, among them the Kāśyapīyas and Mahīśāsakas, were opposed to the Sarvāstivādins

[46] Kern, *Manual*, pp. 110-12. We also refer the reader to E. FRAUWALLNER, *Die Buddhistischen Konzile*, ZDMG, CII, 1952, pp. 240-61; P. EGGERMONT, *The Chronology*..., pp. 111-19.

who asserted the existence of the three time-periods. It is true that the Buddha proclaimed himself to be a Vibhajyavādin in the *Aṅguttara* (V, p. 190), meaning by that "that he blamed the blameworthy, praised the
300 praiseworthy, thus establishing necessary discriminations and avoiding unilateral positions". However, that is a state of mind which is fitting for all Buddhist thinkers in general and it could not have served Aśoka in establishing the orthodoxy of the Aśokārāma monks and separating non-believers from the truly faithful.*

We saw above how the *Kathāvatthu* could not have been promulgated by Tissa, at least in the form known to us at present. It contains, we should remember, a condemnation of the Andhaka sect which, at the time of this council, had still to be converted.

Finally, the tradition concerning the council of Pāṭaliputra is closely connected, in the minds of its compilers, with the sending out of Buddhist missionaries by Moggaliputtatissa. We will see further on the suspect, possibly even apocryphal, nature of these supposed missions.

2. — THE HERESY OF MAHĀDEVA**

At an early period, which we will try to specify, five propositions prejudicial to the dignity and prerogatives of the Arhat were debated in the communities. They are described in both the Pāli Abhidhamma and the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma (*Kathāvatthu*, II, 1-5, pp. 163-203; *Jñānaprasthāna*, T 1543, ch. 10, p. 819*b*; T 1544, ch. 7, p. 956*b*); they are repeated and discussed in the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 99, p. 510*c*), the *Kośa* (I, p. 2), the *Glosses of Paramārtha* and the *Treatise on the Sects* by Chi tsang (Demiéville, *Sectes*, pp. 30-40).

1st — The terms of the five theses

According to the explanations provided by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva[67], the five theses (*pañcavastu*) were formulated in the following way :

1. Arhats can be led astray by others, that is, have seminal emissions during their sleep, accompanied by erotic dreams, attributable to deities taking on female forms.

2. Arhats are still subject to ignorance, not defiled ignorance (*avidyā*), the first link of the chain of dependent origination, but undefiled ignorance (*akliṣṭa ajñāna*), a residue of their former passions, by virtue

[67] Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *The Five Points of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu*, JRAS, 1910, pp. 413-23; A. Bareau, *Sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 64-5.

301 of which they do not or may not know the names and clans of men and women, the path to take, the names of trees, woods and grasses, etc.

3-4. Arhats are still subject to doubt (*kāṅkṣā*) and can be informed by others. These two propositions are the consequence of the preceding one. If Arhats are subject to (undefiled) ignorance, they can have doubts concerning the names and clans of certain people, the path to follow, the names of trees, etc. and can be informed by others on the matter. It is even said that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana did not realize they had attained Arhatship until the Buddha made a solemn declaration.

5. Entry into the Buddhist Path (*mārga*) can be accompanied by a vocal utterance (*vacībheda*). The holy one (*ārya*) who has entered the stream (*srotaāpanna*) and is possessed of the first *dhyāna*, exclaims : "O, suffering", and that cry can be considered as an artifice meant to cause the appearance of the Path.

These propositions are aimed at nothing less than dislodging the Arhat from the privileged position which had been acknowledged as his from the beginning. They appear, in their anodyne form, as a syllabus of claims by worldlings (*pṛthagana*) in relation to the holy ones (*ārya* and *arhat*), of laxity in relation to rigorism, even of the laity seeking to extract equal spiritual rights from the religious (the professionals of the Path). The heresy, if heresy it was, was long-lived and worked within the community like a noxious ferment : it led to the opposition and separation of the Buddhist schools.

We must now find the author of it.

2nd — Mahādeva, the author of the five theses

The sources do not agree over the date when the heresy appeared, nor over its authors, nor over the precise consequences. We should analyze them in chronological order and summarize in turn the explanations by Vasumitra, the account of the *Vibhāṣā*, the data supplied by the Mahāyānist authors, the Saṃmatīya tradition and, finally, the information given to Bhavya by his teachers.

1. The explanations by Vasumitra. — Vasumitra was a Sarvāstivādin scholar who lived four hundred years after the Nirvāṇa and who came a century after Kātyāyanīputra, the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna*;
302 he wrote a work on the Buddhist sects entitled *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*. The work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (?) between 385 and 413 (T 2032), by Paramārtha between 557 and 569 (T 2033) and by Hsüan tsang in 662 (T 2031); it was commented upon in Chinese by

K'uei chi in 662 (TKS, A, LXXXIII, 3) and translated into Tibetan in the ninth century by Dharmākara (Tanjur, *Mdo* XC, 11).

The work opens with an allusion to the five theses (T 2032, p. 18*a* 9-14; T 2033, p. 20*a* 15-25; T 2031, p. 15*a* 15-23) :

"One hundred and sixteen years (var. : more than one hundred years) after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, there was a town named Pāṭaliputra. At that time King Aśoka ruled over Jambudvīpa, maintaining order in the universe. In those days, the great Saṃgha was divided into schools and diversified the Law. There were then the bhikṣus :

the first were named *Nêng* = Nāga (var. *Lung chia* = Nāga; *Ta kuo* = Mahārāṣṭra),

the second were called *Yin yüan* = Pratyaya (var. *Wai pên* = Prācya; *Pien pi* = Pratyantika),

the third were called *To wên* = Bahuśruta,

the fourth were called *Ta tê* = Sthavira.

They discussed five theses (*pañcavastu*) which had been presented by heretics. Thus, for the first time since the Buddha, two schools came into being, one known as the Mahāsāṃghika, the other as Sthavira".

Of the translators, Hsüan tsang is the only one to specify that those five theses were authored by Mahādeva, a detail taken from the *Vibhāṣā*. For Vasumitra and his first translators, the heretics are still anonymous. It becomes apparent from a comparison between the versions that the Pañcavastu was opposed by the Sthaviras and adopted by three assemblies, those of the Nāgas, Prācyas or Pratyantikas and, finally, the Bahuśrutas.

We know nothing at all about the first two assemblies. According to the commentary by K'uei chi (*l.c.*), the Nāgas, whose name evokes irresistible might and invincible obstinacy, were the leaders and instigators of the dispute and the schism which followed it; the Pratyantikas were supporters of the heresy; although they were not the cause of the disputes and did not possess any irresistible might, they pursued and upheld the heresy. Finally, the bahuśrutas included worldlings (*pṛthagjana*) who were still occupied with training (*śaikṣa*), but who observed the precepts and whose knowledge was vast.

303 Personally, we are inclined to think that those two names are ethnical; the heresy could have arisen among the Nāgas whose original habitat was, according to the *Purāṇa*, the region of the Narmadā, a tributary of the Mahārāṣṭra to which Paramārtha's version refers; from there, it could have spread to neighbouring areas designated by Vasumitra by the vague name of "Frontier regions" (Pratyantika).

For the riverside dwellers in the Ganges Basin and the Yamunā,

Mahārāṣṭra was located in South India. In fact, according to the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 5, pp. 120*c* 11-121*b* 1; T 2043, ch. 9, p. 162*a* 1-*c* 8), the Sarvāstivādin community in Mathurā, which at the time of Aśoka was headed by the famous patriarch Upagupta, was agitated over a visit by a monk whose name is passed over in silence, but who came from south India. Before taking up the religious life, that monk had fornicated with a woman from another family. When his mother reproached him for his conduct, he killed her; he then tried to obtain the hand of his mistress but was repulsed. So he left the world, learned by heart the text of the Tripiṭaka and gathered a crowd of disciples around himself. He went to Mathurā to debate with Upagupta, but the latter, knowing the crimes of which he was guilty, refused to speak to him. The rejected monk returned to his native land, taking with him his host of disciples[88].

It would be tempting to see in this monk an upholder of the heresy of the five theses which the holy patriarch Upagupta, the leader of a school of Arhats, could but condemn. However, the monk had already exercised a harmful effect over Upagupta's disciples who were still only worldlings (*pṛthagjana*). They reproached their master for his impoliteness to the stranger and, in order to appease the critic, Upagupta had to appeal to his master Śāṇavāsa.

This anecdote recorded in the *Aśokāvadāna* is astonishingly similar to the account in the *Vibhāṣā*.

2. The account in the Vibhāṣā. — This great work on the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma, compiled in the second century A.D. by the Kaśmīrian Arhats, devotes a long chapter to the heresy of the five theses. It attributes their invention to a certain Mahādeva, whose far from edifying story it tells and whom it tries to vilify in every way (T 1545, ch. 99, pp. 510*c*-512*a*) :

304 "Mahādeva was the son of a merchant from Mathurā. His father set out for abroad, leaving him at home. At the age of twenty, the son was handsome and his mother became enamoured of him and had relations with him secretly. For more than six years, the son did not realize that his mistress was his own mother; later, when he did realize, he did not give up his passion. The father returned from abroad, having acquired many goods; shortly before his return, the mother, fearing that he would hear of the affair, persuaded her son to poison him. Mahādeva procured some poison and killed his father; then he seized his goods, and continued to live with his mother. However in the end, ashamed at having been discovered, he fled and hid with his mother in the Pāṭaliputra

[88] J. Przyluski, *La légende d'Aśoka*, pp. 366-9.

region. There he met some Arhat monks — whom he had formerly revered in his own country, and he slew them too for fear that they might betray him. Then he killed his own mother, having discovered that she was being unfaithful to him with others. Having thus committed three *ānantarya* sins, he was overcome with distress and profound remorse; in an attempt to erase those sins, he gave up the family life. He went to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery where he heard a monk reciting a stanza about the atonement of faults through good conduct; that monk ordained him and conferred the *pravrajyā* on him.

Mahādeva listened to and studied the Tripiṭaka and acquired many followers; on learning this, the king of Pāṭaliputra (whose name is not given) invited him to his palace and showered him with offerings. When he returned to the monastery, Mahādeva formulated each of the above-mentioned five heretical theses in turn. Faced with the opposition they incurred, the king asked Mahādeva for advice in order to settle the quarrel. Mahādeva told him that, according to the Vinaya, it is the majority which prevails in controversies. The king then separated each of the two parties and, since that of Mahādeva was the more numerous, he declared it to be in the right and condemned its adversaries. That is how the monks at the Kukkuṭārāma separated into two schools : that of the Sthaviras and that of the Mahāsāmghikas.

The Sthaviras then wanted to leave the monastery. Warned of their intention, the king ordered them to be embarked on rotten ships which were to be cast into the current of the Ganges; he would thus know who was an Arhat and who was a wordling. At the critical moment, the five hundred Arhats, making use of their supernormal powers, rose into the air and reached Kaśmīr where they dispersed up hill and down dale. Learning this news, the king sent a messenger to bring them back to his capital, but they refused his invitation. The king then donated the entire kingdom of Kaśmīr to the Saṃgha, and had five hundred monasteries built there to house the holy ones; those monasteries were given the names of the various forms the holy ones had assumed in order to escape from Paṭaliputra, for example : Pigeon-grove (*kapotārāma*), etc.; the *Vibhāṣā* adds 'It is reported that those establishments are still flourishing'. The king of Pāṭaliputra then
305 transferred his favours to Mahādeva and his disciples who remained with him. Mahādeva died surrounded by general veneration, but when the cremation of his body was being carried out, the fire persistently went out, and dog's excrement had to be used as fuel; his body was then consumed, but a strong wind suddenly arose and dispersed the heresiarch's ashes".

According to Vasumitra, the instigator of the five theses remained anonymous, but the *Vibhāṣā*, a century later, finds him a name and attributes a whole story to him. It treats him resolutely as an adversary, charges him with all the unatonable crimes and invents an unfortunate end for him. It is to be noted that the great *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T 1545) alone devoted an account to Mahādeva and that nothing similar is to be found in the *Vibhāṣā* by Buddhavarman (T 1546).

3. The Mahāyānist authors inspired by the Vibhāṣā. — Once implanted by the *Vibhāṣā*, the legend died hard. It was enthusiastically adopted by the Sarvāstivādins and accepted as valid by the Mahāyānist

scholars. However, since the latter did not hide their sympathy for the Mahāsāṃghikas, of whom they considered themselves to be distant successors, they strove to wipe out his memory, or at least attenuate the faults of Mahādeva, who had instigated the Mahāsāṃghika schism.

a. In the sixth century, Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.) in his *Commentary on Vasumitra* (summarized in T 2300), and his pupil Chi tsang (549-623) in his *San lun hsüan* (T 1852) reproduce the account from the *Vibhāṣā*, while introducing a few modifications of which this is the main part (cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes*, pp. 33-40) :

"Until 116 after the Nirvāṇa, no heterodox opinions emerged within the Saṃgha. After the year 116, Mahādeva, of the Kauśika family appeared; he was the son of a merchant from Mathurā. Having committed three *ānantarya* sins, he left the world in Pāṭilaputra by conferring ordination on himself. He was received at Aśoka's palace and had relations in secret with the queen. Once back in the monastery, he took all the sūtras of the Mahāyāna and explained them as he incorporated them in the Tripiṭaka. On his own initiative he invented some sūtras in which was formulated the fivefold heresy; he summarized them in a stanza which he recited after the reading of the *śīla* during the uposatha ceremony. Dissension broke out in the monastery and King Aśoka, on his own authority, resorted to a majority vote in order to settle the difference. Mahādeva's supporters were the most numerous. The Arhats, left in the minority, frightened the community with supernormal transformations; the queen used her influence to have them thrown into the Ganges in damaged boats. The Arhats
306 took flight and went to the land of Kaśmīr, some transformed themselves into floater pigeons, others into birds. Once they reached their destinations, they reassumed their normal forms. Meanwhile the queen, realizing her mistake, repented and was converted. After the death of Mahādeva, Aśoka sent for the Arhats of Kaśmīr and the latter, yielding to his invitation, returned to Pāṭaliputra. Since Mahādeva had inserted some apocryphal texts into the Tripiṭaka, the Arhats assembled in council (the third since the beginning) and once again recited the Canon of writings. It was then that divergences of opinion arose among them and they formed two separate schools : that of the Mahāsāṃghikas and that of the Sthaviras".

It will be noted that Paramārtha quickly passes over Mahādeva's faults, seeks to excuse Aśoka by blaming the queen, attributes to the heretic a scriptural activity not mentioned by the *Vibhāṣā* and posits a third council with a new compilation of the Tripiṭaka; it is only after that that the schism, according to Paramārtha, proved to be definitive.

b. In the seventh century, the Master of the Law Hsüan tsang once again summarized the account from the *Vibhāṣā*, but more faithfully than did Paramārtha. The passage is found in the *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*b* 11-22) :

"One hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, Aśoka, the king of Magadha, extended

his power over the whole world; he revered the Triratna and loved all creatures. In his capital there were, among the Buddhist religious, 500 Arhats and 500 wordlings (*pṛthagjana*) whom the king patronized impartially. Included in the ranks of the religious worldlings, there was a certain Mahādeva, 'a man of great knowledge and great talent, and a subtle investigator of the *Nāma-Rūpa'* (sic), who set down in a treatise his personal views and heretical reasonings. When edition broke out, Aśoka took the part of Mahādeva and the Worldlings and attempted to drown the Arhats in the Ganges. The latter flew off to Kaśmīr where they settled up hill and down dale. The king immediately regretted their departure and went to them in person in order to invite them to return to his capital. This they refused to do, seeing which the king built 500 saṃghārāmas for them and presented Kaśmīr to the Saṃgha".

Hsüan tsang, in agreement with the *Vibhāṣā*, states that the persecuted Arhats remained in Kaśmīr and refused to return to Pāṭaliputra. In such conditions, there can be no question of a third Buddhist council which, according to Paramārtha, took place in Pāṭaliputra after the return of the Arhats. Nevertheless, in another passage, where he relates his visit to the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputra, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*b*)
307 notes that Aśoka, after his conversion to Buddhism, convened in that monastery a saṃgha of a thousand members "consisting of two communities, one of holy ones (*ārya*), and the other of worldlings (*pṛthagjana*)". These are indeed the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas, but that does not mean they held a council and proceeded to make a new recitation of the Tripiṭaka.

Even while taxing Mahādeva with heresy, Hsüan tsang makes no mention of the five theses which are generally attributed to him; he praises his knowledge and talent and defines him as "a subtle investigator of the *Nāma-Rūpa*", in other words, the five *Skandha*. However, the question of *Nāma-Rūpa* preoccupied the Sarvāstivādins much more than the Mahāsāṃghikas. We might wonder whether, to the mind of the Chinese master, Mahādeva was not a Sarvāstivādin scholar, this would gainsay the whole tradition according to which the heretic was the instigator of the Mahāsāṃghika schism.

It seems that the great Hsüan tsang did not attempt to conciliate the information which he had also got from his readings, in particular of the *Vibhāṣā,* with the oral traditions he had obtained on the spot and which he records "in bulk". His account of the settling in Kaśmīr of the five hundred Arhats who were thrown into the Ganges by Aśoka follows immediately upon the account of the conversion of Kaśmīr, in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa, by Madhyāntika and his five hundred Arhats (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*a* 19-*b* 11). This is obviously one and the same event but split into two for chronological reasons.

c. K'uei chi (632-682 A.D.), a disciple of Hsüan tsang, in his commentary on the *Yogācāryabhūmi* by Asaṅga (T 1829, ch. 1, p. 1*b*), attempts to rehabilitate Mahādeva, by representing him as the victim of slander :

"Great was his reputation, great his virtue. Although young, he had experienced the Fruit; he was respected by kings and nobles and revered by monks. That is why he was imputed with the three *ānantarya* sins, to which were added the five theses".

That is not the only text which is favourable to Mahādeva. Already a commentary on the *Ekottara*, the *Fên pieh kung tê lun*, translated into Chinese between 25 and 220 A.D., had spoken of "a holy king Mahādeva, endowed with the four *brahmavihāra*" and qualified him as *ta shih* or great bodhisattva (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32*c* 8-10).

4. The Saṃmatīya tradition. — This is mentioned for the first time
308 in the sixth century by Bhavya or Bhāvaviveka, the author of the *Tarkajvālā* (*Mdo* XIX, pp. 162*b* 6-163*a* 3; cf. *Mdo* XC, No. 12), then repeated with some modifications in the fourteenth century by Bu ston (tr. Obermiller, II, p. 96), in the fifteenth by Gźon nu dpal (G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, I, Calcutta, 1949, p. 28), and, finally, in the seventeenth by Tāranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 52) :

"One hundred and thirty-seven years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, under the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma, when a number of very conspicuous Elders — Mahākāśyapa, Mahāloma, Mahātyāga, Uttara, Revata, etc. — were assembled in Pāṭaliputra, Māra the Wicked assumed the form of a bhikṣu named Bhadra and manifested various wonders and, with the help of the five theses, caused a great dissension in the Community.

Later, those five theses were adopted by the Sthaviras Nāga (Nāgasena) and Sāramati. From then on the Community split into two sects : the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

In the year 63 after this scission was completed, that is, in the year 200 after the Nirvāṇa, the doctrine was reviewed by the Sthavira Vātsīputra[89]".

There is no longer a question here of Mahādeva, but of a false monk named Bhadra whose heretical views were adopted by two Sthaviras,

[89] This is only a summary of an obscure passage with corrections proposed by L. de Vallée Poussin (*ERE*, IV, p. 183, n. 4) and adopted by Frauwallner (*Konzile*, pp. 246-7). They are confirmed by Bu ston (II, p. 96) and Tāranātha (p. 61) who locate in 137+63=200 after the N. the review of the doctrine by Vātsīputra. Another opinion, seemingly, in A. Bareau, *JA*, 1956, p. 173.

Nāga and Sāramati; the name of the former recalls those Nāgas already noted by Vasumitra. The schism occurred, no longer under Aśoka (in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa, according to the short chronology), but under his predecessor Mahāpadma of the Nanda dynasty, in 137 after the Nirvāṇa according to the long chronology. The Saṃmatīya follows, as we see, a calculation which is very close to the Sinhalese chronology which places Aśoka's consecration in 218 after the Nirvāṇa and the reign of the Nandas from the year 140 to 162 after the Nirvāṇa (346-324 B.C.).

5. Information supplied to Bhavya by his teachers. — It was as a matter of form that Bhavya recorded the Saṃmatīya tradition above. Personally he abided by the opinion held by the lineage of his teachers (*madguruparamparā*) and mentioned by himself at the beginning of his *Tarkajvālā* :

309 "One hundred and sixty years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, while King Dharma-Aśoka was ruling in Kusumapura (= Pāṭaliputra), a great schism suddenly occurred in the community in consequence of several controversial points. After that, the Saṃgha split into two schools, Mahāsāṃghikas and Sthaviras".

However, the date proposed : "160 years after the Nirvāṇa, in the reign of Aśoka" does not tally with any known calculation or with the short chronology which locates Aśoka in 100 after the Nirvāṇa, or with the long one which has him rule from 218 to 255 after the Nirvāṇa. Yet the same date, 160 after the Nirvāṇa, is also mentioned by other authors, particularly Bu ston (II, p. 96) who, in this connection, attributes the origin of the schism, not to the appearance of the five heretical theses, but to the fact that the Arhats "were reading the Word of the Buddha in four different languages : Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Paiśācika".

3rd — Persistence of the heresy under Mahādeva II

In order to complete our documentation, it should be noted that alongside Mahādeva I, the initiator of the five theses and instigator of the schism, the Sanskrit sources record the existence of a Mahādeva II, a Mahāsāṃghika scholar who lived 200 years after the Nirvāṇa, continued to teach the five theses and incited further splits within the Mahāsāṃghika schools. This Mahādeva II was well known to Vasumitra who, as we have seen, makes no mention of Mahādeva I. These are some references :

1. Vasumitra in his three translations :

T 2032, p. 18*a* 17-20	T 2033, p. 20*b* 2-4	T 2031, p. 15*b* 1-4
Then, two hundred years later, Mahādeva, a heretic (*tīrthika*), left the world and resided at the Caityaśaila; in the Mahāsāṃghika sect, three further sects were founded : Caityikas, Aparaśailas and Uttaraśailas.	Two hundred years having passed, there was a heretic named Mahādeva who left the world in the Mahāsāṃghika school; he lived alone on Mount Śaila and taught the five theses to the Mahāsāṃghikas. Thereafter [a new] split into two schools : the school of the Caityaśailas, the school of the Uttaraśailas [and, according to the Tibetan version, the school of the Aparaśailas].	When two hundred years had passed, there was a heretic who had left the world and abandoned wrongness and returned to righteousness, and he was ALSO named Mahādeva. Having left the world in the Mahāsāṃghika sect, he received full ordination; learned (*bahuśruta*) and vigorous (*vīryavat*), he resided at Caityaśaila. With the community of that sect, he again explained the five theses, which led to discussions and a division into three sects : Caityaśailas, Aparaśailas and Uttaraśailas.

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2. *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* (T 1465, p. 900*c* 6-12), a Mahāsāṃghika work translated anonymously between 317 and 420 A.D. :

"In the Mahāsāṃghika school, two hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, as an outcome of disputes, the Vyavahāra, Lokottara, Kukkulika, Bahuśrutaka and Prajñaptivādin schools will emerge. After three hundred years, following discussions, these five schools will be joined by THE SCHOOL OF MAHĀDEVA, that of the Caitikas and that of the Uttaraśailas".

3. Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.) and Chi tsang (549-623 A.D.) on the *Treatise on the Sects* by Vasumitra (Demiéville, *Sectes*, pp. 50-3) :

"When two hundred years had passed, an upāsaka-king from the land of Magadha propagated the Law of the Buddha widely and, in order to profit from his generosity, all the heretics took up the religious life. Mahādeva, who had ordained himself, placed himself at their head, received new pupils and ordained them into his personal saṃgha. The king sorted out those "parasitical" (*steyasaṃvāsika*) monks and permitted only some of them, the three hundred most

intelligent ones, to live in Magadha. Mahādeva, who was not tolerated by them, went and settled apart in the mountains with his adherents. Then, among those mountain-dwellers themselves, differences of opinion arose, and so the two schools called Caityaśaila and Uttaraśaila were formed".

4. K'uei chi (*l.c.*, pp. 43*a*-45*a*) reproduces the above and adds the name of the king : *Hao yun wang* "Cloud-loving".



Should we see in this Mahādeva II, located by all the sources in the mountainous regions [in Andhra country], an arbitrary splitting of Mahādeva I into two persons? Should we reject the historicity of both
311 Mahādevas and only see in them a confabulation intended to illustrate the progress of a heresy which, originating in Southern India among the Nāgas of Mahārāṣṭra, spread from saṃgha to saṃgha, finally causing the Mahāsāṃghika schism and, after many transformations, finally triumphed in several communities, particularly the Caitikas and Śailas in the Andhra region? We leave it to the reader to decide on these questions.

4th — The Mahādevas of the Pāli sources

The Sinhalese school firmly disavowed the five theses which it explains and refutes in the *Kathāvatthu*, II, 1-5 (pp. 163-203), but provides no information about their author. The commentary merely states that the heretical propositions in question were taught by the Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas and others.

Among the numerous Mahādevas known to the Pāli tradition — Professor Malalasekera pointed out no less than nine[90] — none appears to be a heretic. Two of them were contemporaries of Aśoka : a Mahādeva who was Aśoka's minister and arranged for the branch of the Bodhivṛkṣa to be sent to Ceylon (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XVIII, 20); a Mahādeva Thera who played an important part both as a religious teacher and a Buddhist missionary. In fact, he conferred the pabbajjā ordination on Mahinda, Aśoka's son (*Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 25; *Mahāvaṃsa*, V, 206; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 51); then, after the council of Pāṭaliputra in 236 after the Nirvāṇa, he went to preach the Good Law in Mahisamaṇḍala where he converted 40,000 persons and conferred ordination on 40,000

[90] G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, II, pp. 505-6.

young people (*Dīpavaṃsa*, VIII, 5; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XII, 3 and 29; *Samantapāsādikā*, pp. 63, 66).

Certain authors have suggested that this Mahisamaṇḍala, may have been the Andhra country and the region of Dhānyakaṭaka where the Pubba- and Aparaseliya sects had their headquarters : Mahādeva would have been the founder of these schools which were branches of the Mahāsāṃghika trunk and upheld the five theses. However, if the Mahādeva in question had been a heretic, it is difficult to see how the Sinhalese chronicle could have given him as the disciple and confidant of the very orthodox Moggaliputtatissa, who was a declared Vibhajyavādin, and could have classified him as one of the great propagators of the True Law. Moreover Mahisamaṇḍala is not the Andhra country, but is either Mysore or, more probably, Mahiṣmat or land of the Mahiṣakas,
312 associated by the *Purāṇa* with the Mahārāṣṭras and whose capital was Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.

5th — The uncertainties in the tradition

The examination of the documentation concerning the five theses has emphasized the hesitations and contradictions regarding :

1. the date of the schism : in 137 after the Nirvāṇa in the reign of the Nandas; in 100, 116 or 160 in the reign of Aśoka.

2. the instigator or instigators of the schism : the Nāgas of southern India supported by their neighbours the Pratyantikas and Bahuśrutas : a monk whose name was Bhadanta or who was known by that name; finally, Mahādeva. The last is sometimes presented as a criminal guilty of three *ānantarya*, sometimes as an erudite, talented and an unjustifiably slandered man, and, finally, sometimes as a Sarvāstivādin, a "subtle investigator of the *Nāma-Rūpa*".

3. the causes of the schism : the controversies provoked by the appearance of the five theses, the insertion of Mahāyānist sūtras in the Tripiṭaka, or again the translation of the scriptures into four different languages.

4. the consequences of the schism : the Sthaviran Arhats took refuge in Kaśmīr, and then settled there definitively, or again, after a short stay, returned to Pāṭaliputra where they caused a new council to be convened. As to the instigator of the schism (Mahādeva), sometimes he remained in Pāṭaliputra until his death, sometimes he repaired to the mountainous regions of the Andhra area where he continued to teach his theses to the Pūrva-, Apara- and Uttaraśailas. However, certain sources make Mahādeva, the Śaila scholar, a different person from Mahādeva, the instigator of the schism.

3. THE MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA SCHISM

The early sources do not agree over the exact date of this event nor over the causes which provoked it. At the risk of being repetitive, it is useful to group here all the indications which have reached us, adopting the various dates proposed as a method of classification. We should recall that the short chronology used by the Sanskrit sources locates the accession of Aśoka one hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, while the long chronology adopted by the Sinhalese sources places that same consecration in 218 after the Nirvāṇa.

313 1. *Schism in the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa* (short chron. 368 B.C.), according to Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 9, p. 923*a* 2-10). — In the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha, twenty *li* to the west of the cave where Mahākāśyapa and his thousand (sic) Arhats had held the first council in the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa, Hsüan tsang visited an Aśokan stūpa erected on the spot where the Mahāsāṃghika canon had been compiled. Some monks in training (*śaikṣa*) and some fully trained (*aśaikṣa*), numbering more than several hundred thousands, who had not participated in Kāśyapa's council, assembled in that place. They said to one another : "While the Tathāgata was alive, we all had one and the same master; now that he is deceased, we are cast aside like strangers. In order to dispaly our gratitude to the Buddha, we must compile a Dharmapiṭaka". Thus, wordlings (*pṛthagjana*) and holy ones (*ārya*) united and composed five Piṭakas : Sūtra-, Vinaya-, Abhidharma-, Kṣudraka- and Dhāraṇī-piṭaka : they were called the Collection of the Mahāsāṃghikas because wordlings and holy ones had formed the assembly which drafted them.

Chi tsang and Paramārtha (Demiéville, *Sectes*, p. 28 sq.), a century before Hsüan tsang, had already proposed quite a close version of this event. According to these authors, two months after the decease of the Buddha, on the Gṛdhrakūṭa at Rājagṛha, Mahākāśyapa and his five hundred Arhats, who made up the Sthavira school, had compiled the Tripiṭaka. A number of monks, who had not been admitted to this task, gathered outside the disciplinary limit (*sīmā*) with the intention of compiling the Tripiṭaka too; their leader was the Arhat Bāṣpa and, since they were ten thousand in number, they took the name of Mahāsāṃghika. Therefore, the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa was marked by a purely nominal scission between Kāśyapa's Sthaviras and Bāṣpa's Mahāsāṃghikas; however, it was only 116 years later, in the reign of Aśoka, that the controversies provoked by Mahādeva transformed the scission into a doctrinal schism which resulted in the formation of two separate schools : that of the Sthaviras and that of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The version of the events as recorded here by Hsüan tsang calls for some reservation. From his translation of the *Treatise on the Sects* (T 2031), the master of the Law knew perfectly well that Vasumitra dated the Mahāsāṃghika schism at "One hundred years or more". So why, in his *Hsi yü chi*, does he claim that it went back to the very origins of Buddhism? It is unlikely that the unity of the Saṃgha was
314 broken from the time of the decease of the Blessed One and that two canons of texts were compiled simultaneously. As an adept of the Mahāyāna, Hsüan tsang no doubt believed that the Great Vehicle had its remote origins in the Mahāsāṃghika school and wanted to date the formation of that school far back in the past. The same concern can be seen in Paramārtha who, with more credibility, posits only a nominal scission between the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas at the beginning.

Nevertheless, with all due respect, we wonder whether Hsüan tsang did not confuse matters by linking the schism with the council of Rājagṛha in the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa, rather than with the council of Pātaliputra in Aśoka's time. The Mahāsāṃghika council is supposed to have counteracted a council held in Rājagṛha by Kāśyapa "surrounded by 1,000 Arhats". However, the whole Buddhist tradition, with few rare exceptions, claims that Kāśyapa assembled only 500 Arhats around him. The council of the 1,000 Arhats is, according to the same tradition (*Dpv.*, VII, 58; *Mhv.*, V, 275; *Sp.*, p. 61), the one which was held in Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka.

2. *Schism in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa* (long chron., 386 B.C.), according to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 30-9). The malevolent Vajjiputtaka monks, after being expelled by the Theras of the council of Vaiśālī in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa in the reign of Kālāsoka, maintained their false doctrines and organized an opposition council. That assembly was known to history by the name of Grand Council (*mahāsaṃgīti*) and the participants were called Mahāsamgītikas. They were guilty of falsifying the writings, either by causing upheaval in established texts, or by making omissions and interpolations, or by rejecting whole sections of the canon (*Parivāra*, *Abhidhamma* in six sections, *Paṭisambhidhā*, *Niddesa* and parts of the *Jātaka*), and by compiling new texts. They went so far as to change the original terms, the gender of words, the rules of style and figures of rhetoric. Those Mahāsaṃgītikas were the first schismatics and, in imitation of them, countless heretics appeared.

With the exception of the date, this new version of the schism consisting of an opposition council and a modification of the canonical writings is quite close to the preceding one. It also contains improbabilities. It is difficult to see how the condemnation of the laxist practices

which prevailed in Vaiśālī could have led to a revolt by the majority and a complete revision of the canon, about which the early sources concerning the council of Vaiśālī are completely silent.

315 However, there is more. Of the Sinhalese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* is the only one to mention the Mahāsaṃgīti and the Mahāsaṃgītikas. The *Dīpavaṃsa* is less a consistent chronicle than a dossier of badly classified documents in which a large number of doublets appear. The part concerning the Mahāsaṃgītikas was eliminated from the chronicle by the compilers of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* and, as will be seen, replaced by a completely different document in the *Nikāyasaṃgraha*.

3. *Schism in the year 137 after the Nirvāṇa* (long chron., 349 B.C.), according to the Saṃmatīya tradition recorded by Bhavya, Bu ston, Gźon nu dpal and Tāranātha (references above, p. 281). — In the year 137 after the Nirvāṇa, during the reign of Nanda and Mahāpadma, an assembly was held in Pāṭaliputra in which numerous Sthaviras participated. The teaching of the five theses begun by the monk (Bhadanta) and taken up again, later (?), by the Sthaviras Nāga (Nāgasena) and Sāramati (Manoratha) caused a schism in the assembly between the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

This new tradition is distinguishable from those that preceded and those that followed in that it does not link the schism to one of the three great Buddhist councils — Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra — nor to a glorious reign in the history of Buddhism, the reign of Ajātaśatru, Kālāśoka or Aśoka.

4. *Schism in the year 100 or, to be more exact, 116 after the Nirvāṇa* (short chron., 252 B.C.), according to Vasumitra, the *Vibhāṣā* and related sources (references above, pp. 275-76). — It was during the reign of Aśoka the Maurya, in the year 100 or 116 after the Nirvāṇa, that the five heretical theses, originating in the Nāgas of southern India or preached by a certain Mahādeva, caused a doctrinal scission between the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāmghikas.

We saw above the vacillations of this tradition.

5. *Schism in the year 160 after the Nirvāṇa* (short chron., 208 B.C.) according to Bhavya and others (references above, p. 283). — This tradition is identical to the preceding one, the only difference being that the schism is fixed in 160 after the Nirvāṇa, but still during the reign of Aśoka. However, at this date, Aśoka had been dead for twenty-three years.

6. *Schism in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa* (long chron., 250 B.C.) according to the *Nikāyasaṃgraha* (tr. C.M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908,

p. 9). — According to this work, which was written towards the end of the fourteenth century by the Saṃgharāja Dharmakīrti, the schism
316 occurred immediately after the council of Pāṭaliputra presided over by Moggaliputtatissa in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa : "After that council, the heretics (*tīrthika*) who had been expelled from the order and were receiving no further aid, withdrew and, foaming with rage, assembled in Nālandā, near Rājagṛha. There, they thought the matter over and said : "We will establish a rift between the doctrine and discipline of the Śākya's monks in order to make it difficult for people to understand the religion. However, if we are not acquainted with the subtleties of the religion, that will not be possible, so we must become monks again by any means whatever'. They presented themselves anew but, unable to gain admittance from the Theriya Nikāya (school of the Sthaviras), they went to the members of seventeen brotherhoods, Mahāsāṃghikas, etc., which had been dismissed by that [Theriya Nikāya], and took up the religious life [with them], without admitting that they were Tīrthikas. Henceforward, hearing and reading the Tripiṭaka, they disarranged and destroyed it. Later, they went to the town of Kauśāmbī and used every means to initiate a separate doctrine and discipline. After the year 255 of the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, they split into six divisions and, dwelling in six different places, formed themselves into nine fraternities : Hemavata, Rājagiriya, Siddhatthika, Pubbaseliya, Aparaseliya, Vājiriya, Vetulya, Andhaka and Anyamahāsāṃghika".

Therefore, the account in the *Dīpavaṃsa* according to which the Mahāsāṃghikas formed themselves into a separate school after the council of Vaiśālī in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa — an account which had already been eliminated from the Pāli chronicle by the compilers of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Samantapāsādikā* — is replaced here by a quite different tradition, in the terms of which the heretics condemned by Aśoka and Moggaliputtatissa in 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.) joined the Mahāsāṃghika communities and enlarged their ranks; a few years later, in 255 after the Nirvāṇa (231 B.C.), the very year of Aśoka's death, those Mahāsāṃghikas, amalgamated with the heretics, migrated abroad (in particular, to the Andhra region) and formed nine separate fraternities.

We do not know the value of this tradition which is narrated in such a late work as the *Nikāyasaṃgraha.* We will merely note that it is surprisingly close to the version of the facts presented by Vasumitra, Paramārtha and Hsüan tsang.

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4. — CONCLUSIONS

The Buddhist traditions concerning the councils, the heresies and the schism are so vacillating and contradictory that they cannot be considered as objective accounts of any historical value. Nevertheless, they constitute a precious psychological documentation in that they exactly interpret the mind and propensities of the Buddhist community from the outset.

After the decease of the Buddha, the Śākya's disciples were faced with an immense task : their Master left them no written testament, and it was important to establish his teaching, with the utmost urgency, as much from the doctrinal as the disciplinary point of view. Particularly in the domain of the Vinaya, even if the Prātimokṣa articles were firmly established, some doubts remained with regard to the minor and unimportant precepts. However, the Saṃgha had no master available to institute a legitimate elaboration of what had already been disclosed.

On their own authority, Mahākāśyapa and his immediate disciples, all of them claiming to be Arhats, set themselves up as scholars and critics. It was only with some hesitation that they opened their ranks to Ānanda, the faithful disciple of the Master but who, unlike Kāśyapa, did not belong to the brāhmin caste and had still not acquired the supreme fruit of the religious life. In order to be able to join his colleagues, Ānanda also had to win Arhatship.

The assembly, at last constituted, gathered in council at Rājagṛha and immediately began a joint recitation of the doctrinal discourses and disciplinary rules. With regard to the precepts, it displayed uncompromising strictness. The work achieved its aim, we believe fairly rapidly, by the formation of an oral canon of the Buddhist teaching which had been memorized in the Magadhan language by specialized bhikṣus; among them there were memorizers of the sūtra (*sūtradhara*) and of the vinaya (*vinayadhara*), official commentators (*mātṛkādhara*) and professional preachers (*dharmakathaka*).

Despite all their competence, the Arhats in Kāśyapa's circle were not able to win the approval of all their colleagues. Certain monks — the name of Purāṇa or Upananda is cited — preferred to retain the teaching just as they had heard it from the lips of the Master. Opposition was particularly strong among the religious who had still not attained holiness and remained at the level of students (*śaikṣa*) or wordlings
318 (*pṛthagjana*). There most probably was a collusion between those monks, whose spiritual level was inferior, and the pious laity (*upāsaka*) who were denied any possibility of direct access to Nirvāṇa by the early

doctrine. During the first two centuries of Buddhism, a latent hostility, caused by jealousy, smouldered between the Arhats on the one hand, and the worldly religious and the laity on the other. This caused ever-increasing conflict, and finally culminated in schism.

The first controversies concerned discipline. Certain religious proposed abolishing the minor and unimportant precepts on pretext that the Buddha had not defined them clearly, but the Arhats decided to maintain them down to the very last one. Later, some monks from Vaiśālī, the Vṛjiputrakas, attempted to include in the Vinaya the laxist practices to which they were accustomed, particularly the possibility for the monks to accept gifts of money; they were condemned.

The intransigence of the Arhats deserved to be taught a lesson. Without further ado, an attempt was made to attack them directly through their honour and privileges; it was then that the five heretical theses appeared, asserting that the Arhat is always subject to a certain form of physical impurity, to ignorance and doubt, that he can be helped spiritually by others and that there are other means of salvation than the slow and painful practice of the eightfold Path. This heresy was perhaps first formulated in southern India, but the information provided by the sources on its author or authors are merely fables invented after the event. Once it had been launched, it gradually spread to all the Buddhist communities where it was keenly discussed. The Arhats, who were directly threatened, opposed it with savage resistance. A few saṃghas split into two groups : adversaries and supporters of the heresy, and no doubt some religious migrated, but historical details are lacking.

The supporters of the heresy, who were upheld by the laity and included in their ranks the mass of worldlings and śaikṣas, were in the majority. Many of them, though lacking in holiness, were consummate scholars (*bahuśruta*). They were no longer satisfied with the early canon of the writings and undertook to revise it. They rearranged the order of the texts, eliminated some works questioning their authenticity or value,
319 but mainly they inserted into the old collections new compositions, in which their particular views were set out.

All these dissensions inevitably culminated in the schism which brought about the scission of the original Saṃgha into two main branches : that of the Sthaviras who remained faithful to the old ideal of holiness, and that of the Mahāsāṃghikas who were won over to the five theses, open to the aspirations of the laity and strongly tinged with democracy. Whatever the sources may say, it is doubtful whether the kings directly intervened in the doctrinal conflict. Aśoka, as we know

from his edicts, protected all sects impartially and tried to bring harmony among them rather than set them against one another; he contended with the dissension as such, threatening to reduce all the agitators to lay status. The date of the schism has not been precisely established, but everything leads to the belief that it had been prepared over a long period and only came to a head in Aśoka's era, at a time when the royal favours had attracted into the order a number of self-interested recruits, possibly even pure tīrthikas. On this subject, some early evidence, not mentioned so far, can be put forward : that of Nāgārjuna or, if it is a question of a gloss, his translator Kumārajīva (405 A.D.) : "When the Buddha was in this world, there was no opposition to the Law. When he had disappeared, and the Law was recited for the first time, it was still as when the Buddha was alive. — One hundred years later, King Aśoka convened a great assembly of the quinquinnial (*pañcavarṣapariṣad*) and the Great Masters of the Law debated. Because of their differences, there were distinct sects (*nikāya*), each having a name and each of which was subsequently to evolve" (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70*a*).

III. — THE GROWTH OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

It was during the Mauryan period that Buddhism, extending well beyond the Gangetic plain which had been its birthplace, gradually reached neighbouring lands and took root in the whole of India, as well as Ceylon. This peaceful conquest, however, did not prevent the survival of brāhmanical institutions and Hindu practices, since the efforts made by the propagandists were aimed less at eliminating established institutions and popular beliefs than at adapting them to Śākyamuni's message.
320 With regard to this rapid growth of Buddhism, we possess two sources of information, differing in origin and value, but which complete and verify each other : the Sinhalese chronicle and old and modern archaeology.

1. THE SINHALESE CHRONICLE

THE DATA IN THE CHRONICLE. — The Sinhalese chronicle abounds in precise and dated information on what it calls the Conversion of Various Regions (*Nānadesapasāda*), details of which can be found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VIII, 1-13), the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XII, 1-55), the Pāli *Samantapāsādikā* (I, pp. 63-9), the Chinese *Samantapāsādikā* (*Shan chien lü*, T 1462, ch. 2, pp. 684-6) and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (pp. 113-15).

After the council of Pāṭaliputra, in the month of Kattika (October) in

the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), the Thera Moggaliputtatissa, in anticipation of the future and with the aim of propagating the religion in neighbouring lands, sent missionaries to nine separate regions.

1. The Arhat Majjhantika who, as one may recall, had recited the *kammavācā* during the ordination of Mahinda, went to Kasmīra-Gandhāra. There, with his supernatural powers, he vanquished the Nāga-king Aravāḷa and converted him to Buddhism, while the Yakṣa Paṇḍaka, his wife Hāritā and their five hundred sons became srotaāpannas. Majjhantika preached the *Āsīvisopamāsutta* before a large gathering of people, converted 80,000 persons and conferred 100,000 (var. 1,000) ordinations.

2. Mahādeva, who had also taken part in the ordination of Mahinda by conferring on him the *pabbajjā*, set out to win over Mahiṣamaṇḍala where he preached the *Devadūtasutta*, converted 40,000 persons and conferred 40,000 ordinations.

3. Rakkhita made for the land of Vanavāsa and, rising into the air, recited the *Anamatagga Saṃyutta*; 60,000 persons were converted, 37,000 (var. 7,000) took up the religious life, and 500 vihāras were founded.

4. Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita was sent to Aparantaka, where he preached the *Aggikkhandopamāsutta* and converted 37,000 (var. 30,000) persons and gave 2,000 ordinations, of which a good thousand were women.

5. Mahādhammarakkhita, known to have conferred ordination on Tissa, Aśoka's half-brother, was despatched to Mahāraṭṭha. After hav-
321 ing preached the *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka*, he had 84,000 conversions and 13,000 (3,000) ordinations to his credit.

6. Mahārakkhita travelled to Yonakaloka and there he recited the *Kālakārāmasutta*; 170,000 (var. 137,000) persons were won to Buddhism and 10,000 (var. 1,000) took up the monastic life.

7. Majjhima reached the high Himavat mountains with four companions : Kassapagotta, Dundubhissara (the reading Durabissara is incorect), Sahadeva and Mūlakadeva (var. Alakadeva). He recited the *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*, and 80 *koṭi* of beings became strotaāpannas. Each of the five missionaries converted a kingdom, and each kingdom yielded 100,000 monastic recruits.

8. Soṇa and Uttara went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, where the preaching of the *Brahmajālasutta* led to 60,000 conversions and 5,000 recruits.

9. Mahinda, Aśoka's own son, was given the mission of converting Laṅkā; he had four companions to assist him, the Theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla, and he also took with him his nephew, the novice Sumana, Saṃghamittā's son. However, before un-

dertaking the voyage, he understood that he would do better to wait until Prince Devānaṃpiyatissa mounted the throne of Ceylon. In the meanwhile, he resolved to go to Avanti, his native land, accompanied by the other members of the mission. For six months, he stayed in Ujjenī (Ujjayinī) at the Dakkhiṇāgiri monastery; he then went to visit his mother, Queen Devī, who lived in Vedisa, present-day Bhīlsa in Gwalior; he lodged for a month in the Cetiyagiri (var. Vedisagiri) monastery, where he made the acquaintance of his cousin Bhanduka, the son of one of his mother's sisters, and who became an upāsaka and joined Mahinda.

However, the time had now come for Mahinda to accomplish his mission. On the uposatha day of the month of Jeṭṭha, in the spring of the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa, the four theras, the śramaṇa Sumana and the upāsaka Bhaṇḍuka rose miraculously into the air, and in a few instants reached Ceylon. They landed on the peak of Mount Missaka, present-day Mihintalē, where King Devānaṃpiyatissa was busy hunting. Mahinda immediately called the sovereign and recited the *Cūlahatthipadopamāsutta* to him; the king and his retinue, 500 persons, took the three refuges. Then the missionary, addressing the devas, preached the *Samacittasutta* to them.

Led in triumph to Anurādhapura, the capital, the missionaries were
322 received and lodged in the palace by Queen Anulā and her five hundred attendants. They recited the *Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu* and *Saccasaṃyutta,* and all acquired the srotaāpanna fruit.

The missionaries, without allowing themselves to be pampered by the fine fare and solicitous care, organized a mission lasting seven days which was preached either in the Elephants' Stable (Hatthisālā), or in the Park of Delights (Nandanavana) to the south of the town. The following is a list of the discourses and the results they incurred :

First day. — Teaching of the *Devadūtasuttanta* and a thousand conversions; teaching of the *Bālapaṇḍitasuttanta* and a thousand conversions among the women.

Second day. — The ceremonious presentation to the missionaries of the Mahāmeghavana which was destined later to become the Tissārāma or Mahāvihāra, the religious centre of the island; teaching of the *Aggikkhandopamāsuttanta* and a thousand conversions.

Third day. — Teaching of the *Āsīvisūpamā* and a thousand conversions.

Fourth day. — Teaching of the *Anamatagga* and a thousand conversions; fixing of the boundaries of the future Mahāvihāra.

Fifth day. — Teaching of the *Khajjanīyasuttanta* and a thousand conversions.

Sixth day. — Teaching of the *Gomayapiṇḍīsutta* and a thousand conversions.

Seventh day. — Teaching of the *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta* and a thousand conversions.

The 8,000 conversions carried out during the retreat, together with the five hundred persons in the king's retinue who had welcomed the missionaries on Mount Missaka, brought the number of converts to 8,500 (*Mhv.*, XV, 201).

After remaining for twenty-six days in the Mahāmeghavana, on the 13th of the month of Āsāḷha (June), the six missionaries preached the *Mahappamādasuttanta* to the king, and then withdrew to Mount Missaka where they spent the rainy season. The king's nephew, Ariṭṭha, and his 55 brothers followed them into the retreat and received ordination; thenceforth the island had 62 monks. They spent the three months of the varṣa in the Cetiyapabbata monastery which had been built for them by the king.

In the month of Kattika (October), the śramaṇa Sumana was sent to Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra, as well as to Indra's palace; he returned from his voyage with a quantity of relics, particularly the right clavicle of the
323 Buddha, which were stored in the Cetiyapabbata. However, the precious clavicle was soon transported to the Thūpārāma enclosure, at the gates of the town. The wonders which marked the celebrations led to further callings, among them that of Mattābhaya, the king's brother. The number of bhikkhus rose to 30,000 (*Mhv.*, XVII, 61).

Queen Anulā and her five hundred lady attendants expressed a desire to take up the religious life, so the king sent his nephew Ariṭṭha to Aśoka with the task of obtaining a chapter of nuns and a branch of the Bodhi tree. These requests were granted. The nun Saṃghamittā, with eleven of her co-sisters, carrying the Bodhi tree, embarked at Tāmalittī (Tamluk) and, after a rapid but stormy crossing, landed at the port of Jambukola in Ceylon. The tree, transported in great pomp to Anurādhapura, was planted by the king in the Mahāmeghavana.

Saṃghamittā conferred ordination on Anulā and her attendants; after which the new nuns took up their quarters in the monasteries of the Upāsikā and Hatthāḷhakavihāras.

An assessment of the tradition. — The facts related by the chronicle are so important that the text must be subjected to a thorough examination.

1. *The initiative of Moggaliputtatissa.* — The chronicle emphasizes the fact that the missionary movement, which was to lead to the conversion

Regions indoctrinated	Missionaries	Sermons preached	Pāli Chronicle: number of converts	Pāli Chronicle: of ordinations	*Shan chien lü*: number of converts	*Shan chien lü*: of ordinations
Kasmīra Gandhāra	Majjhantika	*Āsivisūpamā*	80,000	100,000	80,000	1,000
Mahisamaṇḍala	Mahādeva	*Devadūta*	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
Vanavāsa	Rakkhita	*Anamatagga*	60,000	37,000	60,000	7,000
Aparantaka	Yonaka Dhamma-rakkhita	*Aggikkhandhopamā*	37,000	2,000	30,000	2,000
Mahāraṭṭha	Mahādhammarakkhita	*Mahānāradakassapa*	84,000	13,000	84,000	3,000
Yonakaloka	Mahārakkhita	*Kālakārāma*	170,000 (var. 137,000)	10,000	73,000	1,000
Himavat	Majjhima Kassapagotta Mūladeva (Alakadeva) Sahadeva Dundubhissara	*Dhammacappavattana*	fabulous number	fabulous number	fabulous number	fabulous number
Suvaṇṇabhūmi	Soṇa Uttara	*Brahmajāla*	60,000	5,000	60,000	5,000
Laṅkā	Mahinda Iṭṭhiya Uttiya Sambala Bhaddasāla Sumana Bhaṇḍuka		8,500	56	8,500	56
			539,500	207,056	435,500	59,056

of the whole of India, was launched on the initiative of the Vibhajyavādin Moggaliputtatissa, the master of Mahinda apostle of Ceylon.

For our part, we believe that Buddhism, using active propaganda from the outset, was able to take advantage of the propitious circumstances created by the conversion of Aśoka and the emperor's favour, and win over the major part of India to the religion. However, we strongly doubt that the considerable expansion it achieved during the Mauryan period could have been the result of a concerted plan of missions and in particular that the initiative for the move is to be attributed to Moggaliputtatissa alone.

There can be no doubt that Buddhism, like other religious movements of the time, within India as without, was a religion of propaganda, a missionary movement. It is no less certain that such propaganda was pursued from the beginning. Immediately after the discourse at Vārāṇasī
325 and the conversion of the first disciples, the Buddha himself sent his monks to expound the Good Law to whomsoever wished to hear it : "O monks, I am freed from all the human and divine bonds and you, also, are freed from them. Go forth, and walk for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the profit, for the welfare, for the happiness of gods and mankind. Let not two of you go by the same path. Expound the Law which is beneficent in the beginning, beneficent in the middle, beneficent at the end; teach it in its spirit and its letter; explain the practice of the religious life in the fullness of its purity. There exist beings who, by nature, are not blinded by passion; but if they do not hear the Law expounded, they are lost; they will be won over to the Law. As for myself, I shall go to Uruvilvā, the town of the army chief, in order to teach the Law" (*Pāli Vin.*, I, pp. 20-1; cf. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 415; T 1421, ch. 16, p. 108*a*; T 1428, ch. 32, p. 792*a*; T 1450, ch. 6, p. 130*a*). This order was carried out and, during the very lifetime of the Buddha, regions as remote as Avanti or Śroṇāparānta were, if not converted, at least evangelized by apostles the memory of whom was preserved by history : Mahākātyāyana, Pūrṇa, etc.

The chronicle simplifies and misrepresents the facts by situating the general conversion of India in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa; it shows its partiality by attributing the merit to Moggaliputtatissa and his delegates alone. This tendentious version was never accepted on the mainland, nor even generally admitted by all the Sinhalese religious.

a. For the mainlanders, the conversion of India was the result of a long and patient teaching process initiated by the Buddha and continued during the early centuries by the Masters of the Law and their imme-

diate disciples. In the paragraph we devoted to them, we saw the rôle played in Kaśmīr first by Madhyāntika, then by Śāṇavāsa and, finally, by the 500 Sthavirian Arhats expelled from Pāṭaliputra by Aśoka. The same sources attribute to Mahendra "Ānanda's disciple" (sic) the conversion of Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon), and make the Mathurā region the centre of activities of the great Upagupta. Doubtless not all the details of the great deeds of these religious are clear, and the chronology of their respective ministries is so ill-established that Hsüan tsang can be excused for having, on one and the same page of his *Memoirs*, attributed the founding of 500 Kaśmīrian vihāras first to Madhyāntika and his disciples, in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa, then and immediately
326 afterwards to the Sthavirian Arhats from Pāṭaliputra in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*a-b*). The main point is that the conversion of India required long centuries, for it began during the very lifetime of the Buddha, and it was not completed until the Mauryan era. It is therefore quite correct for the roll of honour of the missionaries drawn up by the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* (ed. LÉVI, pp. 61-4) to place contemporaries of Śākyamuni and contemporaries of Aśoka side by side : "Mahākāśyapa converted the population of the West, beginning with Avanti. The Ārya Madhyandina, having subdued five hundred dragons in Kaśmīr, converted the region where he planted saffron which he had gathered from Lake Anavatapta and which the population still eats today; he also built a monastery there which is still inhabited. In Suvarṇabhūmi, the Ārya Gavāmpati converted the population over a distance of one hundred *yojana*. The inhabitants of Pūrvavideha (the Eastern World) were converted by the Ārya Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, and monasteries were built there which are still inhabited. In Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon), some Rākṣasas, Vibhīṣaṇa, etc., achieved understanding through the Ārya Mahendra, and the region was converted. As it is said in the *Adhyardhaśataka*, in the town of Śūrpāraka, five hundred lay persons were converted by the Ārya Pūrṇa, and a pavilion with a frieze made of sandalwood was constructed; the Blessed One made his way there through the air with five hundred bhikṣus, and a throng of people was converted". This account knows nothing whatever about Moggaliputta's missionary activity.

b. It is immediately obvious that the fable concerning Moggaliputta's missions could not have been compiled before the fifth century, the date of the introduction of Buddhism to Burma. Before that date, the Sinhalese religious who were settled in the Andhra region had already attempted to accredit a legend which attributed the conversion of the whole of India to Sinhalese śramaṇas, but which makes no mention of

Moggaliputta. An inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, dating from the year 14 of the reign of the Ikṣvāku Māṭharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata (ca 240-260 A.D.), records the erection of an absidal temple (*caityagṛha*) and a shrine (*caitya*) by the upāsikā Bodhisiri for the benefit "of the masters and fraternities of Tambapaṃṇa (Ceylon) who converted Kasmira, Gaṃdhāra, Cīna-Cilāta, Tosalī, Avaraṃta, Vaṃga, Vanavāsi, Damila, Palura and Taṃbapaṃṇidīpa" (EI, XX, 1929, p. 22). In other words, it is assumed that the Sinhalese converted the whole of India as well as
327 themselves. It needed all the naivety of an over-pious woman to take them at their word. The Pāli chronicle itself did not dare to confirm such a fable and preferred to transpose to Moggaliputta, Aśoka's spiritual adviser and teacher of the great Sinhalese missionary Mahinda, the honour of having initiated the missions. However, if this last tradition compelled recognition in Ceylon, it was always ignored or dismissed on the mainland.

It should be remembered that the evangelization, begun at the time of the Buddha, intensified in the Mauryan age and led, in the reign of Aśoka, to the virtual conversion of the whole of India, but that the missionary movement was the deed of all the communities then existing and no saṃgha in particular can claim exclusive merit for it. Furthermore, the expansion of the Good Law was ruled by geographical conditions : it was propagated from region to region.

The tendentious nature of the chronicle in no way prevents it from supplying interesting and occasionally, precise, information on the conversion of India.

2. *The lands covered by the mission.* — They were nine in number :

1. Kaśmīra-Gandhāra. Taken in its broadest sense, Gandhāra, the inhabitants of which were known to Strabo and Ptolemy by the names of Gandaritoi and Gandarai, represents the ancient Achaemenid satrapy of Gadara. The province, ceded to Candragupta by Seleucus I in 305, included not only the district of Puṣkarāvatī (present-day Prāng and Chārsadda, 17 miles N.E. of Peshāwar), but also the Eastern Punjab, capital Takṣaśilā (20 miles N.W. of Rāwalpindi). The region was completely Buddhist by the Mauryan period. The same cannot be said for Kaśmīr which, with the exception of the extreme south, did not truly become a Buddhist land until the Kuṣāṇa era.

2. Mahisamaṇḍala. Vain attempts were made to identify this area with the land of Andhra, in which Mahādeva's heresy flourished for a long time in the Śaila communities. The Mahiṣakas are mentioned by the *Purāṇa* among the people in the South, after the Mahārāṣṭras; their capital was Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā. Māhiṣmatī is known to the

canonical sources (*Dīgha*, II, p. 235; *Suttanipāta*, v. 1011) as the chief town of Southern Avanti. As a close neighbour of Ujjayinī, it no doubt benefited quite early on from the propagandist movement initiated by Mahākātyāyana in Avanti.

3. Vanavāsa, or North Kanara, was the dwelling-place of the Vana-
328 vāsikas or Vanavāsins to the east of Koṅkan, between the Ghāt, the Tuṅgabhadrā and the Varadā. The town of Vanavāsī, situated on the left bank of the Varadā, was known to Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) by the name of Banabasi; an inscription dating from the Caṭukula-Śātakarṇi dynasty has been found there (LÜDERS, 1186).

4. Aparāntaka in a restricted sense is northern Koṅkan, its capital being Śūrpāraka, the Suppara of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§52) and of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 6), present-day Sopāra; however, in the wider sense, Aparānta, a synonym of Paścāddeśa, designates the whole western coast, Sindh, Western Rājputāna, Kutch, Gujarāt and the coastal area of the lower Narmadā. If we are to believe Buddhist sources (*Majjhima*, III, p. 268; *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 61; *Divya*, p. 45 sq.), the sage Pūrṇa, at the time of the Buddha, had already brought the Good Word to the Śroṇāparāntakas (Pāli, Sunāparantas) and founded a monastery made of sandalwood in Śūrpāraka.

5. Mahārāṣṭra is the Maratha region on the Upper Godavarī.

6. Yavanaloka designates the territories of eastern Gedrosia and Arachosia which were ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta in approximately 305 B.C. and occupied by Graeco-Iranian settlers called "barbarians" in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 65, 13) and "the godless" by the *Purāṇa*.

7. Himavanta refers in a general manner to the whole Himālayan region.

8. Suvarṇabhūmi is a maritime country which, despite the suggestion made by Fleet, has nothing to do with Karṇasuvarṇa located by Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 928*a*) in North-West India. It was known as the Chryse Chersonesos to the ancient geographers and identified with the ancient *môn* area, and more particularly the town of Thaton in lower Burma[91]. According to the Buddhist sources, Suvarṇabhūmi was evan-

[91] *Chryse Chersonesos* of Pomponius Mela (III, 70), Pliny the Elder (VI, 55, 80), *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (56, 50, 63), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, VIII, 6, 4), Ptolemy (VII, 1, 15). *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* of Jātaka, IV, *p.* 15; VI, *p.* 34; *Chin ti* or *Chin chou* of the Mūlarsarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1444, ch. 2, p. 1026*c* 7); of the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 11, p. 136*b* 17) and of I ching (T 2066, ch. 2, p. 11*c* 5-7; p. 12*a* 5 and 11) who identifies it with the Malayan kingdom of *Shi-li-fo-shi* (Śrīvijaya). See R.C. MAJUMDAR, *Suvarṇabhūmi*, Dacca, 1937; V. RANGHACHARYA, *The Suvarṇabhumi and Suvarṇadyīpa*, Aiyangar Comm. Vol., p. 462-482.

gelized either by Gavāmpati during the Buddha's lifetime (*Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, p. 62), or by Soṇa and Uttara at the time of Aśoka (Pāli
329 chronicle). However, this is apocryphal information which can hardly date back further than the fifth century A.D., since there is no trace at all of any Indian incursions into Burma before the fragments of the Pāli canon found at Mōza and Maungun, on the ancient site of Prome, and which date from around 500 A.D.[92].

9. Laṅkā or Ceylon.

The nine regions enumerated by the chronicle were therefore not all evangelized at the time of Aśoka; some, such as Avanti and Aparāntaka, had encountered the Buddhist message before that date; others, such as Suvarṇabhūmi, not until much later. However, it is not impossible that the missionary movement intensified in the Maurya period; it is even probable that the preachers of the Saddharma were quite close on the heels of the imperial envoys sent to various regions in India to promulgate the Dharma of Aśoka.

According to the fifth rock edict (Bloch, p. 103), thirteen years after the consecration (231 after the Nirvāṇa, 255 B.C.), the overseers of the Dharma of Aśoka introduced it among the Yavanas, Kambojans, Gandhārans, Rāṣṭrikas, Piteṇikas and other Aparāntas, and we know from the second and twelfth rock edicts (Bloch, pp. 93, 130) that the pious message reached as far as the Tāmraparṇīyas. The official propaganda opened the way for the religious propaganda and, five years later, to be precise in the year 18 of the consecration (236 after the Nirvāṇa, 250 B.C.), the Dharmabhāṇakas, as the Buddhist missionaries were called, duplicated the activity of the imperial functionaries.

In order to get an idea of the extent of the political and religious activity launched at the time of Priyadarśin, we can compare the regional lists supplied by the Pāli chronicle, the edicts (*l.c.*), the *Karmavibhaṅga* (pp. 61-4) and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (*EI*, XX, 1929, p. 22) : (see p. 302).

330 The Cīna-Cilātas are cited by the Buddhist sources (*Milinda*, pp. 327, 331) immediately after the Saka-Yavanas; the *Mahābhārata* (II, 26, 9; V, 19, 15) knows them by the names of Cīṇa and Kirāta; they are the Kirridai of the *Periplus* (§62) and the Tiladai or Piladai of Ptolemy (VII, 2, 15). They are located roughly on the Upper Indus, in the Himālayan part of the river.

Of the four sources, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is the only one to mention the conversion of Eastern India : Vaṅga or Bengal, Tosalī from whence the

[92] G. Coedès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et l'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948, p. 37.

Chronicle	Edicts	Karmavibhaṅga	Nāgārjunikoṇḍa
1. Kaśmīra		2. Kaśmīra	1. Kaśmīra
2. Gandhāra	3. Gandhāra		2. Gandhāra
3. Mahīṣa-maṇḍala		1. Avanti	
	5. Piṭeṇika		
4. Vanavāsa			7. Vanavāsi
5. Aparāntaka	6. Aparānta	6. Region of Śūrpāraka	5. Aparānta
6. Mahārāṣṭra	4. Rāṣṭrika		
7. Yavanaloka	1. Yavana		8. Yavana (?)
8. Himavanta			3. Cīna-Ciḷāta
9. Suvarṇabhūmi		3. Suvarṇabhūmi	
	2. Kamboja		
	7. Cola, Pāṇḍya, Kerala		9. Damiḷa (?)
10. Laṅkā	8. Tāmraparṇiya	5. Siṃhaladvīpa	11. Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa
			6. Vaṅga
			4. Tosalī
			10. Palura (?)

separate Dhauli edicts come (Bloch, p. 136) and which is the Dosarene of the Greek geographers (*Periplus*, 62; Ptolemy, VII, 1, 17; VII, 1, 40; VII, 1, 77), finally, if the reading is correct, Palura. This town, called Padoura by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 16, 18 and 85), must be identified with Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga (*Dīgha*, II, p. 235; *Jātaka*, II, p. 367; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 361), the oppidum of Dandaguda for Pliny (VI, 72)[93].

3. *The missionaries.* — Of the twenty-odd missionaries cited by the Pāli chronicle, only two, Majjhantika and Mahinda, have found a place
331 in the Buddhist tradition on the mainland, the first by the name of Madhyāntika or Madhyandina, the second by that of Mahendra.

There existed a prediction by the Buddha according to which, after his decease, the Arhat Madhyāntika would settle in Kaśmīr and propagate Buddhism there. It is mentioned in the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 116*b* 3-4; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 155*c* 20-1), the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, Pt I, p. xvii, 1.4; T 1448, ch. 9, p. 40*c* 18-22), the *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka* (T 380, ch. 2, p. 954*c* 13-17) and the *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*a* 21).

At the time of his Nirvāṇa, which he obtained in the middle of the Ganges, Ānanda solemnly entrusted the Law to Madhyāntika with the mission to propagate it in Kaśmīr : *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 116*b*

[93] S. Lévi, *Notes Indiennes*, JA, 1925, p. 46 sq.; *Ptolémée, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā*, Études Asiatiques, II, 1925, p. 17 sq.

5; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 155*c* 24), *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 410*c*). This same tradition is narrated in the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37*b* 16-27) with the difference that Mahendra already comes into the story :

"When Ānanda was on the point of entering Nirvāṇa, he first displayed a luminous augury. A brahmacārin who had learned the art of calculation from Ānanda, perceiving the brilliance of his appearance, said to King Ajātaśatru : 'Ananda's appearance is extraordinary; is he not about to enter Nirvāṇa?' Immediately, the king sent messengers to fetch Ānanda. However, Ānanda, at the head of his five hundred disciples, had reached midway along the banks of the Ganges; he entered a boat in order to cross it and reached mid-stream. The king was present on the bank, and the inhabitants of Vaiśālī, who had also come to welcome him, had sent five hundred young people to meet him. As his intention was to go to both countries [at one and the same time], Ānanda made use of his supernormal power to cause the boat to stop in midstream. He then made his disciples approach; the first was called *Mo shan t'i* (Madhyāntika) and the second *Mo shên t'i* (Mahendra). Ānanda said to Madhyāntika : 'Go to the kingdom of *Chi pin* (Kaśmīr) and establish the Law of the Buddha : that country does not yet know of it, make it your task to spread it abroad'. Then he said to Mahendra : 'Go to the kingdom of *Shih tzŭ chu* (Siṃhaladvīpa, Ceylon) and introduce the Law of the Buddha'. After making that testament, Ānanda performed the eighteen transformations, produced fire and burned his own body; he divided his bodily relics in halves so that each of the two families [those of Ajātaśatru and the inhabitants of Vaiśālī] could pay homage to him".

Faithful to the orders he had received, Madhyāntika went to Kaśmīr to bring peace to the land. The deeds which are narrated in full by the
332 Sanskrit sources[94] — *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 116*b* 12-*c* 22; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 156*a* 7-*b* 19), *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411*a* 5-*b* 18), *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 44, p. 230*a* 20-29). *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886*a-b*) — are, apart from a few details, those which the Pāli chronicle attributed to Majjhantika. Kaśmīr was in the possession of the great dragon Hulūṭa (compare the Aravāḷa of the Pāli sources) which gave savage battle to the missionary. However, the dragon's weapons could do nothing against Madhyāntika who, seated cross-legged in concentration on benevolence, resisted all the attacks. Once tamed, the dragon acknowledged the right of the Buddha's disciples to Kaśmīr, on condition that the land be always occupied by five hundred Arhats. These arrived from every region, and Madhyāntika granted them investiture and he himself laid down the boundaries of the towns and villages. The monks accompanied him to Mount Gandhamā-

[94] Most of these sources have been translated into French by J. Przyluski, *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde*, JA, 1914, pp. 493-568.

dana where they received saffron roots and, with the agreement of the dragons on the mountain, imported the roots to Kaśmīr where they planted them and made them fructify.

The other missionary known to the Sanskrit and Chinese sources is Mahendra, the apostle of Ceylon. As we have already seen, he is cited, apparently as a contemporary of the Buddha, in the *Mahakārmavibhaṅga* (p. 63), as the disciple of Ānanda and a subject of Ajātaśatru in the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (l.c.) and, finally, as Aśoka's brother by Hsüan tsang. The Chinese master attributes to him the adventures which the other sources assign to the "younger brother" of Aśoka (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*a*), but does not deny him the glory of having converted Ceylon : "One hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, Mahendra, the younger brother of Aśoka, renounced sense-pleasures, ardently sought the fruits of holiness, acquired the six *abhijñā* and eight *vimokṣa* and, walking through the air, went to that kingdom (Ceylon). He widely proclaimed the Saddharma, and spread the doctrine which had been bequeathed to him" (T 2087, ch. 11, p. 934*a* 10-13). Doubtless there is in this passage an allusion to the legend in the terms of which Mahinda went, through the air, from Avanti to Mount Missaka in Ceylon. However, while not questioning the supernormal powers of the missionary, Hsüan tsang seems to propose a more normal means of locomo-
333 tion, when he notes in Malakūṭa, a region somewhere to the south of Kāñcī[95], the ruins of an old monastery "constructed by Mahendra" as well as a stūpa of which only the foundations remained (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 932*a*). It could be that the monastery was one of Mahendra's halting-places on his way south, and that, to get to Ceylon, he simply embarked at the port of Potalaka, which was in direct communication with the island.

Apart from Madhyāntika and Mahendra, the subcontinent also knew other missionaries mentioned in the Pāli chronicle, for their names appear on inscribed reliquaries which were stored in the stūpas of the State of Bhopāl, erected at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C.

Alongside Stūpa 3 at Sāñcī, which contained the relics of the great disciples Sāriputa and Mahāmogalāna (LÜDERS, 665 and 666; MAJUMDAR[96], 13 and 14), other monuments preserved, in caskets made of

[95] Also known by the name of Malayaparvata, the Tamil Podigei or Podigai, the Bettigo of Ptolemy. The sage Agastya had his hermitage on the peak of the Malayakūṭa (Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XI, 79).

[96] Sāñcī inscriptions edited by MAJUMDAR in Vol. I of *Monuments of Sāñchī*.

stone, soapstone or crystal, the precious relics of a whole succession of masters (*ācāryaparaṃparā*) who were famed in the Haimavata school : Stūpa 2 at Sāñcī, inscriptions Nos. 2 to 12 of MAJUMDAR, Nos. 655 to 665 of LÜDERS. — Stūpa 2 at Sonārī, inscriptions Nos. 156 to 160 of LÜDERS. — Stupa 2 at Andher, inscriptions Nos. 680 to 683 of LÜDERS. The scholars, whose memory has been thus preserved, represent at least three generations of masters :

First generation : 1. Sapurisa Kāsapagota Kotīputa sava-Hemavata-ācariya; 2. Dudubhisara; 3. Sapurisa Majhima Koḍiniputa.

Second generation. : 4. Sapurisa Gotiputa Kākanavaphabhāsana Koḍiñagota Hemavata Dudubhisaradāyāda.

Third generation. : 5. Sapurisa Mogaliputa Gotiputa-atevāsin; 6. Sapurisa Vāchiputa (or Vāchiya Suvijayita) Gotiputa-atevāsin.

Those three generations grouped together "all the masters (*vināyaka*), including the ara (*arhat*) Kāsapagota and the ara Vāchi Suvijayita, the master [or masters]" (MAJUMDAR, No. 2; LÜDERS, No. 654). Other
334 monks also mentioned in the inscriptions should be placed before Vāchiya (No. 6) who seems to have been the last of the vināyakas : 7. Sapurisa Mahavānaya; 8. Sapurisa Āpagira; 9. Sapurisa Koḍiniputa.

In the first three holy ones, Kāsapagota, Dudubhisara and Majhima, the reader will already have recognized the Kassapagotta, Dundubhissara and Majjhima of the Pāli chronicles (above, p. 293) which claim they converted the Himavanta. Conversely, the fifth holy one, Mogaliputa, two generations later than the above three, has only his name in common with the Mogaliputtatissa of the chronicle.

4. *The themes of the missionary teaching.* — According to the chronicle, seventeen discourses were preached during the great Indian mission. All of them form part of the Suttapiṭaka of the Pāli Tipiṭaka :

I. Extract from the *Dīghanikāya* :

(1) *Brahmajālasuttanta* (I, pp. 1-46), expounded in Suvarṇabhūmi. Description and refutation of the sixty-two heretical views.

II. Extracts from the *Majjhimanikāya* :

(2) *Cūlahatthipadopamāsuttanta* (I, pp. 175-84), propounded in Ceylon. The life to be led by the true monk, disciple of the Buddha.

(3) *Bālapaṇḍitasuttanta* (III, pp. 163-77), taught in Ceylon. Vivid description of the infernal torments.

(4) *Devadūtasuttanta* (III, p. 178-87), spoken in Ceylon. Prosopopoeia of the god Yāma's three messengers : old age, disease and death.

III. Extracts from the *Saṃyuttanikāya* :

(5) *Appamāda* (I, pp. 86, 87), preached in Ceylon. Eulogy of religious zeal.

(6) *Anamatagga* (II, pp. 178-93), spoken in Vanavāsa and Ceylon. Length of Saṃsāra, which has no beginning.

(7) *Khajjanīyasuttanta* (III, pp. 81-104), preached in Ceylon. Contemplating the past, present and future, the disciple becomes aware that he is always a prey to his body, feelings, perceptions, volitions and consciousnesses. He repudiates the *skandha* and frees himself from them in order to achieve full and conscious release.

(8) *Gomayapiṇḍīsuttanta* (III, pp. 143-7), taught in Ceylon. Instability of human things and existence, comparable to cow-dung.

(9) *Āsīvisopamāsuttanta* (IV, pp. 172-5), propounded in Kaśmīra-Ghandhāra and Ceylon. Brilliant prosopopoeia demonstrating the battle that mankind must wage continually against his enemies : the great elements, the aggregates of attachment, impassioned desire, the organs and objects of the senses. In order to reach Nirvāṇa he must reject the view of existence.

335 (10) *Saccasaṃyutta* (V, pp. 414-78), expounded in Ceylon. Technical explanation of the four noble truths illustrated by admirable comparisons.

IV. Extracts from the *Aṅguttaranikāya* :

(11) *Samacitta* (I, pp. 61-9), uttered in Ceylon. Appeasing the senses and mind frees the body, speech and thought.

(12) *Kālakārāmasuttanta* (II, pp. 24-6), preached in Yavanaloka. The omniscient Buddha penetrates the whole field of experience, but without being subject to it.

(13) *Aggikkhandopamāsuttanta* (IV, pp. 128-35), propounded in Aparānta and Ceylon. It is better to [redacted] enveloped in consuming fire than live a dissolute life when wearing the monk's robe.

V. Extracts from the *Khuddakanikāya* :

(14) *Vimānavatthu* (Book IV), taught in Ceylon. Edifying stories which enabled the devas to attain the heavenly abodes.

(15) *Petavatthu* (Book VII), preached in Ceylon. Stories of various beings who were reborn in the world of ghosts after a series of misdeeds.

(16) *Jātaka* (Book X) of *Nārada Kassapa* (VI, pp. 219-55), preached in Ceylon. Conversion of Aṅgati, king of Mithilā, through the joint efforts of his daughter Rujā and the Bodhisattva Nārada. The king had been threatened with the pangs of hell if he did not mend his ways.

VI. Varia (*Vinaya*, I, p. 10; *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 420, etc).

(17) *Dhammacakkappavattanasuttanta*, propounded in Ceylon. Discourse of Vārāṇasī on the four noble truths.

It is evident from this list that the seventeen discourses were chosen from the Five Nikāyas of the Tipiṭaka. The exactness of the references supplied by the chronicle, the ease with which the extracts can be identified, both lead to the belief that the Pāli canon with its divisions, sub-divisions and titles existed in its present form in the third century B.C. The paragraph which we devoted to the formation of the canon showed that this was not so and that the Pāli canon, at least with regard to the *Khuddhanikāya*, was not standardized and given its final form until the fifth century A.D. Consequently the information provided by the chronicle contains anachronisms. Nevertheless, we believe that the

chronicle gives an exact idea of the aim pursued by Buddhist propaganda in the Maurya period, and of the means used to achieve it.

336 The goals which those missionaries pursued differed radically from the aim that Śākyamuni set himself during his public ministry.

The latter, as we saw earlier, strove above all to win new recruits "among the noble young people who give up the household life in order to embrace the wandering life" : an aristocratic concept of the mission, which means appealing to the elite more willingly than to common people. In the time of Aśoka, the Saṃgha overflowed with recruits, not all of whom were above reproach. The authorities were forced to remove many tīrthikas masquerading in the yellow robe of the bhikṣus, and to reduce to lay status the black sheep who threatened the unity of the Saṃgha. The new mission initiated by the propagandists therefore aimed less at making new recruits than at making a mass conversion of the peoples in distant provinces. What is more, the so-called conversions corresponded only remotely to the western world's idea : the convert or, to use the technical expression, the *prasādita* "the appeased one", is prompted by dispositions of goodwill with regard to the Buddha, his Law and his Community; he takes his refuge (*śaraṇa*), in them without being compelled to repudiate his earlier beliefs or to burn the gods he worshipped.

In order to gain the sympathy of the masses, the third century missionaries exploited the eternal themes of popular preaching, suitable for striking the imagination and provoking a psychological shock. The discourses listed by the chronicle struck all the sensory key-points in turn. The missionaries began by commiserating over the wretchedness of humanity, threatened by hell, condemned from all eternity to old age, disease and death, a slave to its own body and senses, blinded by precarious satisfactions, disturbed by incessant attacks from the enemy of its salvation (Discourses Nos. 3-4, 6-9). Then they celebrated the joy and peace which a virtuous and zealous man enjoys, and invited him to model himself on holy kings or the devas of the heavenly spheres (Discourses Nos. 5, 11, 14, 15). They extolled of the omniscience of the Buddha, the indisputed epitome of all experiences (Discourse No. 12) and, after having systematically refuted the objections (No. 1), they finally taught the four noble truths, the mainstay of the Buddhist doctrine (Nos. 10 and 17). Not all the throngs were prepared to receive Śākyamuni's message in its entirety, and the missionaries had to adapt their instructing to the capacities and wishes of their listeners. The
337 *Kālakārāmasuttanta* which extols the omniscience of the Buddha was particularly appropriate for Yavanaloka, which partly contained Hellenized subjects who were prone to the wondrous. It was, however, only

the Sinhalese and the spirits of the Himālaya who were taught the four noble truths in the very form that the Buddha had uttered them.

It is important to make a careful distinction between the missionary movement of the third century and the Aśokan Dharma which was spread at the same time*. Whatever may have been said, Aśoka was not directly involved in Buddhist propaganda. As head of state, he wanted to spread throughout his empire and among neighbouring kingdoms the practice of natural virtues which, being valid for all men indiscriminately, ensured all of happiness in this world and bliss in the next. He protected all sects impartially, without favouring one to the detriment of the others. In contrast, the missionaries strove to convert India to their own beliefs and to implant the Good Law wherever they passed : they preached the Word of the Buddha in its entirety. Their activity was superimposed on the work already carried out by Aśoka and his officials, but was different from it. The Aśokan Dharma simply prepared the way for the Buddhist Saddharma. It is true that, in the Bhābrā edict, the emperor, addressing the Saṃgha directly, allowed his personal convictions to speak and, in order to ensure that the Good Law would last for a long time, recommended the study of certain Buddhist texts to the religious and laity; but those pious readings, edifying though they may have been, by no means represented the whole of the Buddhist doctrine. They were in no way comparable to the rich repository of discourses which were at the disposal of the missionaries, and which constituted a complete initiation into the doctrine.

5. *The number of recruits and conversions.* — As we have seen, the aim of the third century missionaries was to convert the masses rather than ensure new recruits for the order. The chronicle gives the respective figures of the recruits and converts, but the sources vary considerably over the subject. According to the table drawn up above (p. 296), there were 539,500 conversions against 207, 056 ordinations, as given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Samantapāsādikā*; 435,500 conversions against 59,056 ordinations according to the *Shan chien lü*. That means that the number of conversions would have exceeded that of ordinations, in the proportion of 2,5 to 1 according to the first count, 7 to 1 according to the
338 second.

We will leave the responsibility for the figures to the early authors who recorded them, but it is perhaps interesting to note that in Yavanaloka, i.e. the Hellenized Iranian regions of Eastern Gedrosia and Arachosia, the number of monastic recruits was practically negligible; one recruit in 17, even 73 conversions. This is because Hellenistic polytheism, even though it instituted priesthoods of limited duration to minister in certain cults, included neither priests nor religious in the

proper sense of the word. This is so true that Alexander and his companions, on meeting some Indian religious for the first time, in this instance Digambara Jains, took them to be sophists. Being totally unaware of monastic institutions, the Greeks were astounded to learn that men, of a religious ideal, could forego all the joys of life and devote themselves to renunciation and penitence. The religious status seemed madness to them, and it took them a long time to discover the motivation and joys of the śramaṇa. Long after Aśoka, the Indo-Greek king Menander, known for his Buddhist sympathies, was still asking Nāgasena the reasons for taking up the religious life : he remained persuaded that lay morality, when correctly observed, led just as surely to holiness as did the religious status.

6. *Mahinda in Avanti.* — The chronicle claims that, before setting out for Ceylon, Mahinda stayed for seven months in Avanti, six months at the Dakkhiṇāgiri monastery in Ujjenī and one month at the Cetiyagiri monastery in Vedisa. Vedisa (present-day Besnagar) was situated in the State of Bhopāl, near the present-day town of Bhīlsa. According to archaeologists, the Cetiyagiri where Mahinda stayed was included in the precincts of Sāñcī, a site famous for its stūpas and Buddhist monuments.

We do not know whether the name Cetiyagiri refers to a Buddhist building (sanctuary or stūpa) erected, before, during or after Aśoka's reign. The presence of Buddhism in Avanti is much earlier than the reign of Aśoka, but it is doubtful whether a stūpa could have been erected before that date since, we are told, "stūpa-worship was virtually started by Aśoka".

The interest of this question is not only archaeological. Mahinda is said to have introduced the Pāli canon to Ceylon and, according to the tradition, Pāli is none other than the Māgadhī language used by the Buddha on his preaching tours in Eastern India. However, Pāli is in fact
339 a composite language which has affinities with a large number of local dialects. Even though it retains traces of Magadhisms, it is closer to western tongues, particularly the Girnār form of the Aśokan language. Writers who seek the origin of Pāli in western India (Gujarāt, Avanti) base their argument on the fact that the language in Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, was the mother tongue of Mahinda and that the apostle stayed there before his departure for Ceylon. This argument is not of much value : if the tradition is to be believed, Mahinda received his religious training at the Aśokārāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra, where he lived for twelve years. It is difficult to see any reasons which could have caused him, during his brief stay in Avanti, to renounce the language of Pāṭaliputra, which was his "classical" tongue, in order to adopt the Ujjayinī dialect and memorize, in a new form, the texts which he had

painfully learned by heart. In reality the origins of Pāli remain shrouded in darkness.

7. *Conclusions.* — The Sinhalese chronicle simplifies the facts to an extreme degree by attributing the general conversion of India to the activity of a handful of missionaries sent out by Moggaliputtatissa and by giving that memorable event the exact date of 236 after the Nirvāṇa. The Buddhist propaganda, initiated from the outset, continued with varying success for the first two centuries of the Nirvāṇa and reached its peak during the Aśokan epoch. During all that time, Magadha remained the main centre of activity : it was there, in fact, that the Buddhist community was most numerous and the best protected by the secular arm. However, the secondary centres, Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī and Mathurā, should not be underestimated. One can deduce, though not in detail, the spiritual activity exerted by Mathurâ over Kaśmīr and the North-West, and by Avanti over Ceylon. Needless to say, private initiative played its part in the missionary movement, but the efforts of individuals fade before the intrinsic expansionary power of the Good Law which required nothing more than politically favourable circumstances to manifest itself. Such circumstances were provided by the creation of the Mauryan empire and the conversion of the great emperor Aśoka. With all obstacles lifted, the Good Law became somewhat like an oil slick, gradually approaching all the regions of the sub-continent and extending as far as Ceylon. Archaeology provides ample traces of this triumphal march.

340 ## 2. — ARCHAEOLOGY

The stūpa, caitya and vihāra[97]. — As it extended throughout the empire, the Good Law, promoted wherever it went, the erection of many

[97] Since it is impossible to go into minute detail over the facts, we can but refer the reader to a few general works : J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., London, 1910; A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 3 vol., Paris, 1905-22-51; *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris, 1917; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Hist. of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, 2 vol., Paris, 1929; V.A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1930; S. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933; J.P. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, Oxford, 1936; G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, I (2 vol.), Paris, 1937; Sir John Marshall and A. Foucher, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, 3 vol., Calcutta, 1940; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1949; R. Grousset, *L'Inde*, Paris, 1949; Sir Leigh Ashton and *al.*, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950; J. Auboyer, *Arts et Styles de l'Inde*, Paris, 1951; Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vol., Cambridge, 1951; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1953; R.E.M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, London, 1950.*

Other more specialized works will be mentioned in the notes which follow.

Buddhist memorials : funerary monuments (*stūpa*), sanctuaries (*caitya-gṛha*), cells (*vihāra*) and monasteries (*saṃghārāma*).

The stūpa, the origins of which go back to pre-Buddhist times, is both a monumental reliquary and a commemorative monument. It usually contains a precious casket in which are preserved the bodily relics of the Buddha or of his disciples (bones, nail clippings, hair, etc.), objects which had been for their personal use (clothing, staff, alms-bowl, etc.), or again, sacred texts. It is generally erected on a site made famous by a wonderous or an unusual event which had occurred during the last life or the previous existences of the Master and his disciples, whose memory was to be perpetuated. It thus helps to situate in space and, to a certain degree, in time the Buddhist legend which crystallized around it.

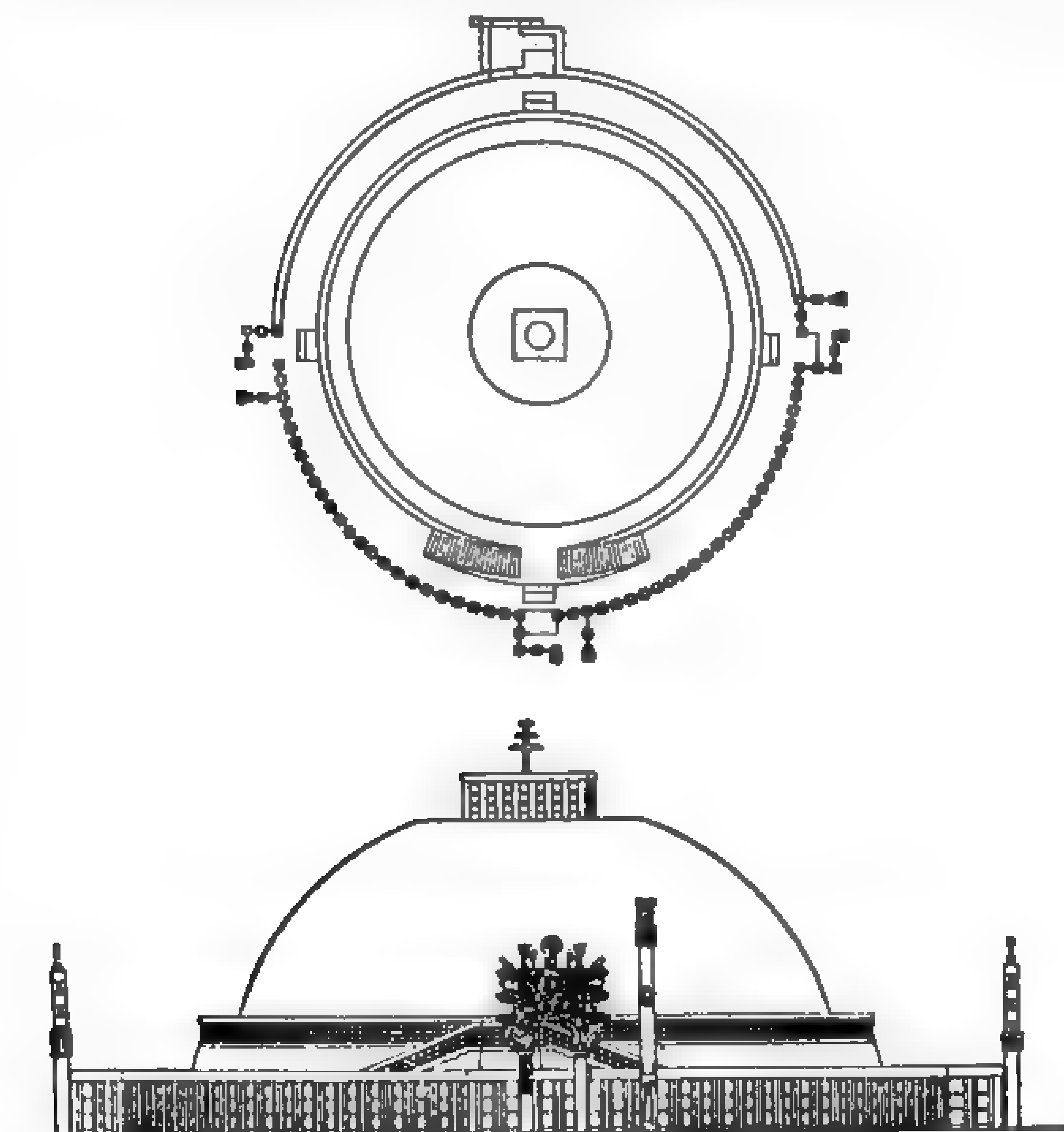
The stūpa of the ancient type[98] which is a characteristic of the Mauryan and Śunga period is a solid hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) constructed of brick or stone, resting on a circular terrace (*medhī*)
341 serving as a processional circular path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*)* which is reached by one or several stairways (*sopāna*). The stūpa is surmounted by a square pavilion (*harmikā*) on which was fixed a pole (*yaṣṭi*) supporting a series of parasols (*chattrāvalī*). The stūpa is generally surrounded at a certain distance by a balustrade (*vedikā*) made of wood or stone : it consists of a series of upright posts (*stambha*), joined at the base by a plinth (*ālambana*), at the top by a coping (*uṣṇīṣa*), into which are inserted, by means of tenons and mortises, two or three horizontal cross-pieces (*sūci*). The balustrade is breached at the four cardinal points by a tall gateway (*toraṇa*) consisting of two vertical jamb-posts topped with a capital and supporting three architraves of horizontal lintels separated into three partitions by dies or square panels placed in the prolongation of the jamb-posts.

342 The original plan of the stūpa, characterized by the hemispherical shape of the dome, is best recognized in the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī (Bhopāl State) which was built of brick at the time of Aśoka but overlaid, a century later, by a coating of stone. It is also to be found in the small stūpa at Chakpat (Swat Valley) and the great stūpa at Mānikyāla in the Punjab.

The *caityagṛha* is a sanctuary where the stūpa, which then acquires the name of caitya or dāgaba (reliquary), occupies the place and plays the part of a shrine. In its developed form, the caityagṛha is a rectangular hall with an apse at one end, from the centre of which rises the stūpa. It is divided into a central nave and two lateral aisles by a double row of

[98] See A. FOUCHER, *Art gréco-bouddhique*, I, pp. 45-98. — Representations of the stūpas at Mānikyāla, p. 55, and at Chakpat, pp. 56, 57, 59.**

pillars which join up behind the stūpa. The main nave is covered by a semi-circular vault, and the side aisles with a section of vault. The entrance which faces the stūpa is pierced by an enormous horseshoe-shaped opening, which dominates the whole façade and is intended to supply the building with air and light. Such sanctuaries date back to



Sāñcī. Stūpa I.

very remote times, and the foundations of ruined caityagṛhas discovered at Sāñcī, Sārnāth, Sonārī, etc., probably belong to the Aśokan era. However, apart from a few exceptions, the sanctuaries which still exist at present were cut into the rock at a later date and modelled on the ancient wooden constructions.

In the early literature, *vihāra* always or nearly always designated "the dwelling, personal appartment of a single monk", but the term can also

be applied to the abode of a deity. The vihāra is therefore both cell and temple. If they were joined together, vihāras became *saṃghārāma*, convents or monasteries[99]. Built along the same lines as private houses, they generally appeared as a square construction made up of four rows of cells arranged along the four walls and opening onto an inner hall, the superstructure of which might be supported by pillars. In the ancient period, these monasteries were generally built of wood on a stylobate of
343 stone or brick. Later, the building was made entirely of stone or brick, and even, when the nature of the ground was suitable, carved into the rock. A large number of these caves still exist today; the oldest, those of Barābar and Nāgārjunī which belonged to the Ājīvikas, date back to the time Aśoka or his successor Daśaratha. Every Buddhist monastery of any importance necessarily contained a stūpa or a caitya.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION. — The archaeological exploration[100]

[99] Regarding vihāras and saṃghārāmas, see ID., *ibid.*, pp. 99-201.

[100] On Ancient India, brief put precise information in *Murrays Handbook, India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*, 16th ed., London, 1949; G.T. GARRATT, *The Legacy of India*, Oxford, 1937. The excellent *Antiquities of India* by L.D. BARNETT, London, 1913, [redacted] now replaced by A.L. BASHAM, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954.

The work carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India is brilliantly summarized in Sir JOHN CUMMING, *Revealing India's Past*, London, 1939, and the *Special Jubilee Number* of the journal *Ancient India*, IX, 1953; S. ROY, *Indian Archaeology from Jones to Marshall* (1784-1902), pp. 4-28; A. GHOSH, *Fifty Years of the Archaeological Survey of India*, pp. 29-51.

The work carried out by the Survey has appeared in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, Calcutta and Simla, 23 vol., 1871-87, with a general index by V.A. SMITH, Calcutta, 1887; *Archaelogical Survey of India, new imperial series*, 53 vol., 1874-1939; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, from 1919. The *Annual Reports* are at present continuing with the periodical *Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 11 vol. so far appeared, 1946-55.

In the *Annual Reports* there is a record of research carried out in the North-West of India, between 1902 and 1921, by J. MARSHALL, J.P. VOGEL, D.B. SPOONER, H. HARGREAVES and A. STEIN. From 1922, the admirable discoveries of the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan have been the subject of a series of "Mémoires" : A. GODARD and J. HACKIN, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, 1928; J. HACKIN and J. CARL, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, 1933; J. BARTHOUX, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*, 2 vol., 1930-33; J. HACKIN and J. CARL, *Recherches archéologiques au col de Khair-Khâneh*, 1936; J. HACKIN, *Recherches archéologiques à Bégram*, 1939; A. FOUCHER, *La Vieille route de l'Inde, de Bactres à Taxila*, 2 vol., 1942-47; J. MEUNIÉ, *Shotorak*, 1942; R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, 1946; *Les Chionities-Hephtalites*, 1948; J.C. JARDIN, *Céramique de Bactres*, 1957. — H. DEYDIER, *Contributions à l'étude de l'art du Gandhâra : Bibliographie analytique et critique des ouvrages publiés de 1922 à 1949*, Paris, 1950.*

For Ceylon, it is best to consult the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Colombo, since 1924, and the archaeological summaries published annually in the *Ceylon*

of these monuments, which is still going on today, enables us to form an
344 idea of the expansion of the Good Law on the Indian subcontinent. However, dating the monuments is a task bristling with difficulties, since the ancient constructions were frequently altered or replaced by new ones. The date of the first foundation is most often beyond the perspicacity of the research-workers. The description of the holy places supplied by the Chinese pilgrims, particularly Fa hsien (399-413), Sung Yün (518-522) and Hsüan tsang (629-645) enables us to remedy this deficiency to some extent. Hsüan tsang, in particular carefully distinguishes between buildings of the older type and those that are more recent. He designates the early stūpas by the generic name of *Aśokan stūpa*, not because they were all constructed by the pious emperor, but because their archaic style, characterized by the solid hemispherical dome, enables them to be linked to the Mauryan period or at least to that of the Śuṅgas which immediately followed it. During his travels in India, the Chinese master noted more than a hundred of them, several of which were already in
345 ruins : in each case, he records its special intended purpose and the particular reasons that determined its erection. By basing ourselves on this account, which is often confirmed by archaeological discoveries, we will attempt a sketch of Buddhist India in the ancient era, successively examining the lands of the Middle Ganges already evangelized by

Journal of Science, Colombo, since 1924. Among the *Memoirs*, we point out No. V : S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, 1947.

The innumerable articles on Indian antiquities which have appeared in Orientalist journals have been classified and enumerated in the *Bibliographie bouddhique* edited in Paris since 1928 by J. Przyluski and M. Lalou, as well as in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute in Leiden since 1926.

A series of journals is specialized in the publication of inscriptions : *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta, since 1892; *Epigraphia indo-moslemica*, Calcutta, since 1907; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Madras, since 1890; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Bangalore, since 1886; *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Rangoon, since 1916; *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Oxford, since 1904.

Epigraphia Indica published, as an appendix to some of its volumes, extremely convenient lists of inscriptions : Vol. V and VIII : F. Kielhorn, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A.D. 400*. — Vol. VII and VIII :F. Kielhorn, *A List of Inscriptions from Southern India from about A.D. 500*. — Vol. X : H. Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400*. — Vol. XIX [illegible] : D.R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts from about A.D. 200*.

Founded in 1874, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* progresses with desperate slowness : I : E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Oxford, 1925. — II (part 1) : S. Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1929. — III : J.F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Calcutta, 1888 (new edition by D.R. Bhandarkar in preparation). — IV : V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, Ootacamund, 1955.*

Śākyamuni and his disciples; the region of Kauśāmbī which also plays a direct part in the history of the origin of Buddhism; the districts of Avanti and the western coast which the historical Buddha did not visit, but which soon took up the religion; the area of Mathurā, the base of the early masters of the Law; the North-West of India which was promoted in the Mauryan period to the rank of the second holy land of Buddhism; central India and the brāhmanic Madhyadeśa where the propaganda of the Śākya's sons had no effect; finally, the eastern coast where its first successes were on a somewhat modest scale[101].

1. THE LANDS OF THE MIDDLE GANGES. — This region, which was the homeland of the Śākya, Māgadha, Kosala, Vṛji and Malla peoples, was the authentic cradle of Buddhism and remained its supreme holy land from the outset until the disappearance of the Good Law around the twelfth century. It was the birthplace of Śākyamuni[102] and his great disciples and witness to their deeds, so it had no need to seek for further glory. Seven of the eight main wonders accepted by the tradition were staged in the region of the Middle Ganges.

On the outskirts of Kapilavastu, in the Lumbinīvana, present-day Rummindei, an Aśokan stūpa marked the spot where two dragons bathed the newborn Buddha with warm and cold water. An Aśokan pillar could be seen there, indicating that the emperor had made a pilgrimage to Śākyamuni's birthplace and, on that occasion, had granted the villagers a reduction in taxation. At the time of Hsüan tsang, the pillar was broken in the middle and the upper part, topped by a horse's
346 head, lay on the ground; the lower part, which still stands *in situ* today, carries the edict of Rummindei.

Further to the east, the region of Rāmagrāma had been the setting for several episodes of the Great Departure. Its old stūpa, jealously guarded by Nāgas (elephants according to the Sāñcī tradition; serpent-spirits according to that of Amarâvatī), enclosed some venerable relics of the Buddha. The Nāgas refused to give them to Aśoka when the latter wanted to take possession of them, but later they ceded some of them to Mahinda.

[101] For a brief description, see S. SENGUPTA, *Buddhism in the Classical Age as revealed by Archaeology*, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 179-210.

[102] B.C. BHATTACHARYA, *Lumbinī, the Birth-place of Buddha*, JBHU, V, 1940, pp. 71-8. — In the account of the B.'s birth by Aśvaghoṣa in Buddhacarita, I, two legends were confused : one according to which the B. was born in Kapilavastu and the other which places the birth in the Lumbinīvana; cf. F. WELLER, *Schauplatz und Handlung im Buddhacarita*, ZDMG, 93, 1939, pp. 306-38.

The region of Gayā[103], watered by the Nairañjanā, retained the memory of the great wonders which accompanied the winning of Enlightenment : the ascent of Mount Prāgbodhi, the encounter with the grass-cutter, the installation of the place of Enlightenment, the assault by Māra, the night of Bodhi, and the weeks devoted to meditation. Aśoka went there on pilgrimage several times. In the eleventh year of his consecration, he made a vow to sprinkle the bodhivṛkṣa with perfumed water contained in four thousand precious pitchers, and had an enclosure built surrounding the tree on all four sides; he climbed on to the wall in order to perform the ceremony. The bas-reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñcī (second and first centuries B.C.) in fact show the holy tree and the diamond seat closely enclosed by a solid wall surmounted by a wooden gallery; the tree-top, in the open air, seems to dominate the whole construction. Later, after the impious Tiṣyarakṣitā's attack on the holy tree — an attempt which occurred in the thirty-fourth year of the reign —, the emperor erected round the original sanctuary an external enclosure made of stone or brick, traces of which were still visible in Hsüan tsang's time. Finally, to the east of the bodhivṛkṣa, Aśoka also built a small caitya on the exact spot where the great Mahābodhi temple stands today; part of the palisade which surrounds it dates back to the second century B.C. for inscriptions can still be read on the oldest pillars, commemorating the gifts made to the Rājaprāsādacaitya by Kuraṃgi and Nāgadevā, sisters-in-law of the kings Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty (Lüders, 939-944). In a later era — the second century according to A.K. Coomaraswamy, the fifth or sixth
347 century according to the majority of archaeologists —, the small Aśokan caitya was replaced by a large temple. Hsüan tsang, who visited it in 635 A.D., supplies a fairly detailed description of it (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 915*c* sq.). Sacked and pillaged by Muslims in the last years of the twelfth century, the temple was rebuilt several times, but also transformated, by Burmese Buddhists. The last restoration to date, carried out through the good offices of the Government, goes back to 1884. In its present form, the Mahābodhi temple consists of a platform 8 metres in height supporting a 54 metre high truncated pyramid at the centre, and at each of the four corners a similar tower of lesser size. The towers are surmounted by a tall pinnacle in the form of a myrobalan (*āmalaka*) which originally represented a small stūpa. The sides of the pyramid have superimposed

[103] B.M. Barua, *Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh-Gayā*, IHQ, VI, 1930, pp. 1-31; *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Calcutta, 1931; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bodh-Gayā*, Paris, 1935; Foucher, *Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 175-8.

rows of niches which originally sheltered Buddhist images. The façade is breached by an opening for the admission of air and light. The entry-porch, of more recent date than the rest of the monument, is to the east. The temple today possesses a monastery belonging to Śivaite Hindu religious (*saṃnyāsin*) who settled there at the end of the sixteenth century; however, the right of the Buddhists to practice their own worship is officially recognized.

Twenty-five kilometres to the north of Gayā, in the Barābar Hills, are the artificial caves which were presented to the Ājīvikas by a lāja Piyadassi who is considered to be Aśoka; the most famous, those of Sudāma and Lomas Rishi, consist of a rectangular hall communicating by a narrow corridor with a circular room; the façade of the Lomas Rishi faithfully reproduces in rock the architectural forms of the ancient wooden structures. Slightly further to the east, in the Nāgārjunī Hills, other caves known as Gopikā, Vahiyakā and Vadathikā, were offered, also to the Ājīvikas, by Daṣalatha Devānaṃpiya, the grandson of Aśoka (LÜDERS, 954-956).

It was in Vārāṇasī (Banaras), in the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva), also called the Alighting place of the Recluses (Ṛṣipatana), and situated in the district of Sārnāth, six kilometres to the north of the town, that the Buddha set the Wheel of the Law in motion and preached the noble truths to the companions who practised the austerities with him and who were also his first five disciples. The excavations at Sārnāth[104] have
348 brought to light a number of Buddhist ruins which cover a little more than fifteen centuries, from the third century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D.; they can be divided into four groups depending on whether they belong to the Mauryan period, the Kuṣāṇa period, the Gupta period or, finally, later ages. The oldest of them occupy the southern part of the site, to the south of a monumental wall which, from west to east, separates the holy place into two equal parts.

a. The temple of the "Original Perfumed Cell" (Mūlagandhakuṭī)*, known today by the name of Main Shrine, marks the spot where the personal cell of the Buddha stood in the past.* The structure has undergone many transformations in the course of time. At the time of Hsüan tsang, it was 200 feet high and was surmounted by a myrobalan (*āmalaka*) made of gold, a common ornament in Indian temples; excavations have unearthed an 18 metre square terrace, 5 m. 40 in height; four projections intended for chapels and a portico gave the monument the appearance of a Greek cross.

[104] D.R. SAHNI, *Guide to Buddhist Remains at Sārnāth*, 5th ed., Calcutta, 1933; B. MAJUMDAR, *A Guide to Sārnāth*, Delhi, 1937.

b. To the west of the Main Shrine, there still stands the lower part of the pillar at Sārnāth erected by Aśoka on the exact spot where the Buddha preached his first sermon[103]. It was at one time a monolith made of sandstone extracted from the Chunar quarries and was about 15 m. high. It bears three inscriptions, engraved at very wide intervals : the edict of Sārnāth promulgated by Aśoka against the schismatics; an epigraph from the Kuṣāṇa period dated the 14th year of King Aśvaghoṣa and, finally, a short votive offering in Gupta characters. The capital which crowned this pillar in the past and which is rightly considered as a masterpiece of Indian art now adorns the Museum of Sārnāth. It consists of a reversed bell-shaped lotus, surmounted by an entablature with a frieze on which are sculpted, in very deep relief, four animals — an elephant, a horse, a zebu and a horse, a zebu and a lion — each separated by as many Wheels of the Law; the top of the capital is occupied by four lions or rather four foreparts of lions standing back
349 to back, which together carried an enormous Wheel of the Law which has disappeared today. This monument occupies the foremost place among many lāṭs erected by Aśoka : pillars bearing edicts (Delhi-Toprā, Delhi-Mīraṭh, Allahābād-Kosam, Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandagaṛh, Rāmpurvā, Sankissa and Sāñcī), uninscribed pillars (Rāmpurvā, Basarh-Bakhira and Kosam), pillars with a dedicatory inscription (Rummindei, Nigālī Sāgar), a certain number of which were surmounted by one or several animals : lion, zebu, elephant, horse, Garuḍa. In the words of Hsüan tsang, the pillar at Sārnāth was polished like jade and shone with a dazzling light; it bore various designs which could provide presages.

c. Hsüan tsang also mentions, to the south-west of the Main Shrine, "an old stūpa, built by Aśoka, the ruins of which still rise 100 feet above the ground". This doubtless concerns the present-day ruins of the Dharmarājika stūpa. Aśoka built it of long flat bricks with a diameter of 13 m. 50 at the base, but the structure underwent many enlargements afterwards : in the Kuṣāṇa period, it was overlaid with a coating of bricks, of smaller size than the previous ones; in the fifth and sixth centuries, it was surrounded by a processional circular path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) bordered on the outside by a solid wall, breached by doors at the four

[103] On the significance of this pillar, see A. Foucher, *Études sur l'Art b. de l'Inde*, Tokyo, 1928; J. Przyluski, *Le symbolisme du pilier de Sārnāth*, Mélanges Linossier, II, pp. 481-98; B. Majumdar, *Symbology of the Aśoka Pillar, Sārnāth*, IC. II, pp. 160-3; B.N. Sharma, *The Lion Capital of the Pillar Aśoka at Sārnāth*, PO, I, 1936, pp. 2-6; J. Przyluski, *The Solar Wheel at Sārnāth*, JISOA, IV, pp. 45-51; G. Coedès, *Note on the Pillar at Sārnāth*, JISOA, V, 1937, pp. 40-1.**

cardinal points; in the seventh century, this circular path was filled in, and four stairways of six steps each gave access to the stūpa; the last enlargement dates from the twelfth century, when Kumāradevī, queen of Kanauj, erected in the northern part of the site a monastery which was given the name of Dharmacakrajinavihāra.

Archaeologists believe they now possess the pavilion or *harmikā* which crowned the Dharmarājikastūpa in Mauryan times. M. Oertel discovered it practically intact in the subfoundation of the south chapel of the Main Shrine. It is a monolithic balustrade with four sides, each one consisting of four uprights (*stambha*) joined by three cross-pieces (*sūci*) and fixed to the base by a plinth (*ālambana*), and to the top by a coping (*uṣṇīṣa*). The balustrade is devoid of any sculpture but, according to the experts, the finish and care of workmanship betray its ancient origin.

d. The south-east of the site is occupied by the Dhamek Stūpa or stūpa of the "Consideration of the Law" (*dharmekṣā*), the original core also dates back to an ancient period. However, the present-day structure
350 has the form of an octagonal tower 28 m. in diameter and 43 m. high : the sides, which are badly damaged, contained niches and were decorated with arabesques and geometrical designs. A panel inscribed in characters dating from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., reproducing the formula of the Buddhist creed has been discovered in the foundations; it was doubtless added to the building at a later date.

In the neighbourhood of Vārāṇasī, particularly in the district of Yuddhapati situated immediately to the east, the pilgrims also noted several Aśokan stūpas and pillars, commemorating wonders or conversions. Although it is true that the area has really been hallowed by the presence of Śākyamuni, the legend also located several episodes of his former lives there, especially the Ṣaḍdhanta-, Tittira-, Nigrodhamiga- and Śaśajātakas, which are among the most renowned in the collection. So that is how the story of the Tittira or Pheasant, sometimes presented as an apologue and sometimes as a jātaka, appears in the six Vinayas which have come down to us[106]. To judge from the Pāli Jātaka commentary, Vārāṇasī played a part of prime importance in the formation of the Buddhist legends, a great number of which date back to the reign of Brahmadatta, the dynastic name of the kings of Vārāṇasī. However, it was in the North-West of India that most of the Bodhisattva's achievements in his former lives were to be located.

In Malla country, at Pāpā or Pāvā (Padrauna) and at Kusinārā or

[106] É. LAMOTTE, *La conduite religieuse du faisan dans les textes bouddhiques*, Muséon, LIX, 1946, pp. 641-53.

Kuśinagarī (Kasiā, 56 km. to the east of Gorakhpur), Aśokan stūpas and pillars marked the sites of the last meal at Cuṇḍa's house, the Parinirvāṇa and the Distribution of the Relics. The great stūpas of the Parinirvāṇa and the Distribution of the Relics, the latter buried under the Ramabar mound, have not yet been brought to light; on the other hand, the Parinirvāṇacaitya erected near the grove of Śālas where the Buddha deceased, has been catalogued : the *Divyâdāna* (p. 394) attributes the founding of this caitya to Aśoka; it was still intact when Fa hsien and Hsüan tsang visited it, and it housed a statue of the Tathāgata in Nirvāṇa, lying with his head to the north. The image was discovered and restored by A.C. Carlyle; it is a monolithic statue dating from the Gupta era (fifth century A.D.) and a "pious gift by Mahāvihārasvāmin Hari-
351 bala, made by Dinna" (FLEET, p. 272)[107]. The Parinirvāṇacaitya has yielded seals made of unfired clay most of which represent the Wheel between two antelopes, and bear the seal of the "Mahāparinirvāṇacaitya"[108], and also a copper urn sealed by an inscribed plate (text of the *pratītyasamutpāda* in Skt), specifying that it had been placed in the Parinirvāṇacaitya, a statement which removes all doubt regarding the site of the monument commemorating the fourth Great Wonder.

It is known that after the decease of the Buddha his relics were divided among eight States, including the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, and that each of them erected a stūpa over the share that fell to them. In January 1898, Mr Peppé discovered in the Nepalese village of Piprāwā, six miles north of Birdpur, the ruins of the stūpa built by the Śākyas over their part of the relics; excavations have brought to light a soapstone pitcher, the lid of which bears a circular inscription in pre-Aśokan Brāhmī script which said : "This placing of the relics of the Blessed Lord Buddha [of the race] of the Śākyas is [the pious deed] of Sukiti and his brothers, together with his sisters, their sons and wives (LÜDERS, 931)[109].

Three secondary wonders also had as their setting the region of the Middle Ganges, particularly Rājagṛha (Rājgir in the district of Patna, in Bihār), Vaiśālī (Basārh in the district of Muzaffar, Bihār) and Śrāvastī (Sāheṭh-Māheṭh in the districts of Gonda and Bahraich, Uttar Pradesh).

a. In Rājagṛha, an Aśokan stūpa and an inscribed pillar, surmounted by an elephant, recall how the intoxicated Nāga, Nālāgiri or Dhanapāla,

[107] ARArchSurv, 1906-7, p. 49.

[108] J.P. VOGEL, *Seals of B. Monasteries in Ancient India*, JCBRAS, 1950, pp. 27-35.

[109] W.C. PEPPÉ and V.A. SMITH, *The Piprahwa stūpa, containing relics of Buddha*, JRAS, 1898, p. 573 sq.

sent by Devadatta to attack the Buddha, had been subdued by the Master's benevolence, and had knelt at his feet[110].

352 b. In Vaiśālī[111], at the Markaṭahradatīra, similar constructions commemorated the digging of the pool by monkeys and the offering of honey to the Buddha; the latter episode, which is sometimes located in Śrāvastī, appears on bas-reliefs at Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Gandhāra[112].

c. In Śrāvastī[113], after his victory over the six heretic masters, Śākyamuni performed the twin wonders of water and fire and multiplied imaginary Buddhas as far as the Akaniṣṭha heaven; this prodigy, narrated in detail by the Sanskrit sources, is also noted in the Pāli sources which nevertheless neglect its most characteristic features; however, these appear on sculptures and paintings at Bhārhut, Gandhāra, Sārnāth, Ajaṇṭā, Magadha and Koṅkana[114]. Hsüan tsang mentions a caitya, sixty feet high and containing a statue of the seated Buddha; it was on that spot that the Master had debated with the heretics. The Chinese master also notes, among other curiosities, two Aśokan pillars flanking the eastern door of the Jetavana, the hermitage which the Buddha had received from the banker Anāthapiṇḍada; the pillars were surmounted by a sculpted wheel and an ox respectively. An ancient stūpa also stood by the well which supplied the Tathāgata with water.

Pāṭaliputra, present-day Patna[115], the importance of which the Buddha

[110] We saw above the part played by Rājagṛha, the capital with five hills, in the life of the Buddha. Various explorations carried out at Rājgir have exposed the high rampart, 25 miles in circumference, which surrounded the town, as well as two fortresses. It is believed that identification has been made of the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata "Vulture-Peak Mountain", of the Pipphalivana, a retreat dear to Mahākāśyapa, and of the *Saptaparṇiguhā*, the cave where — according to certain sources — the sessions of the first council were held. See B.C. LAW, *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature*, Delhi, 1938; M.H. KURAISHI and A. GHOSH, *A Guide to Rājgir*, Delhi, 1939; R.C. MAJUMDAR, *Identification of some old sites in Rājagṛha*, JASB, XV, 1949, pp. 65-80; A. GHOSH, *Rājgir 1950*, Ancient India, VII, 1951, pp. 66-78 (with a detailed plan of the town and its hills, p. 67); D.N. SEN, *Sites in Rājgir associated with Buddha and his Disciples* Buddha Jayanti Issue of JBRS, 1956, pp. 136-58.

[111] On the identification of Vaiśālī-Basārh, ARArchSurv, 1903-04, p. 81 sq; 1913-14, p. 98 sq. — Map of Vaiśālī in B.C. LAW, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924*.

[112] FOUCHER, *Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 289-93.

[113] The identification of Śrāvastī with the twin villages of Sāheṭh-Māheṭh dates back to Cunningham. The Jetavana, given to the B. by Anāthapiṇḍada, is represented by Sāheṭh, and Śrāvastī proper by Māheṭh, a fortified town. See B.C. LAW, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, Delhi, 1935.

[114] A. FOUCHER, *The Great Miracle of Śrāvastī*, in The Beginnings of B. Art, Paris, 1917, pp. 184-203; *Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 281-5.*

[115] In Patna, only two sites have been systematically excavated : Kumrāhār and Bulandībāgh. The excavations have brought to light a "pillared hall" of the Mauryan

353 predicted, had become the capital of Magadha as early as the reign of Udāyin, and the centre of the Mauryan empire, to which the Seleucids and Lagids sent their ambassadors. Several ancient monuments were to be found there : a Dharmarājikastūpa enclosing a bushel of miraculous relics, the Aśokārāma erected by the emperor on the site of the Kukkuṭārāma, a small shelter protecting the stone on which the Buddha had left his footprints, a cave fitted out by Aśoka for the use of his brother Mahendra and, finally, an inscribed pillar commemorating the gift of Jambudvīpa to the Buddhist community. Fa hsien and Hsüan tsang, who saw the inscription, were no doubt the dupes of their cicerones who could already no longer read the Aśokan characters, but who did not want to stop short and admit their ignorance.

In the neighbourhood of Nālandā, which was destined to become a great university centre in the Gupta period, the villages of Kālapināka and Kolika possessed stūpas commemorating the birth and decease of the two great disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

2. Kauśāmbī. — Among the territories which were Buddhist from the outset must be classed Kauśambī, the Vatsa capital, present-day Kosam on the Yamunā, in the district of Allahābād, Uttar Pradesh[116]. An important centre of communications, it was in direct contact with Mathurā and Ujjayinī to the west and Pāṭaliputra to the east. Śākyamuni paid long and frequent visits to it, staying in turn at the ārāmas placed at his disposal by rich notables of the town : Siṃsapāvana, Kukkuṭārāma, Pāvārikambavana, Badarikārāma and especially the Ghositārāma, the exact site of which has recently been established by an inscription[117]. The monks of Kauśāmbī were considered violent and quarrelsome. Already during the Buddha's lifetime, a quarrel provoked by some futile motive brought dogmatists (*dharmadhara*) and moralists (*vinayadhara*) into conflict. This resulted in a schism which the Buddha attempted in vain to appease. When he saw his efforts at conciliation were repulsed with haughtiness, he withdrew to the nearby forest of
354 Pārileyyaka where he found the company of solitary elephants preferable to that of feuding monks.

period and various monastic establishments, including an Ārogyavihāra "Monastery of the sick", as is evident from a terra cotta seal discovered *in situ*. On recent excavations, see Ancient India, IX, 1953, pl. LXV.

On the part played by the town in Buddhist history, B. Chaudhuri, *Pāṭaliputra : its Importance in the History of Buddhism*, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 340-51.

[116] See N.N. Ghosh, *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, Allahābād, 1935; B.C. Law, *Kauśambī in Ancient Literature*, Delhi, 1939.

[117] Photograph of the site in Ancient India, IX, 1953, pl. LXIV.

Mention has already been made of Udayana, the king of the Vatsas, more famous for his amorous adventures than his Buddhist piety. He did not look very favourably on the sympathy with which his women surrounded Ānanda, to the extent of removing their own garments in order to make a gift to the holy disciple. He even attempted to have the Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja devoured by red ants. The story of this person is unique in Buddhism.

The son of Udayana's chaplain, Piṇḍora entered the order with the secret hope of assuaging his gluttony; but he was put on a diet by the Buddha, and finally overcame his pangs of hunger and attained Arhatship. However, one day a notable of Rājagṛha organized a tournament of magic; from the top of a long perch, he suspended a bowl made of sandalwood and specified that whoever could remove it would become its owner. Piṇḍola was unable to resist the offer; making use of his supernatural powers, he rose into the air, grasped the wooden bowl and, continuing his walk in the air, went round the town three times. The notable then took the bowl from the venerable one's hands and, having filled it with exquisite nutriment, presented it to him. The Buddha censured Piṇḍola severely for having used his supernormal powers in public without any worthwhile motive[118]. Some late sources, of Sarvâstivādin origin, assert that the Buddha, in order to punish the Arhat's frivolity and gluttony, forbade him to enter Nirvāṇa before the end of time. While waiting for his deliverance, Piṇḍola retired to Apara Godānīya or to Mount Gandhamādana, where he continued to teach the Law and make conversions. He welcomed invitations with good grace it is thus that he appeared to Aśoka, in the form of an old man with white hair and eyebrows so long that they hung over his brow and hid his eyes; at the sovereign's request, he described the beauty of the Tathāgata whose disciple he had been. This Buddhist equivalent of the Wandering Jew would quite naturally have his place in the group of the Four, later Sixteen Arhats, who are supposed to protect the Law until the coming of Maitreya. The Chinese communities adopted this "Holy Monk", as they called him. From the end of the fifth century, they built statues to him and regularly invited him to share the meal at the
355 monastery : his place was reserved at the table and an empty seat and a bowl were set out for him[119].

There has been some speculation as to whether the legends concerning Kauśāmbī are not later inventions, but they are so well attested by the

[118] Vinaya, II, p. 110; Dhammapada Comm., III, p. 201 sq.

[119] On all these legends, see S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhats protecteurs de la Loi*, JA, 1916, pp. 204-75.

Sūtras and Vinayas of various schools that it would appear that this is not so. These legends, which date back to an ancient tradition, constitute a separate cycle in Buddhist literature : in the canonical collections, the *Kosambiya Suttas* (*Majjhima*, I, p. 320) and the *Kosambakkhandas* (*Vin.*, I, p. 337) form separate chapters.

On the other hand, what should be rejected as apocryphal is the fable in the terms of which the first image of the Buddha was supposedly made in Kauśāmbī on the orders of Udayana, and reproduced in Śrāvastī at the request of Prasenajit. The Mūlasarvāstivādins oppose this legend with another, just as fanciful, which attributes that same initiative to the banker Anāthapiṇḍada, or again to Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha[120].

Aśoka had a two-hundred foot high stūpa erected in Kauśāmbī on the site of the Ghoṣitārāma but, just as the Buddha, he came up against the intransigence of the local monks. It was at them that he directed his edict of Kosam, as it threatened with expulsion any monk or nun who provoked a schism in the Community. The rescript was engraved on the pillar of Kosam which is at present to be found in Allahābād.* Although the community momentarily flourished to such a degree as to occupy some ten monasteries, it was in full decline by the time the Chinese pilgrims arrived, when it consisted of only 300 members. The slackness of the Kauśāmbians was a scandalous subject to the other religious. A prophecy makes them responsible in advance for the future disappearance of the Good Law : internal quarrels will set the disciple of the last scholar, Śiṣyaka, in conflict with the followers of Surata, the last trustee of the monastic discipline; both masters will meet their death in this conflict; the community, deprived of its leaders, will disintegrate and the Lamp of the Law will go out[121].

356 3. Avanti and the west coast. — At the time of the Buddha, Avanti, the territory of which corresponded roughly to modern Mālwā, Nimār and the regions neighbouring on Madhya Pradesh, was the seat of one of the four great monarchies and was ruled by the violent Caṇḍa Pradyota. The two main towns were Ujjayinī in the north and Māhiṣmatī in the south. The area contained only a small number of believers, whom the Buddha had entrusted with the supervision of Mahā Kātyāyana. At the beginning, it was practically impossible to assemble the ten monks required to perform valid ordinations; furthermore, the

[120] *Hōbōgirin*, III, p. 210, art. *Butsuzō*.

[121] See above, pp. 198-200.

monastic rules laid down by the Blessed One appeared impractical in several respects. Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, aknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings[122]. Śiśunāga, who reigned in Magadha from 414 to 396 B.C., annexed Avanti to his crown, and from then on, the Good Law progressed notably; according to tradition, 88 Arhats represented the province at the sessions in Vaiśālī, in 386 or 376 B.C.[123]. In his youth, Aśoka was a viceroy in Avanti, and it was there that he met and married the pious Devī who gave him two children, Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, the future missionaries to Ceylon[124]. Before his departure for the great island, Mahinda went to Avanti to greet his mother. He stayed for six months in the Dakkhiṇāgiri monastery, and for one month in the Cetiyagiri at Vedisa (Skt. Vidiśa), present-day Bhīlsa, at the confluence of the Beś and the Betwā[125].

Avanti was probably the centre of an exegetical and grammatical school which claimed to date back to Mahā Kātyāyana, the Buddha's great disciple, not to be confused with Mahākātyāyanīputra, the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, who lived in the third century after the Nirvāṇa. It seems that Mahākātyāyana had composed a *Pi lê* (Piṭaka) during the Buddha's lifetime in order to explain the Āgamas of his Master, and the
357 work was still in use in southern India[126]. In any case, in the fifth century, at the time of Buddhaghosa, some exegetical works under the name of Mahākaccāyana were in circulation : *Peṭakopadesa* and *Nettippakaraṇa*, as well as some grammatical ones, *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* or *Kaccāyanagandha*[127]; however, with regard to the first two, their canonicity is recognized only by Burmese Buddhists. If that school has really existed, it certainly influenced the literary formation of Pāli, which certain writers see as having originated precisely in Avanti.

As he passed through Ujjayinī, Hsüan tsang mentioned some ten

[122] Vinaya, I, pp. 194-8.

[123] Vinaya, II, p. 299.

[124] Mahāvaṃsa, XII, 8 sq.

[125] Dīpavaṃsa, VI, 15; XII, 14, 35; Mahāvaṃsa, XIII, 6-9; Samanta, pp. 70-1.

[126] See above, pp. 188-189.

[127] In fact, the author of this grammar has nothing in common with either Mahā Kaccāyana or even with the author of the Peṭaka and the Netti; cf. W. GEIGER, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, p. 25.

monasteries, the majority in ruins[128], and near the town, a stupā on the site where Aśoka had built a "hell", i.e. a prison appointed on the model of the Buddhist hells. The famous traveller says nothing about the extremely numerous Buddhist monuments with which the region was covered between the third century B.C. and the eleventh century A.D., but with which modern archaeology was nonetheless acquainted at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The complex of the "Bhīlsa Topes"[129] is situated in a mountainous region partly occupied by the village of Sāñcī, in Bhopāl State, near Bhīlsa, where in ancient times the famous city of Vidiśā, the capital of eastern Mālwā, was to be found. Vidiśā is now known by the name of Besnagar. Five important sites have been explored in the neighbourhood of the capital :

1. Sāñcī[130], called Kākaṇāva or Kākaṇāya by the old Brāhmī inscriptions (MAJUMDAR, 7, 17b, 394, 396, 404), Kākanādaboṭa by the epigraphs of the Gupta period (ID., 833, 834) and, finally, from the seventh century, Boṭa-Śrīparvata (ID., 842), is perhaps that "Sanctuary Mountain" (Cetiyagiri) or "Mount Vedisa" (Vedisagiri), mentioned by the
358 Sinhalese chronicle (*Dpv.*, VI, 15; XII, 14, 35; *Mhv.*, 6-9, 18; *Samanta*, pp. 70-1). This was the native town of the missionaries to Ceylon, Mahinda and Saṃghamittā; at the time of Aśoka, it possessed a vihāra at which Mahinda and his companions stayed for thirty days before their departure for Ceylon.

The holy site contained within its walls some fifty Buddhist monuments, the oldest of which possibly date back to the Mauryan period, the most recent ones being from the eleventh century A.D. They fall naturally into four classes : stūpas, commemorative pillars (*lāṭ*), temples (*caitya*) and monasteries (*saṃghārāma*).

The original (brick) core of the Great Stūpa 1, the Aśokan pillar and the apsidal temple of construction No. 40 date from the Mauryan period. — Dating from the Śuṅga period are the stone overlay and the great balustrade at ground level (unsculpted) of stūpa 1, pillar No. 25, the body of stūpa 2 and its sculpted balustrade (ca 125-100 B.C.), the body of stūpa 3, excluding the balustrade; finally, stūpas 4 and 6. —

[128] On Ujjayinī, see B.C. LAW, *Ujjayinī in Ancient India*, Gwalior Arch. Department, 1944. The excavations undertaken in 1938 by M.B. Garde have brought to light an Aśokan stūpa, built of quarry-stones with a dressing of bricks, the top of which contained perforated coins and pottery fragments; cf. *An. Bibl. of Indian Arch.*, XIV, 1939, p. 3.

[129] A. CUNNINGHAM, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1879.

[130] J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sanchi*, 3rd ed., Delhi, 1936; J. MARSHALL and A. FOUCHER, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, 3 vol., Calcutta, 1939.

The four gateways (*toraṇa*) of stūpa 1 and the single gateway of stūpa 3, the sculptures of which constitute the most characteristic achievements of early Buddhist art, date from the era of the Śātavāhana sovereigns (60-17 B.C.).

Stūpa 1, or Great Stūpa of Sāñcī, is worth a brief description. It originally consisted of a solid hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) made of brick, surmounted by a parasol (*chattra*) of stone, and resting on a circular terrace (*medhi*) 4 m. 50 high and 1 m. 70 wide. — During the Śuṅga period (between 187 and 75 B.C.), the dome was given a stone overlay which brought it up to its present size : 12 m. 80 in height, with a diameter of 32 m. 20. It was crowned by a rectangular pavilion (*harmikā*) in the centre of which was driven the parasol shaft (*chattrāvalī*). Around the terrace there was a circular path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*), of paving stones enclosed at its widest circumference by a stone balustrade (*vedikā*). Slightly oblong in shape, this large balustrade measures 43 m. 60 across from east to west, 44 m. 70 from north to south; its uprights (*stambha*), 3 m. 70 high, are joined at the top by a coping (*uṣṇīṣa*), 0 m. 68 high, and support three rows of cross-pieces (*sūci*). At the beginning of the Andhra period, under the first Śātavāhanas (end of the ancient era), the circular terrace was surrounded by a small balustrade which
359 was reached, from the south side, by two stairways meeting at the top. Furthermore, at the four cardinal points of the large balustrade, stand four monumental gateways (*toraṇa*), approximately 10 metre high, not counting the mystical symbols which crown their tops. Each gateway consists of two 0 m. 68 square jamb-posts, 4 metres in height. They are 2 m. 15 apart. The jamb-posts are surmounted by two great capitals, 1 m. 25 high, supporting three lintels or architraves which are slightly incurved and project at the sides. Both the fronts and the backs of the gateways are covered with bas-relief sculptures, and caryatids link the external side of the capitals to the first architrave.

These four gateways are more or less contemporary with each other. The southern gateway was a "gift from Ānaṃda, the son of Vāṣithī, the chief of the artisans of the Rāja Sirī Sātakani" (Majumdar, 398; Lüders, 346), who apparently ruled from 27 to 17 B.C. The northern, eastern and western gateways have imprecatory inscriptions (Majumdar, 389, 396, 404) characterized by a similar type of script and identical forms of expression. The median lintel of the southern gateway and the southern jamb-post of the western gateway were presented by one and the same person, Balamitra, the disciple of Ayacuḍa (Majumdar, 39, 402), similarly, the southern jamb-post of the eastern gateway and the northern jamb-post of the western gateway were both offered by one

Nāgapiya, a banker from Achāvaḍa and a native of Kurara (MAJUMDAR, 397, 403).

With its more decadent style, the gateway of stūpa 3, the sculptures of which repeat the subjects already handled by the Great Stūpa 1, appears to be the most recent in date.

Numerous pillars, mostly from the Gupta period, were erected on the great terrace of Sāñcī. That of Aśoka, 12 m. 50 high, stood near the southern gateway and bore, in Brāhmī script, the edict condemning the schism. Today it is broken : only the stump remains *in situ*; the capital, preserved in the museum, consists of an inverted bell-shaped lotus, an entablature sculpted with honeysuckle and pairs of geese, and with four foreparts of lions back to back but which, unlike the pillar at Sārnāth, did not support a Wheel of the Law.

Stūpas 3, 4 and 6, on the main terrace, and stūpa 2, on the western
360 side of the mountain, date from the Śuṅga period. Stūpa 3 is 7 metres high, 15 metres in diameter and has a single *toraṇa*; it contained two stone reliquaries enclosing the bones of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana (MAJUMDAR, 14, 13; LÜDERS, 665, 666). Stūpa 2, the balustrade of which remains intact but without a toraṇa, contained, in a stone casket, four soapstone reliquaries with bones which belonged to some Haimavata holy ones, particularly Majjhima and Kassapagotta who were known to the Sinhalese chronicle (MAJUMDAR, 4, 3; LÜDERS, 656, 655).

2. The site of Sonārī, 6 miles south-west of Sāñcī, contained eight stūpas, two of which were large — 14 m. 40 and 8 metres in diameter respectively; each occupied the centre of a large square terrace. Stūpa 2 also contained, in crystal boxes and soapstone caskets, the bones of Haimavata holy ones : Majjhima, Kassapagotta and Dundubhissara (LÜDERS, 156-160).

3. Mount Satdhāra, to the west of Sāñcī, on the River Beś, was the site of seven stūpas. The first, of gigantic size — 30 metres in diameter and 22 m. 50 in height — has not yielded any reliquaries. The second, much smaller, contained two empty caskets inscribed with the names of Śāriputra and Mahā-Maudgalyāyana (LÜDERS, 152-153). The third contained reliquaries, but without any inscriptions. The other four had already been "exploited" by vandals.

4. The stūpas of Bhojpur, on the upper reaches of the Betwā 7 miles south-east of Sāñcī, were thirty-three in number. The largest of them, 18 m. 30 in diameter, occupied the centre of a levelled terrace 75 m. 60 long and 64 m. 20 wide. The others, which are smaller in size, have yielded some terra-cotta urns inscribed with the names of unknown holy ones, such as Upahitaka in stūpa 7 (LÜDERS, 678).

5. At Andher, 5 miles south-east of Bhojpur, a group of three small, well-preserved stūpas has supplied relics and boxes or urns made of soapstone inscribed with the names of Haimavatas holy ones, particularly Majjhima and Kassapagotta (LÜDERS, 680-684).

Southern Avanti, capital Māhiṣmatī, also had its Buddhist monuments[131]. On a mountainous massif situated in the neighbourhood of
361 Māhiṣmatī, three miles south of Kasrawad (district of Nimad in Holkar State), the site called Itbardi "Brick Mountain", which was explored in the years 1936-39, has revealed the existence of eleven brick stūpas, the largest of which was 10 m. 50 in diameter. Inscribed fragments of pottery bear names of places and persons, some of which are identical to those found on the inscriptions at Bhārhut. Coins, ivory objects and glass-ware have also been found indicating that the site belongs to the second century B.C.[132].

Close ties linked the Buddhists of Avanti with their co-religionists of the western coast, designated by the generic term of Aparânta, and which included Sindh, western Rājputāna, Kutch, Gujarāt and the regions neighbouring the lower Narmadā. According to the Sanskrit tradition (*Mūlasarv. Vin.*, T 1448, ch. 2-4, pp. 7*c*-17*a*; *Divya*, pp. 24-55; *Karmavibhaṅga*, pp. 63-4), repeated later in Ceylon (*Majjhima Comm.*, V, pp. 85-92; *Saṃyutta Com.*, II, pp. 374-9), the inhabitants of the port of Śūrpāraka, in Śroṇāparāntaka, were acquainted with the Good Law even while the Buddha was alive. The wealthy merchant Pūrna, a native of the town, went with a caravan to Śrāvastī, where he met the Buddha who converted him and preached the *Puṇṇovādasutta* (*Majjhima*, III, pp. 267-70) for him. Pūrṇa resolved to win his compatriots to the religion and, once he had returned to Śūrpāraka, he stayed in turn at the monasteries of Ambahaṭṭhapabbata, Samuddagiri and Mātulagiri, finally settling in the Makulakārāma. There he gathered around him a large number of disciples of both sexes and, with sandalwood provided by his brother built a circular pavilion, the Candanamāla Prāsāda, which continued to be famous in Buddhist iconography[133]. One day Pūrṇa invited the Buddha to it, and the master went there travelling through the air with five hundred disciples, and stayed there for a night.

[131] On recent excavations, H.D. SANKALIA, *Excavations in the Narmada valley*, Journ. Mahārāja Sayajirao Univ. of Baroda, II, 1953, p. 99 sq; *The archaeological sequence of Central India*, South-Western Journal of Anthropology, IX, 1953, p. 343 sq.

[132] D.B. DISKALKAR, *Excavations at Kasrawad*, *IHQ*, XXV, 1949, pp. 1-18.

[133] Particularly an eleventh century Nepalese miniature : A. FOUCHER, *Étude sur l'iconographie b. de l'Inde*, I, Paris, 1900, p. 62, pl. 1, No. 6.

At the request of the Nāgas, when he returned he left his footprint on the bank of the river Narmadā. Even if this legend is probably apocryphal, it remains nonetheless a fact that at the Mauryan period, the western coast in general, and Śūrpāraka in particular, had been
362 subjected to Buddhist propaganda. In Sopāra (the modern name for Śūrpāraka), a basalt fragment has been discovered on which can be read a small section of Aśoka's eighth edict, as well as a stūpa containing relics enclosed in caskets made of stone, silver and gold[134]. After the council of Pāṭaliputra, it is believed that Yonaka Dhammarakkhita was sent on a mission to Aparānta.

At the same time, the Thera Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa, in Northern Kanara. However, Hsüan tsang, when visiting Koṅkaṇapura — which can doubtless be identified with Vanavāsa —, discovered there traces of an earlier mission : a stūpa erected over the remains of Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi, an Aśokan stūpa marking the spot where the Arhat had performed wonders and made conversions, finally, a sandalwood statue of Maitreya sculpted by his hands. This Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi is none other than the Soṇakoḷivisa of the Pāli sources : a native of Campā, he was fabulously wealthy and his body was as brilliant as gold; he was invited by Bimbisāra to Rājagṛha, where he met the Buddha, was converted and attained Arhatship (*Vin.*, I, pp. 179-85).

Further ancient monuments are also noted by Hsüan tsang on the eastern coast and neighbouring regions : in Mahārāṣṭra, five stūpas of the primitive type erected in honour of the Buddhas of the past; in Gujarāt (Surāṣṭra and Lāṭa), near Valabhi, a number of Aśokan stūpas built to commemorate an alleged visit by the Buddha to those regions.

4. Mathurā. — The Śūrasena capital and an important communications centre on the Yamunā, Mathurā, present-day Muttra, had benefited from a rapid visit by the Buddha : the Master did not prolong his stay there, since it was made unpleasant by the unevenness of the ground, the thickness of the dust, the viciousness of the animals, the savagery of the Yakṣas and the obstacles to begging (*Aṅguttara*, III, p. 256; and its *Comm.*, III, p. 329). His disciple Mahākātyāyana did not feel the same repugnance, and stayed for some time at the Gundāvana monastery where he was visited by King Avantiputra and brāhmin scholars who came to discuss the privileges of their caste with him (*Majjhima*, II, p. 84). Thirty Mathuran bhikṣus supported the rigorist

[134] On this stūpa, re-examined in 1939 by Mr. Munir, see An. Bibl. of Indian Arch., XIV, 1939, p. 2.

363 cause in the dispute at Vaiśālī[135] : their leader Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin dwelt on Mount Ahogaṅga, some distance from the town[136]. It was also after a seven-year retreat spent in the solitude of the Ahogaṅga that Moggaliputtatissa returned to Pāṭaliputra to give his support to Aśoka and preside over the third council[137]. Aśoka erected three stūpas in Mathurā to commemorate the Buddhas of the past and preserve the ashes of various great disciples : Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Pūrṇamaitrayaṇīputra, Upāli, Ānanda and Revata[138]. Nothing of them has been discovered, not even their site[139]. Princes who were sympathetic to Buddhism ruled in Mathurā under the Suṅgas and during the Śaka occupation, but it was only in the Kuṣāṇa period, in the second century A.D., that the town became one of the Buddhist strongholds. It was probably then that the city was given an edifying history by the Sarvāstivādins of Kaśmīr. The *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (*Gilgit Man.*, III, 1, pp. 3-68) attributes a fictitious journey in northern India to the Buddha, a journey which is supposed to have halted at the known or unknown towns of Ādirājya, Mathurā, Otalā, Vairambha, Ayodhyā, Kumāravardhana, Krauñca, Aṅgadika, Maṇivatī, Sālabalā, Sālibalā, Suvarṇaprastha and, finally, Sāketa. The Master supposedly predicted the erection, one hundred years after his Nirvāṇa, of the Naṭabhaṭīyavihāra on Mount Urumuṇḍa, and the birth of Upagupta into the family of a perfume merchant from Mathurā[140].

The *Aśokāvadāna* agrees with the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* in making Mathurā the base of the fourth and fifth masters of the Law, Śāṇavāsa and Upagupta[141]. They lived there, surrounded by thousands of Arhats whom they trained in dhyāna practice, a mystic movement the main centre of which was, however, in Kaśmīr. A whole legend has been woven around Upagupta, whose apostolic zeal extended to courtesans (Vāsavadattā), and who vanquished Māra in a tournament of magic and
364 made so many conversions that a system of slips of wood had to be instituted in order to count them. It was he, and not Moggaliputtatissa, who made himself the spiritual adviser to Aśoka, guided him in his pilgrimages and showed him the sites where stūpas were to be constructed. By means of these legends, the Kaśmīrians hoped to demon-

[135] Mahīśāsaka Vin.; cf. M. HOFINGER, *Concile de Vaiśālī*, p. 50.
[136] Pāli Vin., II, p. 298.
[137] Mahāvaṃsa, V, 233.
[138] Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 4, p. 890*b* 6.
[139] J.P. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, p. 18.
[140] Above, p. 206.
[141] Above, pp. 208-210.*

strate the great antiquity of their Dhyāna school, the origins of which go no further back than the end of the second century A.D.

However, the Kaśmīrians were also masters of the Vinaya, of which they knew and translated five recensions. As we saw earlier, they claimed that the original text had still been extant in Mathurā at the time of Upagupta, but the disciples of the latter, in order to have their particular views triumph, divided the single Great Vinayapiṭaka into five adventitious Vinayas.

However, that may be, Mathurā, along with North-West India and Kaśmīr, was one of the strongholds of the Sarvāstivādin school which is reputed to have introduced the use of Sanskrit into the Buddhist tradition. The *Aśoka-* and *Divyāvadāna* which we should link with the Mathurā schools as M.J. Przyluski did, are in Sanskrit which is generally grammatical but with a separate vocabulary, some terms of which are in Prākrit or based on Prākrit; furthermore, these texts have those stylistic habits of repetition and co-ordination which we find in Pāli. Crude and naive, the language of the Avadānas is much inferior to the Buddhist kāvya practised in the North-West of India by poets such as Mātṛceṭa, Kumāralāta and especially Aśvaghoṣa. However, at a time when central India was beginning to use mixed Sanskrit in epigraphy, Mathurā seems to have taken the initiative in resorting to Sanskrit for composing Buddhist texts. There were a great many learned brāhmins, versed in the Vedas, in the area, and it was a matter of importance to be able to debate with them on an equal footing, in a language the prestige of which was universally recognized.

5. NORTH-WEST INDIA. — The important borderland, after having been subjected to the Achaemenid yoke for two and a half centuries (559-336) and the Macedonian occupation for three decades (336-306), rallied to the mother-country in 306, in the terms of the convention concluded between Seleucus I and Candragupta. It was to be under the influence of the Indian empire of the Mauryas from 306 to approximately 189, a date at which it again fell under the domination of a foreign sovereign, the Indo-Greek king Demetrius. The Mauryas watch-
365 ed over that region with jealous concern, fully aware of its importance. Uttarāpatha, as they called it, was one of the four provinces administered by viceroys or royal princes : Aśoka and his son Kuṇāla had in turn been in charge of the government, the seat of which was Takṣaśilā. The great emperor established his Dharma there; two recensions of fourteen enactments, in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, were engraved on rock, one at Shāhbāzgarhī in the district of Peshāwār, another at Mānsehrā in the

district of Hazāra; furthermore, a fragment of an edict, in Aramaic script, has recently been discovered at Lampāka in the district of Laghmān.* Buddhist missionaries closely followed the imperial functionaries, and the Sanskrit sources agree with the Pāli chronicle in attributing the conversion of Kaśmīra-Gandhāra to the Arhat Madhyāntika (Majjhantika in Pāli) and his companions. However, for the former sources, Madhyāntika was one of Ānanda's disciples and was probably active in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa, whereas for the latter, Majjhantika was a contemporary of Aśoka and disciple of Moggaliputtatissa. In fact, the North-West could not have been converted prior to the Maurya period, since before that date, Buddhist propaganda was confined to the region of the Middle Ganges and Avanti, with a few advances in the direction of the western and eastern coasts; also, Uttarāpatha was still struggling under the Macedonian satraps who were drawn up against each other : such a time was ill-chosen for religious pacification.

There is no lack of indications to prove the implantation of Buddhism in the North-West at the time of the Mauryas. The most conclusive is the great number of "Aśokan stūpas" noted in the region by Hsüan tsang, the majority of which were 200 feet high : one at Śatadru on the Sutlej; one in Kulūta on the upper Beas; two in Takka on the Chenāb; one in the Tāmasavana; four in Kaśmīr; two at Siṃhapura in the Salt Range; three in Takṣaśilā (st. of Maitreya's Treasure, st. of the Gift of the Head and st. of Kuṇāla); two in Uḍḍiyāna (st. of the Gift of Flesh and st. of Rohitaka); five in Gandhāra (st. of the Teaching of the Buddhas of the past; st. of the Gift of Eyes; stūpas commemorating two of Viśvantara's exploits; st. of Ekaśṛṅga); three in the district of Nagarahāra (st. of Dīpaṃkara's Prediction, st. of the Offering of Hair, and the giant stūpa of Gunda Chismeh); several tens at Jāguḍa in the
366 Arghandāb Valley and the Middle Hēlmand; one in Kapiśa (st. of Pīlusār); one in the Andar-āb Valley[142].

It was very easy for the pilgrims to distinguish those old stūpas, with solid hemispherical domes, from the more recent stūpas in Gandhāran style, which was much more complex and generally consisted of a square base, a drum, a dome and, finally, a pinnacle of parasols. Several of the ancient stūpas recorded by Hsüan tsang have been identified : the ruins of "Maitreya's Treasure" are to be found on the ridge dominating Baotī Piṇḍ; the "Gift of the Head" is the present-day Bhallaṛ Stūpa occupying the western point of Mount Sarda; the "Kuṇāla Memorial" is located on the northern slope of the Hathiāl which overlooks the site of Sirkap

[142] For details, see WATTERS, I, pp. 180-286.

and the entire Haro Valley[143]. Furthermore, the characteristic features of the Aśokan stūpa are also recognizable at present in the ruins of Mānikyāla in the Punjab, the tope of Shāhpūr to the east of Shāh-Ḍhērī and the tope of Chakpat near the fort of Chakdarra in the Swāt valley[144].*

Another indication of Buddhist penetration is the localization on the land of the North-West, particularly in Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna and the Western Punjab, of a number of legends taken from the former lives of the Tathāgata[145]. Gangetic India had been the setting for the last existence of the Buddha; the North-West claimed that his former lives had taken place on its soil. Each town, each locality soon had its own legend, and its own stūpa to commemorate it. In Nagarahāra (Jelālābād), Śākyamuni had received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, and had spread out his hair under the Tathāgata's feet. In Puṣkarāvatī (Shāh-Ḍhērī and Chārsadda), Śibi had made the gift of his eyes to a beggar, and Śyāma, while he was gathering fruits for his blind parents, had been struck by a poisoned arrow. In Varṣapura (Shāhbāzgaṛhī), Viśvantara had given to an insatiable brāhmin his white elephant, kingdom, caparison, wife and children. At Shāh-koṭ, the ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga, had been seduced by a courtesan and had carried her to the town on his
367 shoulders. In Maṅgalapura (Manglaor), Kṣāntivādin had submitted to the blows of King Kali without a word of complaint. On Mount Hi-lo or Hidda (Ilam, of the borders of the Swāt and the Būnēr), a young brāhmin had thrown himself from the top of a tree in order to learn a verse of the Law. In the Mahāvana (Sunīgrām), King Sarvada, who wished to give alms when he had no money, gave himself up to his enemy for gold. In the Masurasaṃghārāma (Gumbatai, near Tursak in Būnēr), Dharmarata had transcribed a text of the Law using his skin as parchment, one of his bones as a reed and his blood as ink. In Girārai, King Śibi had redeemed a pigeon which was being pursued by a falcon by cutting off from his own body a weight of flesh equivalent to that of the pigeon. At the monastery of Sarpauṣadhi in the Sānirāja valley (Adinzai), Indra, transformed into a serpent, had saved the population from famine and pestilence, while an industrious serpent made water spring from a rock. At Rohitaka, King Maitrībala had fed five Yakṣas

[143] Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 348; III, pl. 87*a*.

[144] References in A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 67, n. 1.

[145] On the acclimatization and localisation of the legends in the North-West, see A. Foucher, *Notes sur la Géographie ancienne du Gandhâra*, Extrait du BEFEO, 1902, 49 pp. with a map of the sites; *Art gréco-bouddhique*, II, pp. 407-21; *Vieille Route de l'Inde*, p. 268 sq.

with his own blood. In Takṣaśilā, King Candraprabha had cut off his own head in order to present it to the brāhmin Raudrākṣa. On the Upper Indus, Prince Mahāsattva had given his body to a hungry tigress; at Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva, on the site of the two Alexandrian foundations on the Jhelum, Nicaea and Bucephala, the mythical king Mahāsaṃmata had been given the royal consecration and then a marvellous horse.

Missionary zeal had therefore delved into the rich repertory of the Jātakas in which the Bodhisattva, in a human, animal or divine form of existence, had practised the great perfections of his state, particularly generosity, patience, vigour and wisdom, not without falling prey — as in the case of Ekaśṛṅga — to inevitable human weaknesses. Alongside Vārāṇasī which also claimed as its own Jātakas (the Six-Tusked White Elephant, the Partridge, the Deer and the Hare), Gandhāra was the only one to play the game — somewhat puerile, but profitable to the places of pilgrimage — of the acclimatization of the legends. But this infatuation did not last for long. The fact that the Aśokan stūpas, such as those of the Gift of the Body on the peak of Banj, the Gift of Flesh at Girārai, the Gift of Eyes at Chārsadda, the Gift of the Head at Takṣaśilā, of Viśvantara at Shābāzgaṛhī, etc., were built from the Mauryan period onwards proves that the annexing of the legends began with the introduction of the Good Law into the borderlands of the North-West. It continued in force under the Indo-Greek occupation, but was practi-
368 cally over by the Christian era. Indeed, at that time the Scythian invasion slowed down the expansion of the Good Law and, when the latter once again advanced and reached the southern slopes of the Afghan massif (Kapiśa) and beyond the Hindūkush, Bactria and Sogdiana, the source of inspiration had dried up and the flood of ancient legends never reached those remote regions : "It is because there is a time for everything, and that of the pious legends had passed" (tr. from Foucher).

Furthermore, in view of the Buddhist successes in the Kuṣāṇa period, it was considered that the Jātakas no longer sufficed to confer an adequate guarantee of authenticity on the new holy land and a story was made up of a journey by the Buddha to the North-West, in the company of the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, and great pleasure was to be had following the stages of the journey on a map; new stūpas were erected to commemorate its principal events[146]. This was a new means of propaganda, initiated, we believe, in the Kuṣāṇa period. In fact, one of the episodes

[146] Itinerary of this journey in BEFEO, 1947-50, pp. 152-8.

of this journey is concerned with Kaniṣka's great caitya in Peshāwār, the building of which is thought to have been predicted by the Buddha.

To return to the ancient period, we also note that the Sanskrit sources agree with the Pāli in recording the struggles the missionaries[147] had to sustain against "the king of the Nāgas (Aravāḷa, or Hulūṭa), eighty-four thousand serpents, numerous Gandharvas, Yakṣas and Kumbhaṇḍakas" (*Mhv.*, XII, 20), who occupied the pools and defended the mountain passes. In the missionary's presence, dragons and demi-gods hurled thunder and lightning, breathed smoke and fire, caused floods and famines. The missionary withdrew into the meditation on benevolence, and the knives, axes and weapons that were cast at him turned into *kumuda* flowers which spread out in the space above his body. Gentleness triumphed over force : the Nāga-king and his peers took refuge in the Three Jewels and abided by the fivefold morality; the Yakṣa Paṇḍaka and his wife Hāritī, the mother of five hundred demons, attained the srotaāpattiphala, the first fruit of the religious life. The
369 missionary addressed them with a homily which was at the same time a solemn reconciliation : "Henceforth, do not allow anger to dominate you; do no further harm to the harvests, cherish all beings and let mankind live in peace" (*Mhv.*, XII, 22). In its picturesque form, the legend summarizes the entire history of the western missions : in order to ensure the triumph of the Good Law, the missionaries first had to combat popular superstition which found its most common expression in the worship of Nāgas and serpents, already attested in the Vedas and the origins of which can be traced back to the remote ages of Mohen-jo-Dāro, in the third millennium B.C. It was less a matter of substituting a new cult for an ancient one than of raising the latter to the level of the Buddhist message. The Buddhists, as moreover do the Śivaites and Viṣṇuites, admitted the serpent in their own religious system, but in a subordinate place.

We should note in conclusion that the Good Law did not enjoy the same success in all districts of the North-West without distinction. The information supplied by the Chinese pilgrims and archaeological discoveries show that only the districts of the Western Punjab, Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna and also doubtless Jāguḍa (which has not yet been explored systematically) were truly influenced by Buddhism in the Mauryan period. This was not the case for Kapiśa (Kohistān in Kabul) where Hsüan tsang records only a single Aśokan stūpa, nor even for Kaśmīr

[147] We are concerned here with Madhyāntika and his companions; see above, pp. 207-208, 293, 303, 304.

where no trace has been discovered of the Aśokan foundations of the Śuṣkaletra or the Vitastrāta mentioned by the travellers as well as Kalhaṇa. That a few Buddhists may have ventured there in the ancient era, nobody would attempt to deny, but one swallow does not make a summer and, in the light of numerous indications which we will be examining further on, it can well be believed that Kapiśa and Kaśmīr did not become true Buddhist fiefs until the Kuṣāṇa period, due to the active propaganda conducted by Kaniṣka. It was even later that Bactria, separated from the Indus basin by the high barrier of the Hindūkush, in turn became a holy land of Buddhism. This is what appears, among other indications, from the evidence of Hsüan tsang who attributes most of the Buddhist foundations beyond the Hindūkush, not to Kaniṣka and even less so to Aśoka, but more modestly and recently to "Ancient Kings" (*chiu wang*), that is, the later Kuṣāṇas (c. 231-390 A.D.), or even the Kidārites (390-460 A.D.).

370 6. CENTRAL INDIA OR THE BRĀHMANIC MADHYADEŚA. — Since Vedic times, the centre of the Āryan world, the "firm middle country" (*dhruvā madhyamā diś*), extended from the Sarasvatī to Gangetic Doab; it was from there that brāhmanical civilization radiated to the external provinces : Kosala and the land of Kāśī watered by the Sarayu and the Varaṇāvatī, Videha irrigated by the Gandak, and Vidarbha in the Wardhā valley. Beyond the sphere of influence lived tribes of mixed origin, such as the Aṅgas of eastern Bihar and the Māgadhans of southern Bihar, or indigenous clans such as the Puṇḍras of North Bengal, the Pulindas and Śavaras of the Vindhya forests, and the Andhras in the Godāvarī valley. Two peoples of noble blood dominated Āryavarta : the Kurus, descendants of the Vedic tribes of the Pūrus and Bharatas, occupied the length of territory located between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, as well as the districts of Delhi and Meerut : their capital was Āsandīvat; the Pañcālas, also of Vedic origin being descendants of the Krivis, were settled in the districts of Bareilly, Budāūn and Farrukhābād in Uttar Pradesh where their chief towns were Kāmpilya and Ahicchatra[148]. For a long time, historians have noted the spiritual and cultural abyss which separated the brāhmanic Madhyadeśa from the

[148] On Ahicchatra, where important excavations are still taking place, see B.C. LAW, *Pañcālas and their Capital Ahicchatra*, Delhi, 1942; A. GHOSH and K.C. PANIGRAHI, *Pottery of Ahicchatra*, Ancient India, I, 1946, pp. 37-59; V.S. AGRAWALA, *The Terracottas of Ahicchatra*, Ancient India, IV, 1948, pp. 104-79; M.G. DIKSHIT, *Beads from Ahicchatra*, Ancient India, VIII, 1952, pp. 33-63. — Also see B. B. LAL, *Excavations at Hastināpura and other Explorations in the Upper Gaṅgā*, Ancient India, X and XI, 1954-55, pp. 5-151.

ancient cradle of Buddhism situated further to the east[149]. On the one hand, the Āryans, trustees of the Vedic revelation, paragons of brāhmanic civilization, devoted to the raising of cattle and cultivation of wheat; on the other, the Muṇḍas who remained partly faithful to the customs of the original clan, superficially influenced by Brāhmanism, more concerned with the great problems of life than with ritual and sacrifice, exclusively concerned with the cultivation of rice, and confirmed vegetarians.

Even if Śākyamuni travelled through Doab several times, he never stayed there long : his fixed residences were never to be found further west than an ideal line joining Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī. The message of
371 the Buddha had no hold on a population which was fiercely attached to its books and traditions, proud of its brahmins, faithful to its Devas and which punctually carried out ancestral sacrifices in which animals were immolated and the Soma flowed. Aśoka did indeed attempt to introduce his Dharma there, as is witnessed by the Kālsī rock edict and the pillar edicts of Toprā and Mīraṭh, but his efforts were powerless to change the population's mind. As for the Buddhist missionaries and propagandists of the Mauryan period, they did not even try to locate the great exploits of the Bodhisattva during his former existences in those unprofitable regions, but merely noted here and there the places which Śākyamuni had honoured with his presence and where earlier Buddhas had appeared. With regard to the large towns of the brāhmanic Madhyadeśa, Śrughna, Goviśana, Ahicchatra, Vilaśāṇa, Kapitha (Sāṃkāśya), Kanyākubja, Ayodhyā and Āyamukha, it is always the same monotonous and disappointed formula that came from Hsüan tsang's pen : "An Aśokan stūpa on the spot where the Buddha had propounded his excellent doctrine for such and such a time; to one side, a stūpa where four Buddhas of the past had sat or walked; finally, a small stūpa containing relics of the Buddha's hair or nails"[150]. Nothing could better emphasize the failure of the religious propaganda among a population which "After the decease of the Buddha, was led astray by its leaders and made to believe in false religions, and where Buddhism disappeared" (T 2087, ch. 4, p. 981*a*)[151]. It may be objected that, at the time of Hsüan

[149] A. FOUCHER, *Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 123-4.

[150] Some of the rare stūpas are possibly ancient. Thus, it is thought that traces of Aśokan monuments have been discovered in Vilaśāṇa, the *P'i lo shan na* of Hsüan tsang, present-day Bilsad in the disctrict of Etah in Uttar Pradesh. Cf. B.S. SURYAVANSHI, *Exploration at Bilsad*, JBBRAS, XXX, 1955, pp. 56-65.

[151] However, it was not possible for Buddhism to "disappear" from a region where it never had much of a grip.

tsang, Kanyākubja contained more than 100 monasteries and over 10,000 religious, adherents of the Māhāyāna, and Hīnayāna (T 2087, ch. 5, p. 893*c* 14) : this was a relatively late success of the Good Law, caused artificially by the religious policy of Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.); two centuries earlier the town, as evidenced by Fa hsien, still had only two Hīnayānist monasteries (T 2085, p. 860*a*). — Everything leads to the belief that the situation was no more favourable in the ancient period.

372 An exception should, however, be made for the town of Sāṃkāśya, nowadays Sankissa in the district of Etah in Uttar Pradesh, which was the setting for one of the four secondary wonders. It was on the outskirts of the town, to be precise in the Āpajjura enclosure, at the foot of the Udumbara, that the Buddha descended from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven where he had been preaching the Law to his mother. To do this, he created a triple stairway of precious materials; he used the central one, Brahmā used the one to the right and Indra that to the left. Once he had descended, the three stairways sank into the ground and only seven steps remained visible. The Buddha was welcomed on his arrival by a countless throng of the laity and religious, among whom could be recognized Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, Śāriputra and the nun Utpalavarṇā who, in order to force her way through the crowd more easily, had disguised herself as a cakravartin king. However, someone who was absent, the venerable Subhūti, whom the Mahāyānists claim as one of theirs, was the first to greet the Buddha; he remained in his cave on the outskirts of Rājagṛha and merely fixed his mind on the instability of human things, and this homage paid to the body of the Law (*dharmakāya*) of the Buddhas surpassed every other greeting addressed to his physical body (*janmakāya*).

The wonder of the "Descent of the Gods" (*devāvatāra*), as it is called, was widely exploited by art and literature : it appears on monuments at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Sārnāth, Loriyān-Tangai in Gandhāra, Mathurā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Ajaṇṭā[152]. Sanskrit literature, whether canonical or post-canonical, Hīnayānist or Mahāyānist, makes numerous allusions to it[153]; and although the event is not mentioned in the Pāli canon, the

[152] *Bhārhut*, pl. 17; *Monuments of Sāñchī*, II, pl. 34 *c*; MAJUMDAR, *Guide to Sārnāth*, pl. 13*e*; *Art gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 539, fig. 265; VOGEL, *Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. 51*a*; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, pl. 11*d*; GRIFFITHS, *Ajaṇṭā*, pl. 54.

[153] Divya, p. 401; Avadānaśataka, II, pp. 94-5; Karmavibhaṅga, pp. 159-60; Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 23, p. 169*c*; Tsêng i a han, T 125, ch. 28, p. 707*c* 15 sq.; Po yüan ching, T 200, ch. 9, p. 247*a*; I tsu ching, T 198, ch. 2, p. 185*c*; Tsao hsiang kung tê ching, T 694, ch. 1, p. 792*c*; Fên pieh kung tê lun, T 1507, ch. 3, p. 37*c*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 11, p. 137*a*.

Sinhalese tradition mentions it in its commentaries (*Dhammapada Comm.*, III, p. 226; *Suttanipāta Comm.*, II, p. 570).

The Chinese pilgrims Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 859*c*) and Hsüan tsang
373 (T 2087, ch. 4, p. 893*b*), inform us that Aśoka, wishing to unearth the stairway, had a large hole dug at its base but, on encountering water underground, was prevented from continuing with the project. The king felt his faith and veneration increasing and therefore had a vihāra built above the stairway and, on the middle flight, he erected a six foot high statue of the standing Buddha[154]. Behind the vihāra, he set up a stone pillar twenty cubits high, surmounted by a lion. However, that lion was in reality an elephant with a mutilated trunk and tail, which explains the Chinese pilgrims' mistake. The capital to which it belonged is still standing in place, but the column has vanished and been replaced by brick masonry[155].

If we attempt to explain the origin of this wonder, responsibility must be laid on those artificial irrigation ramps which lean at an angle of thirty-degrees above the plain and which are common in the Sankissa region. "It was enough", said A. Foucher [tr.], "to cover one of them with three contiguous rows of stone steps in order to recreate the triple holy stairway attributed to Aśoka"[156].

7. The eastern coast and Andhradeśa. — The eastern limit of the Buddhist Madhyadeśa, indeed of India herself, was marked by the localites of Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān in the district of Bogra, according to an old Brāhmī inscription published in *EI*, XXI, p. 83) and Kacaṅgala 60 miles further east. Beyond were the Frontier-Lands (*pratyantajanapada*) where the monastic discipline was no longer observed in full strictness. On the eastern coast and its hinterland, Buddhism encountered formidable adversaries, no longer among the brāhmins, but among the Jainas, the disciples of Mahāvīra who were usually known by the name of Nirgranthas. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that, at least at the beginning of his reign, Aśoka had come into conflict with these Tīrthikas : at the time of the conquest of Kaliṅga, many śramaṇas, along with their compatriots, suffered murder, death or captivity (Bloch, pp. 125-6); and the *Aśokāvadāna* (*Divya*, p. 427) claims that in a single day, Aśoka had his Nāgas and Yakṣas beheaded 18,000 Nirgranthas from Puṇḍravardhana who had images representing the Buddha prostrated before the Jina. However, if such a persecution
374 occurred, the proclamation of the Dharma which ensured freedom to all

[154] An obvious anachronism.

[155] A good photograph of this mutilated animal can be found in N. Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pl. IV.

[156] *Vie du Bouddha*, p. 277.

sects soon brought a return of religious peace, and the Jainas, under the protection of superintendents responsible for supervising them (BLOCH, p. 171), were able to develop freely in the empire. Samprati, Aśoka's grandson, is said to have embraced their faith under the influence of the master Suhastin. During migrations which were caused, it is believed, by famine, they poured into the land of Mathurā, in Avanti, and massively occupied the eastern coast where Hsüan tsang records the presence of Digambara Nirgranthas in Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Koṅgoda, Kaliṅga, Dhānyakaṭaka, Coḷa country and Drāviḍa and, finally, Malakūṭa. This was not a matter of a late development of the sect; in Orissa, in the district of Puri, the Jainas excavated many caves in the mountains, the oldest of which date back to the second century B.C. : 44 in Udayagiri, 19 in Khaṇḍagiri and 3 in Nila[157]; Khāravela, the king of Kaliṅga (ca 28-16 B.C.), had taken up their religion and the inscription which records his worthy deeds begins with a homage "to all the Arahantas and all the Siddhas"; at the end of the ancient era, the Nirgranthas even possessed a monastery in Ceylon, to the north of Anurādhapura; that "Titthārāma" had been built by King Paṇḍukābhaya (380-310 B.C.), but was expropriated and demolished by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (32-20 B.C.) (*Mhv.*, XXXIII, 42, 79).

Another obstacle to the Buddhist propaganda consisted of the homage paid to Devas, whose temples were particularly numerous on the eastern coast. It even seems that some schismatic Buddhist sects met with some success in eastern Bengal; the Brāhmī inscription at Mahāsthān is concerned with the gifts made by the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara to some Ṣaḍvargikas who are possibly the "six bad monks" mentioned in the Vinaya[158]; and, according to Hsüan tsang's evidence (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 928*a*), there were in Karṇasuvarṇa three Buddhist monasteries in which, in accordance with Devadatta's orders (*Vinaya*, II, p. 197), the monks were forbidden the use of lacteous products.

The coastal region was by no means neglected, either by Aśoka in his
375 plans for conquest of the Dharma, or by the Buddhist missionaries on their teaching tours. Rescripts of the Dharma were promulgated in Kaliṅga (Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) and as far as the extreme south of the

[157] The inscriptions from those caves have been published and translated by B. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929.

[158] *EI*, XXI, 2, p. 83; D.R. BHANDARKAR, *Important Fragmentary Inscription Found at Mahāsthān*, Ind. Ant., LXII, p. 117 sq.; B.M. BARUA, *The Old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān*, IHQ, 1934, pp. 57-66.

empire : Maski, Pālkiguṇḍu, Gāvīmaṭh, Yerraguḍi, Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara; aid for men and beasts reached the Coḷas of Coromandel, the Pāṇḍyas in the South-East, the Satyaputra (of uncertain identification) and Keralaputra kings of Malabar as far as Taprobane (BLOCH, p. 93); in Tosalī and Samāpā, separate edicts reminded the functionaries of their duties and enjoined them to win the affection of those they administered (BLOCH, p. 136 sq.); on imperial territory, the Piteṇikas of the district of Paithāna on the upper Godāvarī, the Andhras and Parindas (or Pulindas), of uncertain identification, conformed to the pious recommendations of the Beloved of the Gods, and their example was followed beyond the frontiers by the Coḷas and Paṇḍyas as far as Taprobana (BLOCH, p. 130). The regions of the east coast, with the possible exception of the enigmatic Mahiṣamaṇḍala, are not mentioned in the list of territories won over by Moggaliputtatissa's missionaries, but the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription repairs this omission by congratulating the Sinhalese monks for having converted Vaṅga (Bengal), Tosalī and Palura (Kaliṅga), Damiḷa and Tāmraparṇīdvīpa (Ceylon)[159].

However, the joint activity of the Beloved of the Gods and the missionaries did not meet with the same success as in Avanti, Mathurā and the North-West. Submerged by Hinduism and Jainism, the eastern coast was late in rallying to the message of the Śākya. In this respect, there is a striking contrast between the enormous quantity of bhikṣus recorded, for example, in Orissa and Dakṣiṇakosala in the seventh century A.D. and the few specimens of "Aśokan stūpas" recorded by Hsüan tsang : one in Puṇḍravardhana; "a few" in Karṇasuvarṇa, one in Samataṭa, one in Tāmraliptī; ten in Orissa; one in Kaliṅga; one in Dakṣiṇikosala; one in Andhra country; one in the land of the Coḷas; one in the Drāviḍa area; one in Malakūṭa. Some twenty stūpas over a distance of 1,500 km! It was certainly not in the ancient period that the eastern coast appreciably swelled the ranks of Buddhism. The information we have at our disposal does, however, enable us to see that, at the
376 end of the Mauryan period and during the Śuṅga age, i.e. from 250 to 50 approximately, two regions constituted the centres of Buddhist culture : Kaliṅga and above all Andhradeśa.

Passing rapidly through Kaliṅga at the beginning of the seventh century, Hsüan tsang makes the following remarks : "The country produces wild elephants which are esteemed by neighbouring regions. The climate is warm. The people are rough and determined, they observe good faith and loyalty, and are clear and precise in their speech;

[159] See above, p. 299.

in their language and customs, they differ a little from central India. There are few Buddhists, the majority of the population belongs to other religions. There are more than ten Buddhist monasteries and five hundred religious 'studying the system of the Mahāyāna-Sthavira school'. There are more than a hundred temples of the Devas, and the adherents of the different sects are very numerous, the majority of them being Nirgranthas... Near the southern wall of the city (probably Kaliṅgapatam, the capital), there was an Aśokan stūpa beside which was to be found the place which served as a seat and practice-spot for four Buddhas of the past. On the summit of a mountain, to the north of the country, there was a stone stūpa, one hundred feet high, where a Pratyekabuddha had deceased at the beginning of the present Kalpa, when the human life lasted for countless years" (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 929*a*). It is believed that the site described here by the Chinese master has been identified[160]. On the summit and sides of Mount Sālihuṇḍām, which dominates the river Vaṃśadhārā and the Bay of Bengal, a whole complex of Buddhist constructions was discovered and explored, between 1943 and 1947; it included, in particular, a large apsidal *caitya*, a tall circular stūpa of the type known as *mahācaitya* and other smaller temples and stūpas, two of which were adorned with a statue of the Buddha in a seated position. One of those Buddhacaityas has yielded a piece of pottery inscribed in Brāhmī characters of the second century A.D., stipulating that the pottery in question belonged to the Kaṭṭahārāma (or Kaṭṭahāra ārāma), endowed by the descendants of the Rāṣṭrapālaka Haṃkudeyika. In fact, however, the development of the site dates much further back into the past. The foundations of the Mahācaitya concealed stone caskets containing three crystal reliquaries each enclosing one or several gold flowers (*suvarṇapuṣpa*). The three reliqua-
377 ries are shaped like a stūpa. The first is two pieces, a support and a cover, which fit so precisely that the whole constitutes a plain hemisphere. The second is also two pieces : a circular support holding up a bell-shape of a smaller diameter which in turn is surmounted by a small square pavilion with a central knob. Finally, the third consists of four elements : a tall support, wide in diameter, a hemispherical bell of lesser diameter, a cubical pavilion which evokes the shape of a balustrade and, finally, crowning everything, a vertical rod representing a pole. The first reliquary reproduces the original stūpa of the ancient type, such as those at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, the main feature of which was the *aṇḍa* or

[160] Details and photographic reproductions in T.N. Ramachandran, *An inscribed Pot and other Buddhist Remains in Sālihuṇḍām*, EI, XXVIII, 1949, pp. 133-7.

hemispherical dome; the second is a model of a stūpa of a more recent type, with a terrace (*medhi*), dome (*aṇḍa*), pavilion (*harmikā*) and parasol (*chattra*); the third more delicately fashioned, with its *harmikā* in the form of a balustrade (*vedikā*) and its parasol pole (*chattrayaṣṭi*), is an exact reproduction of the Mahācaityas in Andhra country such as could be admired at Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeṭa or Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It is therefore highly probable that the stūpa of Sālihuṇḍām, begun in the ancient era in the form of an "Aśokan stūpa", underwent various transformations in the course of time which finally brought it close to the "Andhra type" of the Mahācaitya. The reliquaries which were hidden in turn in the foundations evoked the successive alterations undergone by the monument.

Even more than Kaliṅga, the Andhra country can claim the title of Buddhist fief, but its history is one of the most complicated. Andhradeśa is the name given today to the northern part of Madras State which is enclosed between the Lower Godāvarī and the Lower Kistna, and occupied by a population of Dravidian race and Telugu language. The region abounds in hillocks called *dibba*, which on examination proved to be ancient Buddhist foundations. To cite only the main ones, we will mention, starting from Masulipatam and following the Kistna upstream : Bhaṭṭiprolu, 6 miles north of Repalle; Gudivāda, 20 miles north-west of Masulipatam; Ghaṇṭaśālā, 13 miles west of Masulipatam; Amarāvatī, near Dharanikota, earlier known as Dhānyakaṭaka; Jaggayyapeṭa or Betavolu, 30 miles north-west of Amarāvatī; Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, 16 miles west of Macherla; Goli, at the confluence of the Gollaru and the Kistna[161]. The land abounds in monumental stūpas, wrongly called

[161] On these sites, see J. BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa*, London, 1887; A. FOUCHER, *Les sculptures d'Amarâvatī*, RAA, V, pp. 9-24; A. REA, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894; C. SIVARAMAMURTI, *Amarâvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1942 (contains a new edition of the Amarāvatī inscriptions), A.H. LONGHURST, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Madras Presidency*, Delhi, 1938; T.N. RAMACHANDRAN, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 1938*, Delhi, 1953; ID., *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli Village, Guntur District*, Madras, 1929; G. YAZDANI, *Excavations at Kondapur : An Andhra Town*, ABORI, XXII, 1941, pp. 171-85; K.R. SUBRAMANIAN, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History, 225-610 A.D.*, Allahābād, 1942; V.R.R. DIKSHITAR, *Buddhism in Andhradeśa*, B.C. LAW Volume, Calcutta, 1945, I, pp. 346-53; P.S. SASTRI, *The Rise and Growth of Buddhism in Andhra*, IHQ, XXXI, 1955, pp. 68-75.

The inscriptions from Amarâvatī, Bhaṭṭiprolu and Jaggayyapeṭa are recorded in the *Lüders List*, Nos. 1025-1326, 1329-1339, 1202-1204; those of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are published in vols. XX and XXI of the *Epigraphia Indica*. For Ghaṇṭaśālā, see J.P. VOGEL, *Prakrit Inscriptions of Ghaṇṭaśālā*, *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 1-4.

378 Mahācaityas, which are among the loveliest jewels of Indian and Buddhist art, but the completion of which dates back no earlier than the second and third centuries A.D. We therefore have no reason to describe them at present, but nevertheless remark that several of these Mahācaityas replaced older stūpas and that, particularly in Amarāvatī, the constructors of the Mahācaitya re-used sculptures of an aniconic type which originally came from the ornamentation of an ancient stūpa built, it is believed, between the years 200 to 100 B.C.[162].

It is unfortunate that the original homeland of the Andhras cannot be precisely determined. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 92, 18) which associates them with the *dasyu* or non-Āryan tribes of the Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas, seems to locate them to the south of Āryāvarta, in the Western Vindhyas and the Arāvalli chain or on the river Narmadā. The thirteenth Aśokan edict considers them as neighbours of the Bhojas who inhabited the northern Deccan including Vidarbha or Berār. For the *Purāṇa*, the Deccanese dynasty of the Śātavāhanas was of Andhra origin (*andhrajātīya*) or subject to the Andhras (*andhrabhṛtya*). The Greek and Latin writers of the first centuries, Pliny (VI, 67) and Ptolemy (VII, 1, 84) — who must have obtained their information from Megasthenes — consider the Andarae as a powerful nation possessing a great number of lesser townships, thirty towns fortified with walls and
379 towers and supplying its king with 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants; they call the cities of Koṅkan by the name of "Towns of the Andres Peiratai", i.e. of Andhra pirates, from the name of the Andhra or Śātavāhana sovereigns who were then ruling the region.

Nāgārjuna[163] was in contact with the Andhra kings, and we still possess a Tibetan translation (*Mdo* 94, 27) and three Chinese versions (T 1672-4) of the *Friendly Letter* (*Suhṛllekha*) he addressed "to his former dānapati named Jantaka, the king of South India, known as Śātavāhana" (T 1674, p. 751*a-b*; T 2125, ch. 4, p. 227*c*)[164]. According to the Tibetan historians, he spent the last part of his life in Andhradeśa, on the Śrīparvata near Dhānyakaṭaka : "He provided for the monks, built a great many sanctuaries and temples, constructed an enclosure

[162] A. Foucher, *Les sculptures d'Amarāvatī*, *RAA*, V, p. 19.

[163] On the lives of Nāgārjuna, some bibliographical information can be found in the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, I, Louvain, 1944, pp. X-XIV. Since then a translation of the *Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ* has been published by S. Pathak, *Life of Nāgārjuna*, IHQ, XXX, 1954, pp. 93-5.

[164] See H. Wenzel, *Nāgārjuna's "Friendly Epistle" tr. from the Tibetan*, JPTS, 1886, pp. 1-32; S. Beal, *The Suhṛllekha tr. from the Chinese Edition of I-tsing*, London, 1892; S. Lévi, *Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana*, JA, 1936, pp. 107-10.

like a string of diamonds at the Vajrāsana [in Bodh-Gayā], and erected a building for the sanctuary of Dpal Ḥbras spuṅs [Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka]" (Bu-ston, II, p. 125)". "By him the sanctuary of Dpal ldan Ḥbras [Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka] was surrounded by a wall and, within that wall, 108 temples were constructed" (Tāranātha, p. 71). When Nāgārjuna's head was cut off by Prince Śaktimān, son of King Antīvāhana or Udayanabhadhra, he was dwelling on the Śrīparvata (Bu-ston, II, p. 127; Tāranātha, p. 72, Sum pa, *Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ*), a mountain of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra country where, at the time of the Ikṣvākus, Bodhisiri erected an apsidal temple (EI, XX, 1929, p. 22).

However, to judge from Hsüan tsang, who also records those traditions, the topography appears to be very much more complicated; the Chinese master distinguishes between three regions :

a. Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Vidarbha or Berār), 1,800 *li* north-west of Kaliṅga. It was in this region, marked by an old monastery and an Aśokan stūpa, that Nāgārjuna was in contact with a Śātavāhana king who provided a convent for him in the rock of Mount Brāhmaragiri, and it was there that he allowed himself to be beheaded by the king's son.

380 b. Andhra, 900 *li* to the south of the foregoing, a region characterized by the monastery and stūpa of the Arhat Ācāra, an Aśokan stūpa, and to which the memory of the Buddhist logician Diṅnāga remained attached.

c. Dhānyakaṭaka, 1,000 *li* (sic) to the south of the previous one; here most of the Buddhist monasteries were deserted, and no more than a thousand Mahāsaṃghikas were living there. It was on the heights to the east and west of the capital that, the Pūrva and Aparaśaila monasteries were "built for the Buddha by an early king of the country who had laid out a communication track alongside the river and who, digging into the rock, had made large halls with wide corridors communicating with the the steep mountainsides" (T 2087, ch. 10, pp. 930*c*-931*a*). The memories of the scholar Bhāvaviveka and the bodhisattva Dharmapāla remained attached to the region.

These details were necessary to show the uncertainties with which the localization of the legends is confronted, and to put the reader on his guard against hasty simplifications.

If, as a hypothesis, we understand by Andhradeśa the Telugu-speaking land situated between the Godāvarī and the Kistna, the exact time when this region was reached by Buddhist propaganda remains to be discovered.

According to the *Pārāyaṇa* (*Suttanipāta*, vv. 976-1148), one of the earliest Buddhist texts used as a source by the canonical sūtras, Bāvarī, a

brāhmin ascetic from Śrāvastī, had retired to Dakṣiṇāpatha on the banks of the Godāvarī where the Andhaka kings, named Assaka and Aḷaka, had placed a hermitage at his disposal. One day a brāhmin came and asked him for five hundred gold pieces, but Bāvarī was too poor to be able to give him such a sum. Whereupon, the brāhmin cursed him and told him his head would explode into seven pieces. Bāvarī was reassured by a deity who told him that the wicked brāhmin did not even know the meaning of the words "head" and "explosion of the head". — So who does know the meaning? asked Bāvarī. The deity informed him that a Buddha had appeared in the world and was to be found in Śrāvastī. Bāvarī decided to send him his sixteen disciples, including Ajita and Tissametteyya. The disciples therefore set out northwards and, after a long journey all the stages of which were carefully noted, ended by finding the Buddha in Vaiśālī. The Master replied to all the questions he was asked, and his interlocutors attained Arhatship with the exception
381 of Piṅgiya, Bāvarī's nephew. The latter returned to Andhara country to tell his uncle of the Buddha's answers. At the end of his recital, the Buddha appeared before them in all his glory and preached the Law to them; Piṅgiya became an Arhat and Bāvarī, an anāgāmin.

In the terms of this very ancient legend, the Andhra country learned of the Buddhist message from the very lips of Śākyamuni. However, the *Hsien yü ching* (T 202, ch. 12, pp. 432*b*-433*c*) which repeats the same story with the addition of a few variants, makes Bāvarī, no longer a hermit from Andhradeśa, but quite simply a chaplain (*purohita*) from Pāṭaliputra, and it was to that town that the Buddha came personally to convert him.

We saw above how, about the years 100 or 116 after the Nirvāṇa, i.e. in the reign of Aśoka according to the short chronology, the adherents of Mahādeva's five theses broke away from the original Saṃgha and set themselves up as a separate school which took the name of Mahāsāṃghika. Those schismatics, who were in turn to split into several subschools, settled either in the land of Aṅguttara to the north of Rājagṛha (information supplied by Chi tsang and Paramārtha), or in Kauśāmbī (according to the *Nikāyasaṃgraha*). Nevertheless, we have good reason to believe that certain subschools of the Mahāsāṃghikas settled in Andhra country (Amarāvatī-Dhānyakaṭaka, Alluru, Ghaṇṭaśālā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) where Prākrit inscriptions from the second and third centuries record their presence.

Ayirahaṃgha, Ayirahagha (= Ārya [mahā]saṃgha) : Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, EI, XX, 1929, pp. 17, 20.

Bahusutīya (= Bahuśrutīya), *Ibid.*, EI, XX, p. 24; XXI, p. 62.

Cetika, Cetika of Rājagiri, Cetikiya, Cetiyavaṃdaka, Cetiavadaka, Jaḍikiya, Cetikaya (= Caitika or Caityika) : Nāsik, LÜDERS, No. 1130; Amarāvatī, LÜDERS, Nos. 1250, 1248, 1223, 1263, 1244; SIVARAMAMURTI, *Amarāvatī Sculptures*, Madras, 1942, p. 278, No. 33.
[Se]liya, Mahavanasaliya, Mahavanasala (= Śaila, Mahāśaila) : Amarāvatī, LÜDERS, Nos. 1270, 1230, 1272.
Puvaseliya (= Pūrvaśaila) : Alluru, *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, p. 97; Dharanikota, EI, XXIV, p. 259.
Aparaseliya, Aparamahāvinaseliya (= Aparaśaila) : Ghaṇṭaśālā, EI, XXVII, p. 4; Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, EI, XX, pp. 17, 19, 21.
Rājagirinivāsika (= Rājagirīya) : Amarāvatī, LÜDERS, No. 1250.
Sidhata (= Pā. Siddhatthika) : Amarāvatī, LÜDERS, No. 1281; SIVARAMAMURTI, *l.c.*, p. 298. No. 102.

382 The majority of these sects made their appearance in the second century after the Nirvāṇa, i.e., according to the short chronology, in the century following Aśoka. Under the names of Mahāsāṃghikas, Bahuśrutīyas, Caitikas and Śailas, they continued to teach the five heretical theses of Mahādeva, as well as many other tenets disputed by the Theravādins. Indeed, the *Kathāvatthu*, which lists up to 72 of them, designates them as a group by the name of "Andhaka Theses", which is good proof that those sects had their centre in Andhra country, in the valleys of the Godāvarī and Kistna.

We would also point out that Andhra Buddhism underwent a period of artistic efflorescence in the second century A.D., under the great Śātavāhanas, and in the third century under the minor family of the Ikṣvākus. The name of the Śātavāhana Pulomā, i.e. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (ca 130-159 A.D.), appears on the monuments at Amarāvatī (LÜDERS, 1248), and it was probably in his reign that the famous Mahācaitya was completed (EI, XXIV, 1938, pp. 256-60). As for the Ikṣvākus of the third century, the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa owes practically everything to them (EI, XX, 1929, pp. 1-37). It was to the glorification of their pious wives that a prophecy seems to be devoted in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* (T 387, ch. 6, p. 1107*a*), a Mahāyānist work translated into Chinese between the years 414 and 421. However, at that time, the Andhra kingdom was reduced to a minimum :

"Seven hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, in South India, there will be a small kingdom called Lightless (*Wu ming*, Andha, the Prākrit form of Andhra); in that kingdom, there will be a river called Black (*Hei an*, Kṛṣṇā, modern Kistna) and, on the south bank of that river, a town named Ripe Grain (*Shu ku*, Dhānya[kaṭaka], present-day Dharanikōt); in that town, there will be a king named Even-Vehicle (Śātavāhana). The wife of that king will give birth to a daughter named Growth (*Tsêng chang*, in Tibetan *Dpal ḥphel*, in Skt. *Śrīvṛddhi*); she will be so

beautiful that everyone will love her; she will observe the religious prescriptions; her goodwill will be inexhaustible".

At the beginning of the seventh century, Hsüan tsang listed twenty monasteries in Dhānyakaṭaka inhabited by at least a thousand Mahāsāṃghikas; on the heights overlooking the town, he also discovered the famous Pūrva and Aparaśaila monasteries (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 930*c*). However, Buddhism was already in full decline there; a large number of
383 monasteries were in ruins, and the area was no longer the ideal place of retreat to which Arhats and non-Arhats flocked from all sides in order to spend the rainy season and win holiness.

Another Buddhist centre situated in southern India was Kāñcī, present-day Conjeevaram, the capital of the Drāviḍas or Coḷas, on the river Palār, 43 miles south-west of Madras. According to Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 931*c*), the Buddha visited it frequently, and King Aśoka erected stūpas there in various places where the Buddha had taught and admitted members into his order. The master of the Law also refers to a huge monastery to the south of the town, used as a meeting-place for the most eminent people of the land; within its walls, there was an Aśokan stūpa, one hundred feet high, erected on the spot where the Buddha had one day confounded the heretics and converted a great number of persons.

The statements of the great Chinese master cannot be verified. If Mahinda and his companions founded a flourishing Buddhist Community in Ceylon at the time of Aśoka, other Sthavirian missionaries may easily have established themselves at the same time in Coromandel. However, if such a mission did in fact exist, it was not as warmly welcomed by the Drāviḍas and Coḷas as it was in Ceylon. In fact, the Senas and Guttikas, the Coḷa Eḷāra and the seven Damiḷas who successfully attempted a landing in Ceylon, in 180, 148, and 47 B.C. respectively, were all non-believers, and their armies included only two Buddhists, the rest being "of wrong views, bad conduct and like beasts" (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXV, 110). In such conditions, it is questionable whether it was indeed during the Aśokan age that so many stūpas and monasteries were built in the Tamil land.

It remains nonetheless a fact that at one stage in its history, Kāñcī was a fairly flourishing Buddhist centre. It was there that the Porāṇācariyas compiled the Sinhalese commentaries of the *Andha-Aṭṭhakathā* and also possibly the *Sankhepa-Aṭṭhakathā*[165], used by Buddhaghosa (5th c.)

[165] See C. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, 2nd ed., London, 1923, p. XXVIII; W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916, p. 17.

and cited by him as authoritative sources (cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, IV,
p. 747). It was quite naturally in Coromandel that the monks from
Ceylon took refuge when economic or political circumstances caused
384 them to leave their island (*Manorathapūraṇī*, I, p. 92; *Mahāvaṃsa*,
XXXVI, 112; *Tz'ŭ ên chuan*. T 2053, ch. 4, p. 241*c* 26-29). In the fifth
century, the Tamil coast was to provide outstanding exegetists for the
school of the Pāli language. Buddhadatta, considered as a contemporary
of Buddhaghosa (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 29; *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 66), was a native
of Uragapura (Ureiyūr), capital of the Coḷas, on the Kāverī (colophon
of the *Vinayavinicchaya*). Ānanda, the author of a *Mūlaṭika* on the
Abhidhamma, also came from the mainland (*Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 66). Of
the four Dhammapālas known to the tradition, the most famous, author
of a part-commentary on the *Khudddakanikāya* entitled *Paramattha-dīpanī*, was a native of Padaratittha, a place near Kāñcī (*Sāsanavaṃsa*,
p. 33; cf. *Hsi yü chi*, T 2087, ch. 10, p. 931*c*). Finally, as we will see in
the next volume, it was in Kāñcī that the legend of the Buddhist goddess
Maṇimekhalā took shape.



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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PERIOD OF THE ŚUṄGAS AND YAVANAS

General features of the period. — The Mauryan period and especially the glorious reign of Aśoka marked the golden age of Buddhism, but the last two centuries of the ancient era constituted a time of crisis during which the Good Law, even while making progress, had to overcome numerous problems.

These originated for the most part from the political and social instability incurred by the weak and decentralized kingdoms of the Śuṅgas (c. 187-75 B.C.) and the Kāṇvas (75-30 B.C.).

After he had assassinated King Bṛhadratha, the Indian general Puṣyamitra established a kingdom on the ruins of the Mauryan empire, but its legitimacy was immediately contested. Of brāhmin birth, he relied on the brāhmin clan to remain in power and, on their advice, attempted to revive the old Vedic customs. This whole policy ran counter to Buddhist interests, and Puṣyamitra alienated the disciples of the Śākya and the supporters of the Mauryan legitimacy. To many of his subjects, he appeared as a usurper and persecutor. The last Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas seem to have favoured the Bhāgavata sect, the protagonist of a powerful theist movement which developed around the cult of the Hindu god Viṣṇu. Rejected by the authorities in power, the Buddhists nevertheless found sympathy and support among some Śuṅga vassals who had settled in the Ganges basin, particularly at Bhārhut, Kauśāmbī, Ahicchatra and Mathurā.

During the same period, the Siṃhala kings of Ceylon had to defend their island against repeated assaults by Dravidian invaders. However, the Good Law did not suffer from these ceaseless wars. Among the eighteen princes who succeeded one another in Anurādhapura between the years 200 and 20 B.C., we note the names of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (104-80) and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (47, 32-20). Duṭṭhagāmaṇi appears as a national hero and a Buddhist holy one : after liberating the territory from the grasp of
386 the Damiḷas, he constructed famous monuments which are still the glory of Ceylon today : the Maricavaṭṭi Thūpa (Mirisaveṭi Dāgaba), the Brazen Palace (Lohapāsāda) and especially the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli Dāgaba), the consecration of which gave rise to ceremonies of unprecedented sumptuousness. The reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was marked by

two important events in religious history : the written compilation of the Pāli canonical texts and the founding of the thūpa and vihāra of Abhayagiri. Soon the monks of that monastery separated from the Theras at the Mahāvihāra in order to set up a rival school, open to new ideas and tendencies.

However, the most important political event was the active part played on Indian territory by foreign invaders : the Yavanas or Greeks who came from Bactria. Under the leadership of their kings, Euthydemus of Magnesia and Demetrius, between the years 205 and 167, the Bactrians seized practically the entire Ganges basin. Even if internal dissensions prevented them from maintaining their advanced positions, for nearly a century and a half they remained in the region of North-West India where they established two rival kingdoms : the western Greek kingdom (169-90 B.C.) and the eastern Greek kingdom (167-30 B.C.). Weakened by incessant warfare, they were to succumb, one after the other, to the hordes of Śaka invaders at the end of the ancient era.

The Buddhist Saṃgha suffered the consequences of all these events, but continued to advance without allowing itself to be stopped by the troubles :

1. According to a well-established tradition, Puṣyamitra subjected the bhikṣus to cruel persecution. Throughout his territory, he assassinated the religious, destroyed stūpas and set fire to monasteries. An examination of the sources does not enable us to conclude that the persecution was general, but it is certain that the Buddhists believed themselves to be pursued and hunted, and that this state of mind induced in them a series of reactions which history must take into account.

2. The theist propaganda which began during the Śuṅga period in Viṣṇuite circles led the Good Law into further grave danger, the risks of which do not seem to have been fully appreciated. Even though, Śākyamuni's message was able to maintain its doctrinal integrity, at least in the beginning, unrest fomented by Hindu influences arose in some of the Buddhist sects and facilitated the advent of the Mahāyāna.

387 3. The obstacles which the Good Law encountered by no means interrupted the missionary movement. Vihāras which dated back to the beginning and saṃghārāmas founded in the Mauryan period were joined by new establishments about which some information is available from a list of Sinhalese origin.

4. The Śuṅga age also witnessed the birth and efflorescence of the ancient Central Indian school of sculpture which had its main centres at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī (first style). Quite apart from its artistic value, this school of sculpture provides precious details

on the religious beliefs and ideals of the lay circles which ensured its success.

Finally, we have to appraise the historical encounter between Buddhism and Hellenism, and the attitude taken by the disciples of Śākyamuni when confronted by foreign peoples. Generally speaking, the Greeks remained faithful to the gods of their traditional pantheon, but the requirements of policy induced some of them to become interested in Indian beliefs, and even rely on them in order to assert their authority. The Buddhists favoured this conciliation, thus demonstrating the universal nature of their religion. The Indo-Greek king Menander is supposed to have been converted to Buddhism and recent discoveries plead in favour of this tradition.

As for the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular, they showed themselves refractory to foreign propaganda, and Hellenism had no effect on their innermost mentality. Some inscriptions carved by petty monarchs, strategoi or meridarchs who turned to Buddhism, show that the piety of these was not free from self-interest and that, unlike their Indian co-religionists, they had not fully understood the mechanism of the maturation of actions. However, this concerned only a few individuals. The Greek influence on Buddhism did not extend further than the field of artistic invention which was, however, important; despite the controversy over the subject, it remains likely that the idea of giving a human form to the Buddha in his last existence germinated in the mind of a Greek artist, but it was not until the beginning of the Christian era that it was applied generally. Furthermore, the Buddhist legend was enriched by contact with the universal folklore which was nourished by the Mediterranean world and the Near East.

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I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

1. — THE ŚUṄGAS AND KĀṆVAS

THE SUCCESSION OF PRINCES. — The fall of the Mauryas in about 187 B.C. led to the dissolution of the Indian empire. Foreign barbarians crossed the North-West frontiers and established powerful kingdoms in Gandhāra in the Kabul valley, at Śākala in the Eastern Punjab, and in other places. The southern provinces attained independence, and rivalled in power and splendour with what remained of the Gangetic empire. Finally, in Madhyadeśa, the Mauryas were replaced by a new dynasty which was weak from the outset and had to share power with numerous feudatories.

According to the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 31-3), the Śuṅga kingdom lasted for 112 years (ca 187-75 B.C.) and included ten sovereigns :

1. Puṣyamitra reigned 36 years
2. Agnimitra reigned 8 years
3. Vasujyeṣṭha (Sujyeṣṭha) reigned 7 years
4. Vasumitra (Sumitra) reigned 10 years
5. Bhadraka (Odruka) reigned 2 (or 7) years
6. Pulindaka reigned 3 years
7. Ghoṣa reigned 3 years
8. Vajramitra reigned 7 (or 9) years
9. Bhāga (Bhāgavata) reigned 32 years
10. Devabhūti reigned 10 years

The Śuṅgas were succeeded by the Kāṇvāyanas or Śuṅgabhṛtyas who ruled for 45 years (75-30 B.C.) and were four in number :

1. Vasudeva reigned 9 (or 5) years
2. Bhūmimittra reigned 14 (or 24) years
3. Nārāyaṇa reigned 12 years
4. Suśarman reigned 10 (or 4) years

PUṢYAMITRA (187-151 B.C.)[1]. — The founder of the Śuṅga dynasty is known from some notes by grammarians (Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV, 1, 117; Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, 111, III, 2, 123), a Sanskrit inscrip-
389 tion from Ayodhyā (EI, XX, 1929, p. 54 sq.), certain passages in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* by Kālidāsa (ed. KARMARKAR, Poona, 1950, pp. 9-11; 111-12), a short remark by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (ed. PARAB, Bombay, 1946, pp. 198-9), some lines in the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 31-3) and quite a large number of Buddhist sources : *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 3, p. 111*a* sq.; T. 2043, k.5, p. 149*a* sq.; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 433), *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 125, p. 655*b-c*), *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* (T 1465, p. 900*a-b*); *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 530-7) and Tāranātha (p. 81). However, this is all scattered information which by no means constitutes a consistent history.

The Buddhist sources (*Divya*, p. 433) are mistaken in making Puṣyamitra the last of the Mauryas. According to Pāṇini (IV, 1, 117), the Śuṅgas belonged to the brāhmin clan of Bhāradvāja and, according to Kālidāsa (*Mālavika*, p. 83), Puṣyamitra was of the Baimbika family (*kula*). He was commander-in-chief (*senānī*) of Bṛhadratha, the last of the Mauryas, and it was in that capacity, say the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 31-3), that he overthrew Bṛhadratha and wielded kingship for thirty-six years.

The general's treachery is stigmatized by Bāṇa (*Harṣacarita*, pp. 198-

[1] R.C. MAJUMDAR, *Puṣyamitra and his Empire*, IHQ, I, 1925, p. 91 sq.; J.C. GHOSH, *Caste of the Śuṅga*, IHQ, XV, 1939, pp. 629-32; D. SHARMA, *The Nature of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's Rule*, IHQ, XXV, 1949, pp. 214-215.*

9) : "After having assembled the whole army on pretext of showing him the forces of the empire, a despicable general, Puṣpamitra (sic), slew his master the Maurya Bṛhadratha, a man who was feeble of purpose".

Puṣyamitra ruled in Pāṭaliputra with the title of general. His possessions extended to the south as far as the Narmadā, to the north-west as far as Jālandhara and Śākala (Punjab). His son, the crown prince Agnimitra, established his personal court at Vidiśā, present-day Besnagar, in Eastern Mālwā, and imprisoned the former "Mauryan Minister" (*Mauryasaciva*) who represented the Mauryan legitimacy in Avanti. The brother-in-law of this minister, Yajñasena, the governor of Berār, deserted and founded the independent kingdom of Vidarbha (*Mālavika*, p. 10). He immediately undertook to have his relative liberated.

In the meantime, Madhāvasena, Yajñasena's cousin, who had rallied to the usurper, undertook to go to Avanti with his wife and sister in order to join Agnimitra. Yajñasena had him arrested by a frontier-guard and thrown into prison. Agnimitra immediately demanded the release of Mādhavasena, but Yajñasena answered that Agnimitra himself should
390 first free the old Mauryan minister. War broke out. Agnimitra put at the head of his army his wife's brother, a certain Vīrasena, the commander of a fortress on the banks of the Mandākinī (Narmadā). Vīrasena was a skillful tactician, invaded Vidarbha, vanquished Yajñasena's armies and freed Mādhavasena from prison. After which, the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, the river Varadā (present-day Wardhā) marking the frontier between the two governors who seem to have recognized the suzerainty of Puṣyamitra and his son (*Mālavika*, pp. 9-10, 95, 104).

The minor war of Vidarbha has all the ingredients of a tragi-comedy. However, Puṣyamitra had to face a more serious danger originating from the North-West frontiers. Renewing the attempts of Alexander the Great, Seleucus I Nicator and Antiochus III the Great, Demetrius the king of Bactria and his lieutenants seized the Punjab and the Sindh, and plunged into the heart of the Indian empire. We will return later to this expedition, using the Greek and Purāṇic sources as a basis. Here, we will simply note that it was confirmed by a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, the grammarian Patañjali. While explaining the tense of a verb which is required to specify whether it is a recent action which one could have witnessed, Patañjali gives an example with the phrases : *Aruṇad Yavano Sāketam; Aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām* (*Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, 111), which means : "[In my time] the Greek besieged Sāketa (Ayodhyā in Uttar Pradesh) and Madhyamikā (Nagarī in the former Rājputana, near Chitor)".

However, the enemy advance, which reached the walls of Pāṭaliputra, was broken by dissensions between the Greeks, and the army of Demetrius was compelled to withdraw to the Punjab. During this retreat, some local successes were achieved by the Indians. Vasumitra, the grandson of Puṣyamitra and son of Agnimitra, ambushed a troop of Yavanas on the southern bank of the Sindhu, i.e. the Indus or, more likely, the Kālī Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, which passes some 150 km from Madhyamikā.

Puṣyamitra announced this success to Agnimitra in a letter, the text of which is reproduced by the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (pp. 111-12) :

> "Greetings! From the ritual-ground, the commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra affectionately embraces his son, the Venerable Agnimitra residing in Vidiśā, and informs him of this news : Ready to carry out the sacrifice of the Rājasūya, I entrusted Vasumitra and a hundred (Indian) princes with the guardianship of the horse (destined for the sacrifice); then I freed the animal with the order to bring
> 391 it back at the end of a year. In fact, while it was on the southern bank of the Sindhu, that horse was attacked by a troop of Yavanas. There was a brisk engagement between the two armies. After having vanquished the enemy, Vasumitra, the powerful archer, returned to me the excellent horse which they had attempted to take from him. I am now about to proceed with the sacrifice of the horse which my grandson brought back to me. Come without delay and in peace of mind with my daughters-in-law in order to attend the sacrifice".

Puṣyamitra therefore reinstated esteem for the old Vedic ritual, which had been neglected by the pro-Buddhist Mauryas, and in particular performed that horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) which requires no less than a year to complete. Before being immolated the horse roams freely for a year in the direction of the four cardinal points, surrounded by the guard of the king who claims the title of universal sovereign (*cakravartin*).

Therefore Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya* (III, 2, 123), has the brāhmins of his time utter the solemn declaration : *Iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ* "Here we perform sacrifices for Puṣyamitra". A Śuṅga inscription, which incidentally is the first known Sanskrit inscription, attributes to the sovereign a dual *aśvamedha* in celebration of his victories : "This altar was erected in honour of Phalgudeva, the father of the Dharmarāja... by Dhana(-deva, -bhūti, etc.), ruler of Kosala, son of Kauśikī, the sixth (son, or successor) of the Senāpati Puṣyamitra who twice celebrated the Aśvamedha".*

As will be seen further on, the Buddhist sources consider Puṣyamitra as a persecutor of Buddhism, and say he met with an ignominious death. His rule seems to have marked the beginning of a brāhmanical reaction

which was to reach full development five centuries later under Samudragupta and his successors. The Śuṅgas created an advisory council (*sabhā*) or assembly of ministers (*mantrapariṣad*) in which the brāhmins were in the majority.

THE SUCCESSORS OF PUṢYAMITRA (ca 151-75 B.C.). — The adventures of Agnimitra, the viceroy of Vidiśā, entitled *Mālavikāgnimitra*. His son Vasumitra or Sumitra, the fourth Śuṅga, distinguished himself in his youth by the victory of the river Sindhu mentioned above; however, his taste for the theatre was his downfall : "A great lover of dramatic plays, he was assailed by Mitradeva amidst his actors and was beheaded with one blow of a scimitar" (*Harṣacarita*, p. 198).

392 The fifth Śuṅga appears in the *Purāṇa* under the most various names : Bhadraka, Ārdraka or Ordruka, Āndhraka, finally Antaka. The same sources assign him a reign of two or seven years of rule. An inscription at Pabhosā (LÜDERS, 904) is dated the year 10 of a certain Udāka with whom this prince may possibly be identified. Sir John Marshall also compares him to the king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, mentioned on the famous Garuḍa-pillar found at Vidiśā (LÜDERS, 669).

Under the ninth Śuṅga, Bhāga or Bhāgavata, again in Vidiśā, a second Garuḍa-pillar was erected; it is dated the twelfth year of the mahārāja Bhāgavata (*Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1913-14, p. 190 sq.).

On the instigation of his minister Vasudeva, Devabhūti, the last Śuṅga, was assassinated by the daughter of a slave who had approached him disguised as the queen (*Harṣacarita*, p. 199).

FEUDATORIES OF THE ŚUṄGAS. — Whereas the royal house, after having attempted a revival of brāhmanism, finally turned to the Bhāgavata religion, its vassals as a general rule remained faithful to Buddhism.

1. The inscriptions enable us to reconstruct the lineage of the petty monarchs of Bhārhut :



These princes erected the famous stūpa at Bhārhut in central India and decorated it with sculptures :

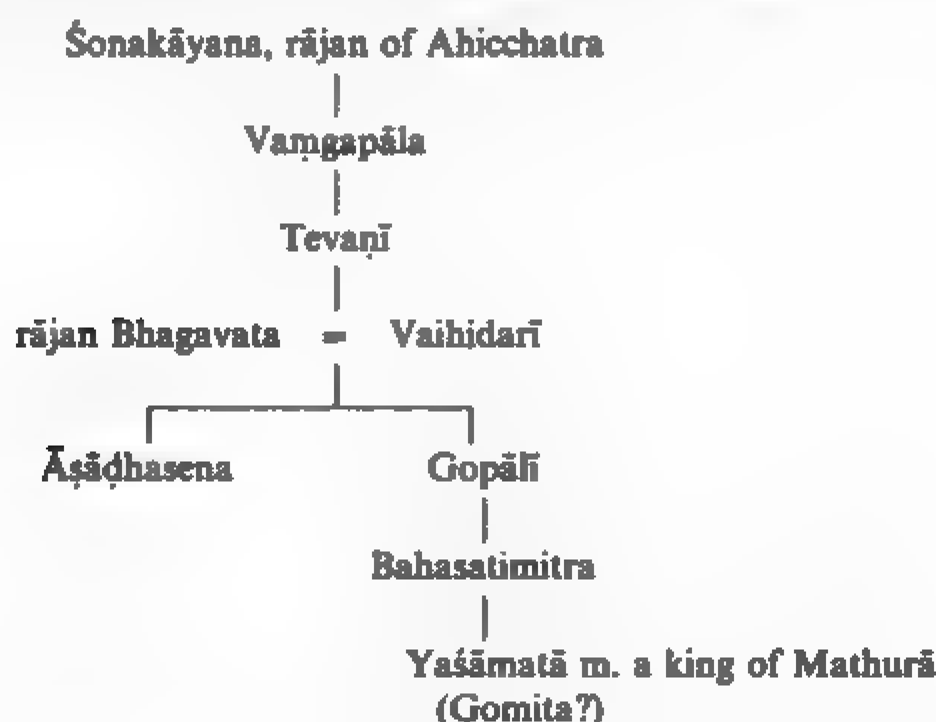
"In the reign of the Sugas (Śuṅgas), a gateway (*toraṇa*) was built and sculptures (*silākaṃmanta*) carved, by order of Dhanabhūti Vāchiputra, the son of Āgaraju Gotiputra and grandson of the rājan Visadeva Gāgīputra", (LÜDERS, 687; BARUA, 1).

393 A cross-piece (*sūci*) of the palisade was a "gift from Nāgarakhitā, wife of the rājan [Dhanabhū]ti" (LÜDERS, 882; BARUA, 115).

Another element is the "gift from Prince Vādhapāla, son of the rājan Dhanabhūti" (LÜDERS, 869; BARUA, 103).

The memory of the pious family also remains attached to Buddhist establishments in Mathurā, particularly the "Precious House"; an inscription commemorates "the dedication of a balustrade (*vedikā*) and gateways (*toraṇa*) at the Ratnagṛha by [Vādhapā]la, [son] of Dhanabhūti Vātsīputra, in association with his parents and the four orders (*pariṣā*), in homage to all the Buddhas" (LÜDERS, 125).

2. In the year 10 of the reign of Udāka — who should perhaps be identified with Odruka, the fifth Śuṅga, — there ruled in Kauśāmbī a King Bahasatimitra (Bṛhaspatimitra or Bṛhatsvātimitra) who gave evidence of his Buddhist faith by minting coins bearing an Indian ox before a caitya on the obverse and, on the reverse, a tree surrounded by a balustrade (CHI, p. 538, pl. V, 2). According to the Pabhosā inscriptions (LÜDERS, 904-5) and inscribed bricks discovered at Ganeshrā near Mathurā, his genealogy may be established as follows :



Āṣāḍhasena, the maternal uncle of King Bahasamitra, had caves dug in favour of the Buddhist sect of the Kāśyapīyas at Prabhosā, near Kauśāmbī : "Excavation of a cave (*lena*) by Āṣāḍhasena, son of Gopālī Vaihidarī and the maternal uncle of the rājan Bahasatimitra, son of

Gopālī, for the Kaśśapīya Arahaṃtas" (LÜDERS, 904). — "Excavation of a cave by Āṣāḍhasena, son of Vaihidarī and the rājan Bhāgavata, son of Tevaṇī (Traivarṇī), son of Vaṃgapāla, son of Śonakāyana (Śaunakāyāna), rājan of Ahicchatra" (LÜDERS, 905).

394 3. Already before the accession of the Śuṅgas, a dynasty ruled in Ahicchatra, capital of Pañcāla (Rohilkhand), which consisted of no less than a dozen sovereigns. Their names, most of which end in *mitra*, are known through coins in the British Museum and the Museum of Lucknow (ALLAN, CCAI, pp. cxvi-cxx) : Agnimitra, Bhadraghoṣa, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayagupta, Jayamitra, Phalgunīmitra, Rudragupta, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Viśvapāla and Bṛhaspatimitra. To judge from the deities or symbols which appear on the reverse of their coins, they were worshippers of Agni, Lakṣmī, Bhūmi, Dhruva (Śiva), Viṣṇu or Sūrya. However, their immediate family certainly included Buddhist sympathizers : thus an architrave and several pillars of the palisade of the "Royal Temple" (*rājaprāsādacaitya*) built by Aśoka at Bodh-Gayā are "gifts from Kuraṃgī, the sister-in-law of Iṃdāgimitra (Indrāgnimitra), the daughter of Jivā, to the Royal Temple" (LÜDERS, 939-44).

4. Some copper coins, with the goddess Lakṣmī on the obverse and three mountend elephants on the reverse, preserve the names of a dozen of the Śuṅga vassals who settled in Mathurā : Gomita (II), husband of Yaśāmatā, daughter of Bahasatimitra the king of Kauśāmbī : Balabhūti; Brahmamitra, etc. Post No. 91 of the palisade at Bodh-Gayā on which Indra, in the form of Śānti, appears in high relief, is a "gift from Nāgadevā, the sister-in-law of King Brahmamitra" (*Bodh-Gayā*, p. 58). Some half-hearted attempts have been made to correlate this Brahmamitra with his homonym, the Bhadramitra of the Mathurā coins.

5. The Ayodhyā inscription mentioned above (EI, XX, 1929, p. 57) refers to a Ruler of Kosala who was the sixth (son or successor?) of the commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra. He was possibly related to Dhanabhūti, the petty monarch of Bhārhut.

THE KĀṆVAS (75-30 B.C.). — "A minister named Vasudeva will overthrow the dissolute king Devabhūmi, on account of his youth, and this minister will become king of the Śuṅgas. That Kāṇvāyana will reign for 9 years; his son Bhūmitra, 14 years; his son Nārāyaṇa, 12 years; his son Suśarman, 10 years. They are mentioned as kings subservient to the Śuṅgas (*śuṅgabhṛtya*) and descendants of the Kāṇvas (*kāṇvāyana*). Those four Kāṇvas will remain in power for 45 years. Neighbouring princes will submit to them. They will be righteous. After they have gone, the territory will pass to the Andhras" (P., p. 34-5).

Summarized in this way by the *Purāṇa*, the history of these kings is
395 not known elsewhere but, to judge from their names, two of them, Vasudeva and Nārāyaṇa, must have been Viṣṇuites just like the last Śuṅgas. They were overthrown in approximately 30 B.C. by the Andhra king Simuka and his allies who, say the *Purāṇa*, "will attack the Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, destroy whatever remains of the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgānāṃ caiva yac cheṣam*) and seize that territory" (P., p. 38). This passage seems to imply that the Andhras overthrew the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas simultaneously, and some historians have deduced from this that the 45 years of rule assigned to the Kāṇvas were included in the 112 years attributed to the Śuṅgas. Notwithstanding, the *Purāṇa* categorically assert that Devabhūti, the tenth Śuṅga, was assassinated by the first Kāṇva. However, the new dynasty could have allowed some descendants of the Śuṅgas to continue alongside it, and both would have been definitively destroyed by the Andhras around 30 B.C.

2. — CEYLON FROM 200 to 20 B.C.*

THE SUCCESSION OF KINGS. — The Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, who were a prey to internal struggles, rallying first to brāhmanism and then to the bhāgavata religion did not maintain the close and friendly relations established by the pious Aśoka in the past with the kings of Ceylon, who were convinced Buddhists. According to the evidence of the chronicles, 18 sovereigns succeeded one another to the throne of Ceylon between the years 286 and 466 after the Nirvāṇa (200-20 B.C.) : the majority of them belonged to the ancient Vijaya lineage, but these legitimate princes had three times to yield the throne to Damiḷa invaders who came from the Indian sub-continent. These according to the *Dīpa* (Ch. XVIII-XX) and the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. XXI-XXXIII), are the divisions of the period and the sequence of reigns : 1. the period of the Five Kings (reigns No. 8 to 12 inclusive); 2. reign of Eḷāra (No. 13); 3. reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 14); 4. reign of the Ten Kings (Nos. 15 to 24) (see p. 361).

THE PERIOD OF THE FIVE KINGS (286-338 after the Nirvāṇa; 200-148 B.C.). — Under this title, the Sinhalese chronicle designates the princes who ruled in Ceylon during the troubled era which, on the Indian subcontinent, was marked by the fall of the great Mauryan empire and the accession of the Śuṅgas to the throne.

Succeeding their brother Uttiya, Mahāsiva and Sūratissa each reigned for ten years (200-180 B.C.). The first constructed the Nagaraṅgaṇavihāra for the Thera Bhaddasāla, the last survivor of the Magadhan missionaries who had come to Ceylon under the leadership of Mahinda.

Sovereigns	Length of reign	Era of the Nirv.	Ancient Era (B.C.)
8. Mahāsiva	10	286-296	200-190
9. Sūratissa	10	296-306	190-180
10. Sena	22	306-328	180-158
11. Guttika			
12. Asela	10	328-338	158-148
396 13. Eḷāra	44	338-382	148-104
14. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi	24	382-406	104-80
15. Saddhātissa	18	406-424	80-62
16. Thūlathana	1 month	424	62
17. Lañjatissa	9	424-433	62-53
18. Khallāṭanāga	6	433-439	53-47
19. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi		439	47
20. Puḷahattha			
21. Bāhiya			
22. Panayamāra	14	439-454	47-32
23. Piḷayamāra			
24. Dāṭhika			
19. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi	12	454-466	32-20

The second, renowned as a great builder, is said to have founded five hundred vihāras on the island.

In 180, Ceylon fell for the first time into the hands of Damiḷa (Tamil) hordes who had come from the sub-continent under the guidance of two horse-dealers, extempore generals, Sena and Guttika. Their rule was just and continued for 22 years (180-158 B.C.).

Asela, one of the nine sons of Muṭasiva and brother of Devānaṃpiyatissa, succeeded in winning back the throne of his forebears and retained it for ten years (158-148 B.C.); a further Tamil invasion was to overthrow him.

THE COḶA EḶĀRA (332-382 after the Nirvāṇa; 148-104 B.C.). — Eḷāra, who was native of the Coḷa country on the Coromandel coast, disembarked in Ceylon, vanquished Asela and seized the throne. Supported by two skillful generals, Mitta and Dīghajantu, he remained in power for 44 years. Equally just to both friends and enemies, the conqueror, while not sharing his subjects' beliefs, maintained good relations with the Bud-
397 dhists. However, the dispossessed Sinhalese princes had taken refuge in the southern province of Rohaṇa, where they prepared for revenge.

DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI (382-406 after the Nirvāṇa, 104-80 B.C.). — The liberator of the territory and supreme national hero was Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the Fearless. He was the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa, the ruler of the

Mahāgāma principality on the south coast. He received a very thorough military education among the best warriors of his time. Impatient to fight the invader and unable to persuade his father to open hostilities, he left home and sent Kākavaṇṇatissa a woman's robe in reproach for his cowardice. Summoned to the throne of Mahāgāma, he first had to contend with his brother Tissa who wanted to supplant him. He suffered a defeat at Cūḷaṅganiyapiṭṭhi, but was finally victorious. At the request of the Buddhist Saṃgha, he spared Tissa's life and was reconciled with him.

As soon as he had been anointed king in Mahāgāma, he declared war on the Damiḷas, joined battle at Mahiyaṅgana on the Mahāgaṅga, seized thirty-two Tamil fortresses one after the other, then after four months of siege conquered the citadel of Vijitapura by force of arms, and went on to assault the capital, Anurādhapura. The town was defended by Eḷāra in person, assisted by thirty-two Tamil princes; furious battles raged, and the Tamils were torn to pieces; Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, in a remarkable fight on the approaches to the southern gate, felled his rival Eḷāra with his own hands. In a gesture of unusual elegance, he paid the last tribute to the remains of his enemy, erected a monument to him and ordered all those who passed before his tomb to descend from their chariots and observe a moment of silence. It seems that the decree is still observed today by the Sinhalese, but the shapeless hillock situated to the south of the town and which they call the "Tomb of Eḷāra" is in reality the Dakkhiṇa Thūpa, the founding of which dates back to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (32 B.C.).

The Damiḷas attempted to reconquer the island which had just been wrested from them. Sixty thousand Tamils from the subcontinent under the leadership of Bhalluka, Eḷāra's nephew, disembarked at Mahātittha and set out to attack Anurādhapura. The decisive battle took place within the very confines of the Mahāvihāra. Once again Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was victorious, and the Tamil army was exterminated. Confronted by such carnage the king, seized with remorse, began to
398 have doubts about his spiritual welfare. The theras of the Piyaṅgudīpa undertook to reassure him : "Your exploits", they said to him, "do not constitute an obstacle to your ascent to the heavens. In reality, you only slew one human being and a half here; the first had taken the Three Refuges and the second had committed himself to the five precepts (of the lay follower). All the others were miscreants and people of loose living, even less estimable than beasts. As for you, you will bring about the glory of the doctrine of the Buddha in various ways; so banish wholeheartedly all disquiet". (*Mhv.*, XXV, 107-11). Understanding that

he should patronize Buddhism, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi devoted the remainder of his reign to pious endowments.

1. On the seventh day after his coronation, in accordance with custom, he celebrated a water festival on the banks of Lake Tissavāpi. He drove into the ground the sacred lance which had led him to victory and which contained a relic of the Buddha. When the festival was over, he wanted to take his lance back but it remained stuck in the ground despite all efforts made to withdraw it. On seeing this, the king built the Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa, known today as the Mirisaveṭiya Dāgaba, to mark the spot[2]. Originally, the monument was 80 cubits (60 metres) in height and its diameter at the base is 168 feet (50 metres). It underwent numerous transformations in the course of time : enlarged towards the end of the second century by Gajabāhu I, it was partly restored in 1889 on the initiative of a Siamese prince. Its superstructure has disappeared but the body of the stūpa, relatively well preserved, is a typical example of ancient Sinhalese architecture.

2. Within the confines of the Mahāmeghavana, near the Mahāvihāra, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built the great Lohapāsāda or Brazen Palace, intended for the uposatha ceremonies. It was a cubical monument 75 metres at each side, resting on 1,600 granite pillars, 3 m. 60 high and in 40 parallel rows, each of 40 pillars. The first storey formed by this colonnade was made of stone, the others of wood. The storeys were nine in number, each consisting of one hundred rooms. The windows opened onto balconies built of coral set with precious stones, with whole rows of silver handbells. The construction cost thirty million. Burnt down in the reign of Saddhātissa (80-62 B.C.), it was rebuilt, with seven storeys, for the price of nine million. Subsequently, the monument had much to
399 endure from pillage and fire, but all the princes were eager to embellish, enlarge and, if necessary rebuild it. The last restoration dates from the reign of Parakkamabāhu 1st (1153-1186); after which, the monument fell into ruins. Nevertheless, the ancient colonnade is still visible.

3. Legend has monopolized the Mahāthūpa, present-day Ruvanveli Dāgaba (corresponding to the Pāli Ratanamālī[3]). The chronicle (*Dpv.*, XIX; *Mhv.*, XXVIII-XXX) devotes several chapters to it, and a long poem, the *Thūpavaṃsa* (twelfth century), is dedicated to it. The tope stands in Anurādhapura, in the very centre of the Mahāmeghavana, on the spot where the Buddhas of the past had stayed during their visits to Ceylon. Mahinda himself had designated its site but the construction,

[2] Cf. S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1947, p. 6 and pl. II, a.

[3] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

planned in the year 250 or 249 B.C. by Devānampiyatissa, was delayed until the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (104-80 B.C.) and completed by his brother and successor Saddhātissa (80-62 B.C.).

From all over the island the gods themselves assembled the materials necessary for the construction : bricks, copper, silver, pearls and precious stones. The work began under the direction of the architect Sirivaḍḍha and his assistant Acala, at the full moon of the month of Visākha (April). The laying of the first stone took place on the fourteenth day of the first fortnight of the month of Āsāḷha (June), in the presence of the entire Sinhalese Saṃgha and several thousand Indian monks who had been sent as a delegation by the fourteen largest Buddhist establishments on the subcontinent.

In form, the stūpa resembled a bubble of water. 120 cubits (90 m.) in height, it was decorated over its entire surface with paintings applied over a coat of white plaster. The relic-chamber was formed by six "golden-coloured stones" (*medavaṇṇapāsāṇā*), 80 cubits at each side. They had been imported from Uttarakuru by the śrāmaṇeras Uttara and Sumana. The chamber was decorated with paintings and sculptures representing scenes from the life of the Buddha, as well as several Jātakas including that of Vessantara. In it was placed a bushel of venerable relics which the monk Soṇuttara had gone to fetch from the palace of the Nāga Mahākāla. As they were being enshrined, those relics rose into the air and reproduced the twin wonders performed in the past
400 by Śākyamuni at Śrāvastī. Then, of their own accord, they scattered themselves in the form of the Buddha lying in Nirvāṇa within the reliquary.

Completely restored today, the Ruvanveli Dāgaba is shaped like a monumental dome 81 metres high; its diameter measures 90 metres. Around the base, there are three circular terraces approximately 2 m. in width. The whole rests on a square platform 150 m. on each side, flanked by several hundred elephants modelled in terra-cotta[4]. The dome is surmounted by a cubical construction and a tapering cone finished off with an arrow, but these elements, as and likewise the platform, are later additions.

THE PERIOD OF THE TEN KINGS, INCLUDING VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI (406-466 after the Nirvāṇa, 80-20 B.C.). The death of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi marked the beginning of the "Period of the Ten Kings" who, in the space of sixty years, succeeded one another to the throne of Anurādhapura. The first five, Saddhātissa and his four sons, belonged to the Sinhalese royal family; the other five were Tamil usurpers.

[4] Reproduction in PARANAVITANA, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, a.

Faithful to the traditions of their house, Saddhātissa and his sons were devout Buddhists, and their names remain attached to various religious establishments.

Saddhātissa (80-62 B.C.) completed the Mahāthūpa which was left unfinished by his brother, and rebuilt the Lohapāsāda which had been destroyed by fire.

Thūlathana (62 B.C.), unduly brought to the throne by the intrigues of ministers and monks, reigned only for one month and was overthrown by his eldest brother Lañjatissa.

Lañjatissa (62-53 B.C.), was at first hostile to the monks who had tried to depose him, but was later reconciled with them; he enlarged some stūpas and founded various monasteries, particularly the Ariṭṭhavihāra, half-way between Anurādhapura and Pulatthipuva.

Khallāṭanāga (53-47 B.C.) was assassinated by his general Mahārattaka after six years of rule. His death was avenged by his young brother Vaṭṭagāmaṇi who killed the usurper and mounted the throne in 47 B.C.

The reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was marked by events of prime importance to the religious history of Ceylon. It began in the year 47, was interrupted for 14 years (74-32 B.C.) by Tamil usurpation, but resumed
401 in 32 and continued, for a further 12 years, until the year 20 B.C. With regard to the troubled history of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, sources of varying dates supply information which is not always concordant and the origin of which must be examined. Here, we will give the account appearing in the chronicle in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXXIII, 33-103), and will add, in a different type, complementary facts provided by the Sinhalese commentaries.

1. After coming to the throne of Anurādhapura, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, called Abhaya "The Fearless", married Anulādevī, the widow of his brother Khallāṭanāga, and adopted their child, Mahācūḷī. He took as his second wife the lovely Somadevī who gave him a son, Coranāga, also known as Mahānāga. Those two young princes were destined to succeed him.

2. Five months after his coronation, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had to face a revolt in Rohaṇa and a Tamil invasion which was to deprive him of his throne for fourteen years (47-32 B.C.).

The brāhmin Tissa, whom the sources called a bandit (*cora*) and violent (*caṇḍana*), was a native of Rohaṇa, the southern province of the island of Ceylon. He became acquainted with a horoscope which promised the possession of the island to any bandit who began his activities during a particular combination of the planets. At the requisite time, he therefore turned to banditry and formally summoned Vaṭṭagāmaṇi to hand over the throne to him.

At the same moment, seven Damiḷa chiefs disembarked their troops at Mahātittha, on the west coast, and sent an ultimatum to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi enjoining him to surrender power.

The king replied to the brāhmin Tissa that the throne would belong to him if he repulsed the Damiḷas. Tissa took him at his word and set out against the invaders; however, he lost the battle of Saṅketahāla and was taken prisoner.

The king was not much more fortunate in his resistance to the Damiḷas. Vanquished at the battle of Kolambālaka, he was saved only by fleeing. Just as he was leaving his capital by the north gate, a Nirgrantha religious named Giri, who lived in the Titthārāma hermitage, jeered at him, saying : "Look at the great Black Lion in flight". Vaṭṭagāmaṇi swore he would one day avenge the affront inflicted on him.

The king was accompanied in his flight by his two wives, Anulā and Somadevī, and his two sons, Mahācūḷī and Mahānāga. However, in
402 order to speed up his march, he was compelled to abandon Somadevī, bearer of the royal diadem.

Somadevī thus fell into the hands of the Damiḷas who also seized the precious alms-bowl of the Buddha. Two of the chiefs returned to the mainland with their booty; the other five remained in Anurādhapura and occupied the throne in turn : Puḷahattha (47-44 B.C.), Bāhiya (44-42), Panayamāraka (42-35), Piḷayamāraka (34) and, lastly, Dāṭhika (34-32).

As for Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, he sought refuge with the abbot Mahātissa at the Kupikkalavihāra, and the latter obtained a retreat for him at Mātuvelaṅga, in the central province of Malaya. The king and his suite were sheltered in the house of a layman, a certain Tanasīva.

3. During the fourteen years (47-32 B.C.) of the king's retreat and the Tamil occupation of Anurādhapura, the island of Ceylon was ravaged by a terrible plague, the memory of which remains alive and which was called in Sinhalese by the name of *Bāminiṭiyāsāya* : "Famine of the Brāhmaṇa-Tissa". There is no mention of it in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, but the Commentaries on the Pāli holy writings make frequent allusions to it; unfortunately, they do not all agree. Among these Commentaries, we can mention those of the *Aṅguttara* (*Manorathapūraṇī*, I, p. 92; III, pp. 343-5), *Saṃyutta* (*Sāratthappakāsinī*, II, p. 111) and *Vibhaṅga* (*Saṃmohavinodanī*, pp. 445-51). The date of this famine is generally fixed in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, with the exception of the *Rājāvaliya* which assigns it, under Coranāga, a date coinciding with the beginning of the Śaka era, in 78 A.D.[5].

For twelve years, the brāhmin Tissa exploited the country. A severe famine

[5] On this synchronism, which is difficult to justify, see W. Geiger, *The Cūlavaṃsa* [*translated*], II, Colombo, 1930, p. XVII.

weakened the population to such an extent that the birth of a child was greeted as an extraordinary event. In the great monasteries of Rohaṇa, at the Cittalapabbatavihāra and the Tissamahārāma, the stocks of provisions were devoured by huge starving rats. In Anurādhapura, the Mahāvihāra was deserted and its great Stūpa was overrun by vegetation.

Since he was powerless to help the monks, the god Śakra advised them to emigrate. The great majority of religious, approximately seven hundred in number, embarked on a raft at Jambukola and reached the Indian mainland. However, some sixty monks remained on the island to "protect the Tepiṭaka on the spot". Under the leadership of the venerable Theras Cūlasīva, Isidatta and Mahāsoṇa, they withdrew to the southern part of the central province of Malaya
403 and lived there as best they could, surviving on bulbs, roots and leaves. It was only at the cost of supreme efforts that they managed to preserve the whole of the Tipiṭaka composed by their Master and entrusted to their care.

After twelve years, in approximately the year 451 after the Nirvāṇa (35 B.C.), the brāhmin Tissa met with his death, the famine became less severe and the seven hundred monks who had emigrated returned to the island of Ceylon. They rejoined their brethren at the Maṇḍalārāma in Kallagāma, presumably the Kālakagāma of Malaya. They compared their memories of the texts with those of the monks who had remained on the island, and joyfully noted the perfect coincidence of their respective Tepiṭakas : this extended as far as the final vowel and final consonant.

For the first time a controversy then arose which was henceforward to dominate the religious history of Ceylon. The question was whether the basis of the religion (*sāsana*) dwelt in the practice of Dhamma (*paṭipatti*) or in doctrinal knowledge (*pariyatti*).

There were two opinions : The Paṃsukūlikas "rag-robed monks" held the view that the basis of the religion resided in practice; the Dhammakathikas "Instructors" asserted that knowledge prevailed over practice. Arguments were produced in favour of both theses. The Paṃsukūlikas invoked a sutta quoted in the *Milinda* (p. 133) : "The religion of the Master has practice as its root, has practice as its essence; it lasts so long as practice continues". The Dhammakathikas replied with another quotation : "As long as the Suttantas last, as long as the Vinaya shines, so long does the light glow, as at sun-rise... If the Suttanta is undisturbed, conduct is undisturbed"[6].

The Dhammakathika party finally prevailed. It was admitted that knowledge took predence over practice, and accordingly all the Sinhalese commentaries state : "Whether or not there is penetration (*paṭivedha*) or practice (*paṭipatti*), knowledge (*pariyatti*) suffices for the maintenance of the religion. The learned man, as long as he has learned the Tepiṭaka, will fulfill both... That is why, as long as knowledge lasts, religion lasts". — "Whether there are a hundred or a thousand bhikṣus devoted to right views, if knowledge is lacking, no attainment of the noble Path is possible"[7].

4. Having weighed the importance of textual knowledge, the monks

[6] Manorathapūraṇī, I, p. 93.

[7] *Ibid.*

committed the Word of the Buddha to writing. This step, of capital importance to the history of Buddhism, is briefly described in identical
404 terms by the chronicles of the *Dīpa* (XX, 20-1) and *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXXIII, 100-1) at the end of the chapter devoted to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

After recalling that "King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya reigned for twelve years [454-466 after the N. = 32-20 B.C.] and at the beginning [439 after the N. = 47 B.C.] for five months" (*Dīpa*, XX, 19), the chronicle continues :

Piṭakattayapāliṃ ca tassā aṭṭhakathaṃ pi ca
mukhapāṭhena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmatī;
hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā
ciraṭṭhitthaṃ dhammasa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ.

H. Oldenberg (*Dīpavaṃsa, ed. and transl.*, London, 1879, p. 211) translated : "Before this time, the wise Bhikkhus had orally handed down the text of the three Piṭakas and also the Aṭṭhakathā. At this time, the Bhikkhus who perceived the decay of created beings, assembled and in order that the Religion might endure for a long time, they recorded (the above-mentioned texts) in written books".

W. Geiger (*The Mahāvaṃsa transl.*, London, 1912, p. 237) in turn understood : "The text of the three piṭaka and the aṭṭhakathā thereon did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books".

These translations neglect two important chronological indications contained in the text :

Within the context of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the adverb *pubbe* of the second verse refers to the period prior to the resumption of power by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi in 454 after the N. = 32 B.C.

The *hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ* of the third verse does not mean "perceiving the decay of created beings" and even less "seeing that the people were falling away (from the religion)", but "seeing the decrease, the (numerical) diminution of created beings". This is an allusion to the ravages caused among the population of Ceylon by the terrible famine of the Brāhmaṇatiyabhaya which began during the invasion by the Damiḷas in 439 after the N. = 47 B.C. and, on the evidence of the *Manorathapūraṇī* (I, p. 92, ll.17-18), continued for twelve years (*dvādasa saṃvaccharāni*), from 439 to 451 after the N. (= 47-35 B.C.). According to our interpretation, the writing down of the holy words therefore occurred between the year 451 after the N. (35 B.C.), the date of the end of the famine and Brāhmaṇatissa's death, and the year 454 after the N. (32 B.C.), the date when Vaṭṭagāmaṇi resumed power.

405 Here, in conclusion, is a paraphrased translation of the four verses in the chronicle : "Formerly [i.e., before Vaṭṭagāmaṇi reassumed power in 454 after the N.], very wise bhikkhus orally transmitted the text of the three Piṭakas and also the Commentary upon them. However, when they noticed the [numerical] decrease of the [Sinhalese] population, the bhikkhus assembled and, in order to ensure the long life of the Law, they recorded [the above mentioned texts] in books".*

We know from other sources, particularly the *Nikāyasaṃgraha* (pp. 10-11), a fourteenth century work, that the recording of the scriptures was the result of a council in which five hundred theras took part under the direction of a certain clan chief. The council was held in the Aluvihāra (Ālokavihāra), a rock-cut temple located a few miles from the town of Mātale, in the Central Province.

5. During that time, King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, his wife Anulādevī and their two sons were sadly whiling away the time in their retreat in Malaya. Anulādevī had quarrelled with the wife of Tanasīva who gave them shelter and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi killed his host in reprisal. He got himself accepted by his subjects, chose eight valorous warriors as ministers and prepared to take up the fight against the Damiḷas once more.

However, one of his ministers, Kapisīsa, failed to prostrate himself before him, so he killed him on the spot. On seeing this, the other seven ministers abandoned him. While fleeing, they fell into the hands of bandits and were robbed of all their possessions. They were given hospitality by the Thera Tissa of the Hambugallakavihāra who comforted them and advised them to rejoin the king rather than go over to the Damiḷas.

The thera Mahātissa of Kupikkala, a faithful friend of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, offered his help and, on the intervention of the two theras, the king was reconciled with his ministers.

6. When he finally assembled his troops, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi launched an attack. He advanced on Anurādhapura, defeated the Damiḷas and killed their king Dhāṭika. For the second time, he mounted the throne and succeeded in recovering his second wife Somadevī, who had been held captive by the Damiḷas.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign was to continue for twelve years from 454-466 after the N. (32-20 B.C.).

His first action was to confiscate the Titthārāma to the north of the town, which until then had been occupied by the Nirgrantha Giri —
406 that same person who had jeered at him during his flight in 47 — and founded a Buddhist monastery there, the Abhayagirivihāra.

The stūpa which ornamented that monastery, the Abhayagiri Dāgaba,

wrongly known today as the Jetavana Dāgaba, is the tallest Buddhist monument on the island[8]. Successive enlargements increased its height to 140 cubits (105 m.); the present ruin is 73 m. 50 high, the diameter at the base being 106 m. 50. Despite its gigantic size, its fame was never comparable to that of the Mahāthūpa built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the confines of the Mahāmeghavana. It seems that the Abhayagiri never contained any venerable relics; we only know that on the spot where it stands the Buddha had halted during one of his visits to Ceylon.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi presented the Abhayagirivihāra to his lifelong friend, the Thera Mahātissa of Kupikkala, who had supported and advised him in his retreat. This was the first time that a vihāra had been presented to a monk personally. On their part, the seven ministers of the king built vihāras which they gave to the Thera Tissa of Hambugallaka who had rescued them from the hands of bandits and reconciled them with their ruler. One of those monasteries was the Dakkhiṇavihāra, to the south of Anurādhapura, the ruins of which are today called the "Tomb of Eḷāra".

7. Fortune had favoured the Thera Mahātissa. Abbot of a small monastery, the Kupikkalavihāra lost in the jungle of Malaya, he had become the owner of the largest vihāra in Anurādhapura, and royal favour had made him a political person of the first rank.

These successes caused the monks of the Mahāvihāra to take umbrage, as they considered their authority and prestige were threatened. They therefore accused the Thera Tissa of frequenting lay families (*kulasaṃsaṭṭha*) and passed a sentence of temporary banishment (*pabbājaniyakamma*) on him.

A disciple of Mahātissa, known as Bahalamassu-Tissa "Tissa with a long beard", protested against this decision and, because he had supported an impure monk, was himself suspended (*ukkhepaniyakamma*). In great fury, he left the Mahāvihāra with several other monks and went to the Abhayagiri where he formed a separate faction. "From then on",
407 says the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXXIII, 97-8), those bhikkhus no longer went near the Mahāvihara, and that was how the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri separated from the Theravāda. Subsequently, the monks at the Dakkhiṇavihāra separated from those of the Abhayagiri and so the bhikkhus who had seceded from the adherents of the Theravāda formed two groups".

[8] S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, pp. 7-8, and pl. II, b. For further details: D.T. Devendra, *'Abhayagiri'*, in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (Volume of Specimen Articles), Ceylon, 1957, pp. 1-4.

8. According to the *Nikāyasaṃgraha* (p. 11), the Abhayagiri faction was reinforced in the year 454 after the Nirvāṇa (32 B.C.) by the arrival in Ceylon of a group of monks who came from the Pallararama[9] in south India. They claimed to be Buddhists but were considered heretics by the orthodox religious of India and Ceylon; they in fact belonged to the Vajjiputtaka school the laxist theories of which had earlier been condemned at the council of Vaiśālī. Their master was the ācariya Dhammaruci. When they arrived in Ceylon, they were spurned by the monks at the Mahāvihara, but got a better reception in the Abhayagiri. The abbot of the monastery, Thera Mahātissa, adopted the newcomers' views which, in fact, concerned only minor points of discipline, and took the name of Dhammaruci himself. That is how the Dhammarucikas, separating from the orthodox Theravāda, initiated a secession which was to continue for nearly twelve centuries.

3. — BACTRIANS AND INDO-GREEKS[10]

1. The greek kingdom of Bactria. — Founded about 250 B.C. by Diodotus I, the Greek kingdom of Bactria was formally recognized by the Seleucids at the convention of 206 concluded between Antiochus III on the one hand, Euthydemus of Magnesia and his son Demetrius on the other.

Once the matter was settled, Antiochus III returned to his states via the Hindūkush route, encountering on his way the Indian king Subhāgasena, the last representative of the Mauryas in the North-West frontiers. Once back in Syria, Antiochus undertook transactions in the west which
408 were to make him forget the oriental borderlands in his possession. He concluded a secret treaty with Philip V of Macedonia over the partition of Egyptian possessions overseas (202). Having become ruler of Ptole-

[9] Place unidentified, probably a monastery situated on the banks of the river Palār which passes through Kāñcī.

[10] Since for this period, coins constitute the main source of information, the reader is asked to refer to the following works : in the *British Museum Catalogues*, P. Gardner, *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886; J. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936. Also see E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strasbourg, 1898; the *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 462-6, 586-92, and pl. I to VIII; R.B. Whitehead, *Notes on the Indo-Greeks* in Numismatic Chronicle, 5th series, XX, 1940, p. 1; 6th series, VII, 1947, p. 28; *Rare and unique coins, other than punch-marked, found at Taxila between 1912 and 1934*, in Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, Vol. II, pp. 795-842.

The chronology of the Indo-Greek kings is still much debated : the present account adopts the dates proposed by Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 27-44.

For the whole of this period, see W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1951, pp. 71-350; F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, 2 vol., Halle, 1947-48, vol. I, pp. 286-353; vol. II, pp. 35-128; E. Bazin and A. Foucher, Review of Tarn's book in JA, 1938, pp. 501-16; A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, II, pp. 210-13.*

maic Syria and Palestine (202-198), he advanced on Europe with the intention of reconquering Thrace (196). The Seleucid intervention in the Mediterranean basin was a source of anxiety to the Roman senate. Legions were sent to meet Antiochus, who lost the battles of Thermopylae and Magnesia under Sipylos and suffered a severe naval defeat at Corycus. Through the peace of Apamea concluded in 188, the Seleucid empire ceased to be a Mediterranean power, and the following year Antiochus fell to the blows of an assassin. Meanwhile, the kings of Bactria had not waited for his death to cross the frontiers of India, which had been poorly defended since the humiliation inflicted on the Indian king Subhāgasena in about 206.

End of the reign of Euthydemus (205-189 B.C.). — Towards the year 200, Euthydemus crossed the passes of the Afghan massif and took possession of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia and Seistan. In fact, even if this silver coins of the "Profile of the Prince : Hercules seated on a rock" type are particularly numerous to the north of the Hindūkush, in Balkh (Bactria) and Bukhara (Sogdiana), his bronze coins of the "Profile of Hercules : Galloping Horse" type are widespread in the regions of Kabul, Kandahār and Seistan. However, the legend remains exclusively Greek : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. The king died in about 189, leaving it to his son Demetrius to continue those conquests.

Demetrius (ca 189-167 B.C.). — Demetrius[11] was to add to his title of
409 king of Bactria that of the king of the Indians. His coinage was to bear traces of this new status. On his silver tetradrachms, the prince appears with an (Indian) elephant-hide head-dress and there is also an elephant's head on his bronze coins.

The patient research by Tarn has traced his family. Demetrius was descended from Euthydemus of Magnesia and the daughter of the Bactrian general Diodotus. His brother and colleagues were Antimachus I and Apollodotus; he had five children : Euthydemus II, Demetrius II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Agathocleia, the future wife of General Menander.

At the time Demetrius assumed power, the Mauryan empire was on the point of collapsing, and the successive defeats of Antiochus III led to

[11] On Demetrius, see also W.W. Tarn, *Demetrios in Sindh*, JRAS, 1940, pp. 179-93; P.C. Bagchi, *Krimiśa and Demetrius*, IHQ, 1946, pp. 81-91. It is generally thought, with Tarn, that the invasion of India by the Yavanas of Demetrius took place at the beginning of Puṣyamitra's reign. However, for some historians, the invasion occurred some time before 185 B.C. in the reign of Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya. Cf. A.N. Lahiri, *When did Demetrius invade India?*, IHQ, XXXIII, 1957, pp. 10-9.

the fall of the Seleucids. The king of Bactria decided to take advantage of these circumstances to carve out a vast empire for himself in India.

1. During the first campaign which took place between 187 and 182, Demetrius took possession of Gandhāra, the Punjab and the Indus valley, and established his capital in Taxila. However, the city was transferred from Bhir Mound to Sirkap, on the other side of the Tamrā pālā; a new town was laid out on the chequer-board plan characteristic of Hellenistic cities. This is still easily recognizable despite the three centuries of Greek, Scythian, Parthian and Kuṣāṇa occupation, a period when the city was transferred to Sirsukh.

As Demetrius was fully occupied with his military projects, he entrusted the administration of his states to viceroys chosen from among members of his family : Antimachus at Herat, Demetrius II in Gandhāra, Pantaleon and Agathocles in Taxila (until 175). A square-shaped coin is attributed to Demetrius II; the obverse represents the prince with a head-dress of an elephant's scalp, and the reverse, a winged thunderbolt; the coin is inscribed with a bilingual legend in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, *Maharajusa aparajitasa Demetriyusa.*

2. The collapse of the Mauryan empire in 187 and the assumption of power by the commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra incited Demetrius to
410 continue his march eastward. From the region of Sindh, he launched a pincer attack which very nearly led to the downfall of Puṣyamitra. A Yavana army, commanded by Apollodotus, skirted the Indian desert towards the south-east, entered Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālwā and seized the viceroyalty of Ujjayinī as well as the important port of Bharukaccha. Simultaneously, General Menander, at the head of another invading army, thrust in the direction of the Ganges, seized Śākala, Mathurā and Sāketa in turn and laid siege to Pāṭaliputra. In approximately the year 180, the Bactrians were in full possession of the two Indian provinces of Eastern Punjab (Śākala) and Avanti (Ujjayinī) and were a dangerous threat to the capital. Demetrius held territories which extended from eastern Iran to the Middle Ganges and from Russian Turkestan to the peninsula of Kāthiāwār. The Latin historian Justin (XLI, 6, 4) was quite correct in assigning to him the title of *Rex Indorum.*

The Greek and Indian sources have retained the memory of these memorable events, but unfortunately do not go into details.

Here we should reproduce the often quoted passage by Strabo (XI, ii, 1, p. 516) :

"Bactria, the northern frontier of which borders on Aria for a certain distance, far exceeds that country in the eastern direction. It is considerable in extent and its soil is suitable for all kinds of cultivation, except for that of olive trees. Thanks to its immense resources, the Greeks who had detached it [from the Seleucid empire] soon became so powerful that they could seize Ariana and India herself, according to Apollodorus of Artemita, and that their kings, especially Menander, if it is true that he crossed the Hypanis [Hyphasis or Beās] and advanced eastwards as far as the Isamus [*Iomanes* or Yamunā, a tributary of the Ganges; *Icchumai*, in Skt. Ikṣumatī, the present-day Kālīnadī, a river of Pañcāla in the region of Kanauj; more probably *Soamus* or Soṇa, a tributary of the right bank of the Ganges, the confluence of which is situated near Pāṭaliputra], finally numbered more subjects and dependents than Alexander ever had, thanks to the conquests made not only by Menander in person but also by Demetrius, son of the Bactrian king Euthydemus. We should add that, on the sea-board, not content with occupying the whole of Patalene [Sindh], they also took possession of the nearby coastland, namely the kingdoms of Saraostos [Surāṣṭra, i.e. Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt] and Sigerdis [Sagaradvīpa, or the Kutch
411 peninsula]. In short, Apollodorus was right to call Bactria the boulevard of Ariana, the kings of that country having pushed their conquests as far as the frontiers of the Seres and Phruni [in Central Asia]"[12].

It appears from another passage by Strabo (XV, 1, 27, p. 698) that the Greek thrust reached Pāṭaliputra :

"Of the eastern part of India we only know what is on this side of the Hypanis [Hyphasis or Biās] and what has been added by others who, after Alexander, penetrated beyond the Hypanis as far as the Ganges and Palibothra [Pāṭaliputra]"[12].

The exploits which Strabo assigns here to Menander and Demetrius are attributed to Apollodotus and Menander by Pompeius Trogus (Justin, XLI, *Prologue*).

The Indian sources confirm the Greek evidence in their own way. As we saw above, Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (III, 1, 111) notes that in his time : "the Greek besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā"; Sāketa is a town in Kosala, very near Ayodhyā; Madhyamikā is Nagarī, near Chitor, in the former Rājputāna.

In the detestable prophetic style of the *Purāṇa*, the *Gārgī Saṃhitā* (YP., 94-116) deplores the Greek advance up to the walls of the capital and the confusion it led to in Indian society itself :

"Having conquered Sāketa [Ayodhyā], the Pañcālas [Doāb] and Mathurā, the wicked but valiant Yavanas will reach Kusumadhvaja [Pāṭaliputra]. Once the

[12] Translation by Tardieu.

thick walls of Puṣpapura [Pāṭaliputra] have been reached, all the provinces will be thrown into confusion. Finally, a great battle with swords and bludgeons will take place. At the end of the yuga, there will be irreligious Anāryans; Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra will be inferior men, making use of the same clothes and customs. Men will join the heretics and conclude alliances for women. There will be base bhikṣuka, dressed in the religious robe, wearing their hair in plaits and bark clothing; those men of lowly caste, [improvised guardians] of the three fires, will offer oblations, unscrupulously, with hymns beginning with the Oṃkara. Śūdras will challenge the brāhmins with "Bho!" and the brāhmins will greet them with the word "Ārya". The ancient *Tamā* of Dharmamita [Demetrius] will devour the people. The Yavanas will be in command and the princes will disappear. However, the Yavanas, intoxicated with warfare, will not remain in Madhyadeśa. A civil war will break out among them; on their own
412 territory, a terrible, extremely murderous battle will take place and it will result in the complete destruction of the Yavanas".

Meanwhile Demetrius, called Dattamitra in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 139, 23), did not remain inactive; his name remains attached to numerous Demetriads founded by himself : Tarmita, Termez in Sogdiana, is mentioned by the name of Dharmamitra in a Sanskrit text translated into Tibetan (JA, 1933, p. 27, n. 1); a Demetrias-polis is recorded in the *Stationes Parthicae* (19) of Isidorus of Charax; a Dāttāmitrī in Sauvīra (Sindh) is reported by the grammarian Kramadīśvara (p. 796); finally, an inscription at Nāsik (Lüders, 1140), records a "Yonaka from Otarāka", i.e. a Greek from the North, a native of a Dattāmitrī, otherwise unspecified.

It does not seem as though Apollodotus continued his advance towards Vidiśā, the second most important town of the Śuṅga kingdom, where Puṣyamitra's son, Agnimitra, was living. We saw previously, on the evidence of the *Mūlavikāgnimitra* (pp. 111-12), how Vasumitra routed a troop of Yavanas on the bank of the Kālī Sindhu. Some writers think that from 175 on Apollodotus, at the request of his brother, was viceroy of Taxila.

3. The civil war destroyed the work of the Greeks in eastern Iran and India. The eastward transfer of Bactrian power left the western frontiers dangerously depleted. The Indians themselves became aware that the dissension among the Greeks militated in their favour; apart from the *Gārgī Saṃhitā* (l.c.) which attributes the evacuation of Madhyedeśa to the civil war breaking out "on the very territory" of the Yavanas, the *Purāṇa* (P., p. 56) state that the Yavana usurpers "devoted to blameworthy practices owing to the decadence of the times, massacred each other".

Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.), the last great Seleucid king,

attempted to restore the Syrian empire and save it from disintegration by means of a policy of in-depth Hellenization. His intervention in Egypt (169) and contentions with the Jews (168) did not prevent him from assessing the threat which the growing power of Demetrius presented to his eastern frontiers. It is possible that he charged one of his lieutenants, Eucratides, with restoring the Seleucid legitimacy in Bactria. Tarn makes this Eucratides the true cousin of Antiochus IV. In any case, royal blood flowed in his veins. The joined busts of his parents, the
413 satrap Heliocles (bareheaded) and the Seleucid princess Laodice (diadem head-dress), appear on silver tetradrachms which Eucratides had struck after his successes in Bactria.

The campaign began in about the year 168, but historical details are lacking. It is probable that Eucratides, taking advantage of the absence of Demetrius who was detained in his Indian possessions, hustled his viceroys, Agathocles in Arachosia-Seistan, Antimachus at Herat, and victoriously entered Bactria. Struck from behind, Demetrius probably ordered Menander to withdraw from the Ganges region and entrench himself in the eastern Punjab. He himself returned hurriedly to Bactria to restore the situation. It was doubtless there that, about the years 168 or 167, he was able to take his stand against his rival. The encounter concluded with the total defeat and undoubtedly the death of Demetrius and several of his lieutenants. Justin (XLI, 6, 4) sums up the operation in a few lines : "Although his forces were depleted, Eucratides, besieged by Demetrius the king of the Indians, made continual sallies and, with 300 soldiers, defeated a force of 60,000 (sic) enemies. Having compelled the siege to be raised, he reduced India to subjection".

Thus in 167, on the death of Demetrius, there remained two Greek enemy kingdoms : the western Greek kingdom ruled by Eucratides and comprising Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Seistan and Arachosia; the eastern Greek kingdom ruled by the Euthydemid Apollodotus I (territories situated west of the Jhelum : Western Punjab, Gandhāra and Kapiśa) and the general Menander (territories located to the east of same river : eastern Punjab).

The two rival kingdoms each developed on their own account, but the only information that can be gathered regarding them is provided by some inscriptions and numerous coins the interpretation of which is mostly hypothesis : "Every minor prince has ambassadors, every large town strikes coins; the coins are re-struck; the place where they are found is not always an indication of their origin; the effigy of the prince outlives his reign" (after A. FOUCHER).

2. The eastern greek kingdom (167-30 B.C.). — This was ruled over by princes who, while remaining faithful to Hellenic customs and traditions, understood the Indian population, respected its beliefs and showed themselves favourable to Buddhism.

1. *Apollodotus I* (ca 167-163 B.C.). — Apollodotus, the brother of Demetrius, occupied, from approximately 175, the viceroyalty of the
414 Western Punjab (Taxila). Despite the victory of Eucratides over Demetrius and his lieutenants, he continued to rule for some time over the territories situated to the west of the Jhelum, with the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tradarasa.* He appealed to the patronage of Apollo, as is apparent from copper coins of the "Apollo : tripod" type struck in his effigy. On the other hand, silver coins of the "Elephant : Indian buffalo" type show that he wielded power over the town of Taxila in the Eastern Punjab (symbolized by the elephant) and over that of Puṣkarāvatī in Gandhāra (represented by Śiva's Indian buffalo).

However, in about 164 Eucratides, who had already seized Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Seistan and Arachosia from the Euthydemids, continued his march forward. He took possession of Kapiśa (Paropamisadae) and Gandhāra, and reached the Indus. It is doubtful whether he crossed that river and got to Taxila. Apollodotus died during the combats between himself and Eucratides, but his states were saved and recovered by the general Menander who was allied to the Euthydemid family through his marriage to Agathocleia.

2. *Menander* (ca 163-150 B.C.)[13]. — The most famous of the Indo-Greek kings was Menander, *Mememdra* on coins, *Minadra* on inscriptions, *Milinda* in Pāli, *Minara* in Tāranātha. The *Milindapañha* (pp. 82-3), says he was born "in the village of Kalasi, in the *dīpa* of Alasanda, two hundred *yojana* (leagues) from the town of Sāgala". According to this indication, Menander was a native of Kavisi (Kāpiśī) in the district of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus situated approximately 200 leagues from Śākala in the eastern Punjab : one may suppose, as did A. Foucher, that his father was Greek and his mother a native, and being of mixed blood, he was particularly capable of understanding both the Hellenic and Indian worlds. However, the Chinese translation of the *Milindapañha* (tr. Demiéville, pp. 30, 168) says he was born "beside the

[13] On Menander, see P. Demiéville, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, pp. 35-46; A. Foucher, *Le lieu de naissance du roi indo-grec Ménandre*, AIBCR of 1939, pp. 541-57; *A propos de la conversion au bouddhisme du roi indo-grec Ménandre*, AIBM, XLIII, 1943, pp. 260-95.

sea, in the land of *Ta ch'in* (Hellenic East), the country of *A li san* situated who thousand *yojana* (from Śākala) equivalent to eighty thousand *li*" : which leads us to Alexandria in Egypt.

However that may be, Menander was, together with Apollodotus I the best supporter of the Euthydemid throne. In his capacity as one of
415 the generals of Demetrius, he led a Yavana army across Doāb and Oudh as far as the walls of Pāṭaliputra (ca 180). When the surprise attack by Eucratides compelled Demetrius to withdraw from the Ganges basin, Menander entrenched himself with his army in the Eastern Punjab (167); it was doubtless about the same time that he married Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrius, and set up his headquarters at Śākala. After the rout and death of Apollodotus (ca 163) and the occupation of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra by Eucratides, Menander recovered all the Euthydemid possessions. Shortly afterwards, he succeeded in regaining Gandhāra, but had to abandon Kapiśa to his enemy. Finally, after the defeat inflicted on Eucratides by the Parthian king Mithridates (159), Menander seems to have re-established his authority over Arachosia.

The *Milindapañha* opens with an idyllic description of the town of Śākala over which Menander ruled, surrounded by a praetorian guard of 500 Yavanas and assisted by ministers with Greek names (p. 29) : Devamantiya (Demetrius?), Anantakāya (Antiochus), Maṅkura (Pacorus) and Sabbadinna (Sabbadotus?). Śākala (Pāli, Sāgala) has been identified with the present-day town of Siālkot, between the Chenāb and the Rāvi. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 32, 14) and the *Divyāvadāna* (. 434). We know from the geographer Ptolemy (VII, 1, 46) that it was also called Euthydemia (variant : Euthymedia). In the former case, it is believed that the Greeks, Menander in this instance, so named it in memory of the glorious lineage of the Indo-Greek kings commenced by Euthydemus of Magnesia. In the latter case, it is thought that Euthymedia is an allusion to Menander's conversion to Buddhism, the Greek term εὐθυμηδία appearing as the literal translation of the Buddhist word *samyaksaṃkalpa* "right resolve" presented by the Buddha as one of the eight limbs of the noble eightfold Path to Nirvāṇa[14].

Menander's states were very extensive. It is possible, but not certain, that in the east the king's sway included the town of Mathurā, capital of the Śūrasena district on the Yamunā. However, the region did not take long to become a Śuṅga fief under the authority of Indian princes of whom coins and some inscriptions have retained the names.

[14] On the readings of Ptolemy's manuscripts, see L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde*, Paris, 1925, p. 21. For an interpretation, A. Foucher, *Vieille Route de l'Inde*, pp. 274-5.

416 To the west of the Indus, vast territories were governed by Menander's viceroys, who were chosen from among both the natives and the Greeks :

1. In Gandhāra, to judge from the coins, Antimachus II, Polyxenus and Epander ruled as viceroys of Menander and Strato I.

2. In Uḍḍiyāna, or to be more precise in the district of Bajaur situated twenty miles to the west of the confluence of the Pañjkora and the Swāt, the Indian petty monarch Viyakamitra, who installed a relic of the Buddha in the Shinkot stūpa (EI, XXIV, 1937, p. 7), claimed to be a contemporary and vassal of Menander.

Conversely, the Kohistanese region of Kapiśa remained in the hands of Eucratides who began the minting in Kāpiśī of coins of the "Enthroned Zeus" type which were characteristic of the area.

3. Also dependents of Menander were Sindh, Kacchā (Kutch peninsula), Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt) as well as the coastal region as far as the port of Bharukaccha (Broach). Indeed, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (47) shows that, until the end of the first century A.D., "still current in Barygaza were ancient drachmas carved with Greek characters and bearing the effigy of those who ruled after Alexander : Apollodotus and Menander".

4. Finally, in approximately 159, the date at which the Parthian king Mithridates seized part of Eucratides' possessions in Aria and Arachosia, Menander seems to have reconquered Eastern Arachosia, where he was represented by the viceroy Zoilus.

There are plenty of different types of Menander's coinage, such as "Nike", "Bucephala" and especially "Athena Promachos". The legend is bilingual : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, *Mahārajasa tratārasa Menemḍrasa*. The title of "Saviour", already adopted by Apollodotus I, seems to indicate that the Euthydemids of the eastern kingdom set themselves up as defenders, not only of the Yavanas, but also of the Buddhists of the North-West and the former supporters of the Mauryan legitimacy against the usurper Puṣyamitra. While not being specifically Buddhist, the symbol of the eight-spoked wheel which appears on Menander's coins could not fail to evoke either the figure of a "King of the Dharma" such as the Buddha, or again that of a Cakravartin or universal conqueror.

As much from the Indian as the Greek side, Menander was considered
417 as a Buddhist holy one. Further on, we will examine if not the cogency, at least the developments of that tradition.

3. *Strato I and his successors* (150-30 B.C.). — On the death of Menander which occurred in about the year 150, his son Strato had still

not come of age. His mother Agathocleia therefore wielded power as a regent. A copper coin of the "Seated Heracles" type represents on the observe the bust of the queen with the legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, on the reverse Heracles seated on a rock with the legend *Maharajasa tratārasa dhramikasa Stratasa.*

At a later stage, Strato and his mother reigned together. Silver coins of the "Athena Promachos" type represent their busts side by side with the legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

In the end, Strato wielded power alone, and struck silver coins, still of the "Athena Promachos" type, on which he appears in turn in the form of a helmeted young man, then as a bearded adult and finally as a frail old man. The legend is unilingual : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

At the beginning of his reign, the Western Punjab (Taxila) and Gandhāra (Puṣkarāvatī) still formed part of his possessions, as is apparently established on the one hand by copper coins of the "Apollo : tripod" type, copied from Apollodotus I, and on the other, by copper coins of the "Bust of Heracles : Nike" type. Here the legend is bilingual : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ, *Mahārajasa pracachasa tratarasa Stratasa.*

However, Strato was unable to maintain the integrity of Menander's kingdom for very long. Certain coins of the Bactrian king Heliocles show the humped bull of Gandhāra and the elephant of Taxila, and other coins of Strato, of the "Nike" type, were restruck in the name of Heliocles. It can be concluded from this that at a certain date (145 B.C.) Heliocles seized Arachosia, Gandhāra, Taxila and Sind Sāgar Doāb from Strato. Driven back to the west of the Jhelum, Strato and his successors were relegated to the band of territory situated between that river and the Yamunā, with the capital Śākala in Rechna Doāb.

The successors of Strato, Apollodotus II, Dionysius and Zoilus, continued to strike copper coins of the "Apollo : tripod" type and silver coins of the "Athena Promachos" type, the latter marked with an
418 identical monogram. On the other hand, "Athena Promachos" coins exist on which the legend associates the name of Strato I with that of his grandson Strato II : ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΩΤΗΡC CΤΡΑΤΩΝC [ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟ]CΤΡΑΤΩΝC, *Maharajanaṃ tratarasa Stratasa potrasa casa priyapita- Stratasa.*

The eastern Greek kingdom disappeared in about the year 30 B.C. through the conquest of the Śaka Azes I, and, as a sign of his victory,

the Scythian king in turn struck coins bearing the Athene Promachos on the reverse.

3. The western greek kingdom (ca 164-90 B.C.). — The second volet of the diptych is filled with the feats of the western Greek kingdom which was founded by Eucratides after his victory over Demetrius. At the risk of being repetitive, we must summarize here the main stages of its history.

1. *Eucratides* (ca 164-158). — a. In approximately the year 168-167, at the request of the Seleucid Antiochus IV, Eucratides, the son of Princess Laodice, attacked the Bactro-Indian empire of the Euthydemid Demetrius. The latter besieged him with superior forces in Bactria, but Eucratides weakened his adversary by continual sallies and finally triumphed. He immediately seized Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Seistan and Arachosia.

The successes Eucratides achieved in the eastern satrapies did not prevent his suzerain Antiochus IV from suffering serious disasters elsewhere : the ultimatum from the consul Popilius Laenas forced him to evacuate Egypt (169-168); the persecuted Jews rebelled (168-167), and Antiochus IV met his death during an expedition against Artaxias in Armenia (164). The Seleucid empire immediately disintegrated; almost everywhere, the satraps established their independence and Eucratides proclaimed himself great king of Bactria. His first coins are silver tetradrachms which reveal the aristocratic beauty of the prince : on the obverse, the bust of the diademed king, with or without a helmet, his shoulders covered or bare backed; on the reverse, the Dioscuri, with *pilei* headdresses charging on horseback. The legend is unilingual : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Strabo (XI, 11, 2, p. 516) is impressed by the might of the new king :

"The kings of Bactria had more than one important town in their states : first Bactra, or as it is sometimes called Zariaspa, through which flows a river of the same name, a tributary of the Oxus; then Adraspa and several others more. Among the number of principal towns in the country there also appeared
419 Eucratidaea, thus named after the [Greek] king [who had founded it]. Once they were masters of Bactria, the Greeks [following the example of the Persians] had subdivided it into satrapies"[15].

b. Administrative worries were not enough to quell the warlike ardour of the king of Bactria : "Eucratides waged several wars with great courage... and reduced India into his power" (Justin, XLI, 6, 4).

[15] Translation by Tardieu.

Details are lacking regarding that Indian campaign which, between the years 163 and 160, led Eucratides to triumph over the two Euthydemids Apollodotus I and Menander, but the bilingual coins show that the *Basileus megas* in turn considered himself as a *mahārāja*.

Coinage once again enables us to follow his progress eastwards in the direction of the Indus.

Crossing the Hindūkush, Eucratides first of all seized the Paropamisadae, or Kapiśa, which was long to remain a fief coveted by the western Greek kingdom. As a mark of his victory, he minted copper coins of the "City of Kāpiśī" type : on the obverse, the bust of the helmeted king with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ; on the reverse, Zeus enthroned between two emblems, the forepart of an elephant to the left and a mountain to the right, with the legend *Kaviśiye nagara devatā* "divinity of the town of Kāpiśī".

Continuing his march eastwards, Eucratides wrested Gandhāra from Apollodotus, and in that region minted copper coins of the "Nike with garland and palm" type and the bilingual legend ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, *Maharajasa Evukratitasa*.

It is possible, but not certain, that the conqueror crossed the Indus and seized the town of Taxila. In any case, he was the first to strike silver coins bearing the "*Pilei* of the Dioscuri" on the reverse, a type proper to the town of Taxila and which was used after him by a long series of sovereigns.

Eucratides' seizure of the Kabul valley led to the disappearance of his rival, King Apollodotus (163), but the eastern Greek kingdom was saved by Menander who was able to take advantage of favourable political circumstances in order partly to restore the empire of Euthydemus.

c. The end of Eucratides' reign was marked by an eclipse in power.
420 First of all, he was expulsed from Gandhāra — but not from Kapiśa — by Menander, and it was the latter's turn to have his coins struck with the "Winged Victory" characteristic of the region.

However, the most dangerous enemy for the new Indo-Greek kingdom, as, moreover, for the Seleucid empire, was the Parthian king Mithridates I or Arsaces VI (171-138) of whom Eucratides was contemporary, as Justin (XLI, 6. 1) remarks. Between the years 160 and 140, Mithridates, the true founder of Parthian power, was to deprive the Seleucids and their vassals of Media, Persia and Susiana, and settle in Mesopotamia where, facing Seleucia, he established a vast military camp which was later to become the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon. The resistance offered by Syria resulted in a humiliating defeat : Demetrius II Nicator was beaten and captured (140-139).

Eucratides was the first victim of the Parthian advance. At the very beginning of the campaign, in about 159, "two satrapies known as Aspionus and Turiva were wrested from the Bactrians by the Parthians, in the reign of Eucratides" (Strabo, XI, 11, 2, p. 517). In all probability these were two districts in Aria, Tapuria and Traxiana, the former situated on the Upper Atrek and the latter in the valley of Kasaf-rud, both around present-day Meched.

Eucratides, who was absent at the time of the sudden attack, hastened to return to his states :

> "On his return, he was assassinated on the road by his son with whom he had shared the empire and who, without concealing his patricide and as if he had killed an enemy and not a father, drove his chariot over the bleeding body and had it cast away unburied" (Justin, XLI, 6, 5)[16].

Menander took advantage of these events to recover Eastern Arachosia, as seems to be indicated by coinage of the "Elephant and Club" type which that prince struck, the club being the symbol of Heracles whose connection with Arachosia is attested by subsequent coinage.

2. *Heliocles* (ca 158-135 B.C.). — The successor of Eucratides was Heliocles, possibly the patricidal son whose name Justin does not state. He also was more an Indian than a Greek king. His legend is bilingual :
421 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, *Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.*

Without assessing the danger to Bactria, caused by Scythian nomad incursions and Parthian ambitions, he yielded to the Indian phantasm and attempted to win back the states which had been wrested from his father by Menander and Strato I.

In approximately the year 145, making Kapiśa the base of his operations, he advanced eastward and southward, and succeeded in taking Arachosia, Gandhāra, Taxila and Sind Sāgar Doāb from Strato I, achieving much greater success than did Eucratides. However, here again, the coinage is the only source of information.

a. For Bactria and Arachosia, "Standing Zeus", holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left.

b. For Kapiśa or the Paropamisadae, "Enthroned Zeus", a type which Eucratides was the first to strike.

c. For Gandhāra and Taxila together, copper coins of the "Elephant : Indian Buffalo" type, first minted by Apollodotus I, the elephant representing Taxila and the buffalo (of Śiva), Gandhāra.

[16] Translation by Chambry.

d. For Taxila alone, Heliocles invented the copper "Bust of the king: Elephant", and one of his successors, Antialcidas, continued to strike it.

Heliocles was the last Indo-Greek king to rule simultaneously over Bactria and North-West India, on both sides of the Hindūkush. However, perpetual warfare had exhausted the Bactrians :

"Tossed from war to war, they lost not only their empire but also their freedom. Exhausted by their wars against the Sogdians, Arachosians, Drangians, Arians and Indians, they finally fell, as if worn out, under the yoke of the Parthians who until then had been weaker than them" (Justin, XLI, 6, 3)[17].

In fact, in about the year 140, after an important transfer of populations to which we will refer further on, the Greeks had to abandon Bactria to the nomads and withdraw to the south of the Hindūkush. Heliocles' states were reduced to the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab; to the east of the Jhelum they were adjacent to the possessions of Strato and his successors. Heliocles seems to have settled in Taxila,
422 leaving viceroys — Diomedes, Philoxenus, Artemidorus and Peucolaus — to govern the district of Puṣkarāvatī in Gandhāra. In fact, all those princes struck coins of the "Puṣkarāvatī Goddess : Indian Buffalo" type, with the Prākrit legend *Pakhalavadi devada, uṣabhe*. The goddess in question appears in the form of a native woman (coins of Philoxenus) or again in that of Artemis (coins of Artemidorus and Peucolaus). The very name of Peucolaus is derived from the toponym Peucolaitis or Peucelaotis, the Greek transcription of Puṣkarāvatī.

3. *Lysias* (ca 135-125 B.C.). — Lysias succeeded Heliocles on the throne of Taxila and awarded himself the title of invincible : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΣΥΣΙΟΥ, *Maharajasa apaḍihatasa Lisikasa*. His silver coins of the "Standing Heracles" type, copied from Demetrius, link him with Arachosia. He may have started as a viceroy in Arachosia, under Heliocles, before accompanying the latter to the Punjab.

4. *Antialcidas* (ca 125-100 B.C.). — A single copper coin exists which associates Lysias and Antialcidas : the name of the former appears on the obverse with a bust of Heracles, that of the latter on the reverse with the "*Pilei* of the Dioscuri". This connection is an indication of an immediate succession.

An inscription from Vidiśā, present-day Besnagar (LÜDERS, 669), has Antialcidas reign in Taxila, and gives him as a contemporary of the

[17] Translation by CHAMBRY.

Indian king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra who we believe may have been the fifth Śuṅga known to the *Purāṇa* by the name of Bhadraka :

"That Garuḍadhvaja (pillar surmounted by a Garuḍa bird) of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), god of gods, was erected by Heliodora (Heliodorus), a follower of the Bhagavat, son of Diya (Dion) and an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā who came as the Greek ambassador (*yavanadūta*) of the great king Aṃtalikita (Antialcidas) to king Kāsīputa Bhāgabhadra, the saviour (*trātāra*), in the fourtheenth year of his reign".

This is an attempt to connect a Greek sovereign, Antialcidas, with an Indian king of the Śuṅga dynasty, Bhāgabhadra. The first relations between the Yavanas and Śuṅgas were of a distinctly offensive nature : the Euthydemids Demetrius, Apollodotus I and Menander had brought war to the very heart of the Indian kingdom then, after the constitution of the eastern Greek kingdom, Apollodotus and Menander had set
423 themselves up as "Saviours", (σωτήρ, *trātāra*) of the Buddhist Indians against the endeavours of Puṣyamitra who posed as a restorer of brāhmanical institutions. Relations were doubtless no better between the last Euthydemids, Strato I and his successors, who were still favourable to Buddhism, and the last Śuṅgas, Bhadraka, etc., who had turned to the religion of the Bhāgavatas and favoured Viṣṇuite propaganda in the region of Vidiśā, in Avanti. As representative of the western Greek kingdom founded by Eucratides and Heliocles, Antialcidas, profiting from that antagonism, attempted to inflict a fatal blow on his rivals, the Euthydemids of the eastern kingdom. Once he had been informed of the sympathy nurtured by the Indian king Bhāgabhadra for Viṣṇuism, he sent him as ambassador a Greek from Taxila named Dio, who was also an adherent of the Bhāgavata religion. When he reached Vidiśā, the ambassador erected a pillar surmounted by a Garuḍa in honour of Viṣṇu. This converted Greek could not fail to be welcome at the Śuṅga court. Doubtless, his activity was not limited to that pious gesture : it can be supposed that he negotiated an alliance between Antialcidas and Bhāgabhadra, directed against the eastern Greek kingdom. Nevertheless, the latter survived until the arrival of the Śaka hordes.

Antialcidas left silver coins representing on the obverse the bust of the king, wearing a diadem or a helmet and carrying the *kausia*; on the reverse Zeus enthroned, a type introduced by Eucratides in Kāpiśī. The copper coins are of the "Bust of the King : Taxilan Elephant" type or, more often, "Bust of Zeus : *Pilei* of the Dioscuri" a type first struck by Eucratides in Taxila. The legend is bilingual : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟ-ΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Aṃtialikitasa*.

5. *Archebius* (ca 100-90 B.C.). — The "*Pilei* of the Dioscuri" which appear in turn on the reverse of the coins of Eucratides, of Lysias and Antialcidas together, and finally of Antialcidas alone, are again found on the coins of the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ, *Mahārasajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*. From this we can conclude that Archebius immediately succeeded Antialcidas as king of Taxiła. After his time, the western Punjab fell into the hands of the Śakas of Maues, and it was the turn of a Scythian satrap, Liaka Kusūlaka, to strike coins of the "*Pilei* of the Dioscuri" type copied, it is true, not from Archebius directly, but from his distant predecessor Eucratides.

424 II. BUDDHISM UNDER THE ŚUṄGAS

During the period with which we are concerned, Buddhism was far from encountering the royal favours which it had enjoyed under the Maurya emperors, in particular from its official benefactor Aśoka. It lost as much as it gained. Its most important losses were the persecution by Puṣyamitra and the dangers incurred by the religion from the monetheism of the Bhāgavatas; to its advantage, however, were the development of Buddhist centres throughout the sub-continent, the formation of the Central Indian school of sculpture, the "orthodoxy" of popular piety, finally and above all, the efflorescence of schools and sects. This last point is of such great importance that a special chapter will be devoted to it. The other points will de dealt with here in brief.

1. THE PERSECUTION BY PUṢYAMITRA

As we saw earlier, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.), was of brāhmin origin. Commander-in-chief of the last Maurya, Bṛhadratha, he assassinated his master and seized the power. He had to subdue Yajñasena, the king of Vidarbha, who had remained faithful to the former ruling family; and a double Greek invasion almost caused him to lose the throne. Freed from external danger by the dissensions among his enemies, he considered his successes sufficient to warrant two celebrations of the horse sacrifice. Once peace had returned, he re-established the old Vedic ritual, and governed with the support of the brāhmins.

It is certain that he showed no favour to the Buddhists, but it is not certain that he persecuted them[18]. Nevertheless, according to a persist-

[18] This question is briefly examined by N.N. Ghosh, *Did Puṣyamitra Śuṅga persecute the Buddhist?*, B.C. Law Volume, I, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 210-17.*

ent Buddhist tradition which was shared by all schools, Puṣyamitra is held to be enemy number one of the sons of the Śākya and the most cruel persecutor of the religion. The following is a chronological list of the documents which the Buddhists placed in his file :

1. The *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 125, p. 655*b-c*), a work by Kaśmīrian Arhats of the second century A.D., represents the views of the Sarvāsti-
425 vādin-Vaibhāṣika school. It claims that after the bloody persecution, Puṣyamitra met his death at the hands of a deity under the Bodhi tree :

"Formerly, there was a brāhmin-king *Pu sha yu* (Puṣyamitra) who detested the Law of the Buddha : he set fire to Sūtras, destroyed Stūpas, razed Saṃghārāmas and massacred Bhikṣus. In the frontier-country (*pratyantajanapada*) of the kingdom of *Chia shê mi lo* (Kaśmīra), he destroyed 500 Saṃghārāmas and, in other places, even more. The wicked Māra cunningly sent him Kumbhaṇḍas, Yakṣas and Asuras to support his power in secret, so much so that nowhere was anyone able to resist him. Gradually destroying the Law of the Buddha, he reached the Bodhi tree. The deity of that tree, named *Ti yü* (Satyavāk) thought : 'Here is this foolish and cruel king who wishes to destroy the place where the Bhagavat Buddhas, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, vanquished Māra the wicked and won marvellous Enlightenment'. Immediately, this divinity manifested, by transformation, a female body of great beauty and prostrated herself before the king. On seeing this, the king was seized with desire, but as soon as the good Law-protecting deity had obtained his favours, she killed him and slew his army, as well as the troop of Asuras; none escaped her blows".

Hence, according to this narration, the brāhmin Holophernes met his death from the blows of a Buddhist Judith at the foot of the Bodhi tree in Bodh-Gayā.

2. The *Legend of Aśoka* (*Divya*, pp. 433-4; T 2042, ch. 3, p. 111*a* 28-*b* 26; T 2043, ch. 5, p. 149*a* 15-*b* 17; T 99, ch. 25, pp. 181*b* 19-182*c* 2) presents a different and more elaborate version of the same event, but here again it is a work of Sarvāstivādin origin.

"Puṣyamitra, deliberating with his ministers, said to them : 'How can I spread my name in the world?' Then there was a counsellor who replied : 'In the past your predecessor, King Aśoka, erected 84,000 Stūpas in Jambudvīpa and gave away one hundred *koṭi* of gold. As long as the Law of the Buddha is followed and it remains in the world, his name will continue to endure. You can, O king, follow his example and erect 84,000 Stūpas, then your name will remain in this world for a long time'. Puṣyamitra answered : 'In the past my predecessor was powerful enough to achieve things. But as for myself, how could I carry out such work? Is there yet another means of equalling Aśoka?'.

There was a counsellor with perverse views who said : 'Whether one does right
426 or wrong, in both cases one equally wins renown. Because the earlier king had been able to erect 84,000 Stūpas, his glory will last for a long time. If you

destroy them, your name will also be transmitted to future generations'. Puṣyamitra assembled the four army units and advanced as far as the Kukkuṭārāma monastery [in Pāṭaliputra] with the intention of breaking open the doors of that monastery. At that moment, the roaring of a lion was heard at the door of the monastery, and this frightened the king greatly. He did not dare enter the monastery and went away. Three times he thus returned without being able to enter. Finally, [redacted] summoned the bhikṣus and said to them : 'I wish to destroy the Law of the Buddha. Do you prefer, O bhikṣus, to preserve the stūpa or the dwelling of the Saṃgha?'. The bhikṣus answered : 'We wish to preserve the stūpa'. There upon Puṣyamitra slew the monks and destroyed the dwelling of the Saṃgha. Applying these measures progressively as far as the kingdom of Śākala [in the eastern Punjab] he published the following edict : 'Whoever brings me the head of a Śramaṇa will be rewarded with a gold piece'.

In that country, in a great stūpa [var. in the monastery of the 'King of the Dharma'], lived an Arhat. By his supernormal powers, he produced several myriad heads of Śramaṇas and he told the inhabitants to have them borne to the king. The king heard about that and wanted to slay that Arhat. However, the latter entered the attainment of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*), and it was impossible to kill him.

Then the king set out and went to the kingdom of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka [in Uḍḍiyāna] with the intention of destroying the Law of the Buddha. Within the territory of that kingdom there was a Yakṣa [Daṃṣṭrānivāsin] who protected the Doctrine of the Buddha. He made this remark : I have received and I maintain the precepts of the Buddha; I cannot harm anyone at all. How can I protect and uphold the Law of the Buddha? Formerly, the Yakṣa Kṛmiśa asked me for my daughter, I refused his request because he misbehaved. Now I must give him my daughter for the sake of the Law of the Buddha'. There was, however, an extremely sturdy Yakṣa who ceaselessly protected King Puṣyamitra and, because of his power, no one could harm the king. However, the Yakṣa Daṃṣṭrānivāsin [var. the guardian spirits of Bodhi] lured the Yakṣa who protected Puṣyamitra to the Southern Ocean. Then the Yakṣa Kṛmiśa seized an enormous mountain and crushed King Puṣyamitra as well as his army. That is why that mountain is called Sunihita. King Puṣyamitra was put to death and the great dynasty of the Mauryas was extinguished'[19].

According to that version, Puṣyamitra, presented as the last of the Mauryas, destroyed the Kukkuṭārāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra (iden-
427 tified with the Aśokārāma) and massacred all its monks. Continuing his extortions, he arrived in Śākala in the Eastern Punjab. There an Arhat who is not named but who, judging from other sources, we presume to be Kuṇḍopadhānīya, succeeded in exhausting the king's treasury. Since the latter had put a price on the heads of the bhikṣus, the Arhat magically produced several myriad heads of Śramaṇas and, as the king had committed himself to buy them, his reserves of gold were rapidly

[19] Translation based on PRZYLUSKI, *Légende d'Aśoka*, pp. 301-3, with a few minor modifications.

used up. Puṣyamitra then went to the kingdom of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka in Uḍḍiyāna. There a Buddhist Yakṣa, the official protector of the Dharmarājika stūpa containing one of the Buddha's teeth, and who for this reason was named Daṃṣṭrānivāsin, undertook to end the persecution. However, since his lay vows prevented him from fighting Puṣyamitra himself, he gave his daughter in marriage to Kṛmiśa, a foreign Yakṣa who was not bound by the same scruples. Kṛmiśa lured Puṣyamitra and his army to the Southern Ocean and crushed them under a mountain. P.C. Bagchi has identified the two victorious Yakṣas with Indo-Greek kings of the second century : according to him the Buddhist Daṃṣṭrānivāsin was none other than Menander, and his ally Kṛmiśa, the Euthydemid Demetrius[20]. However, this identification produces difficulties of a chronological nature if, as we believe, Demetrius disappeared from the political scene in 167 B.C., well before the death of Puṣyamitra fixed according to the calculation adopted here in 151 B.C.

3. The *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* (T 1465, p. 800*a-b*) is a work of Mahāsāṃghika origin translated into Chinese between the years 317 and 420 A.D. It contains, in a more developed and even more marvellous form, an account of the persecution and death of Puṣyamitra, of which this is a translation :

"After Upagupta, there was the Mauryan king Aśoka; he disseminated the Sūtra and Vinaya in the world. His grandson named *Fu sha mi to lo* (Puṣyamitra) succeeded him to the throne. One day, he asked his ministers 'What can I do to make my name live on?'. A minister said to him : 'There are only two means : to build 84,000 stūpas as did the former king [Aśoka], renounce the assets of the kingdom and present them to the Three Jewels : such is the first means. The second is to do everything to the contrary : destroy the stūpas, abolish the Law, persecute and exterminate the fourfold Saṃgha : such is the second means. Thus, good or bad, your name will live on'. The king said : 'I have neither the power nor the virtues of the former king; I will therefore adopt the second line of conduct to make a name for myself'.

428 At the head of four army units, the king attacked the monastery of *Chi chüeh* (Kukkuṭārāma) in [Pāṭaliputra]. The monastery had two stone lions which roared and made the earth quake. Greatly afraid, the king beat a retreat and returned to the town. The inhabitants watched him shouting and weeping, and blocked the way. The king's anger increased and, not daring to return, he forced his officers to slaughter the inhabitants without warning. Then by means of a decree, he summoned the seven assemblies; bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, śrāmaṇeras and śrāmaṇerīs, śikṣamāṇas, śramaṇas and śramaṇīs assembled. The king asked them : 'Which do you prefer me to destroy, the stūpa or the saṃghārāma?'. They all answered : 'We would like nothing to be destroyed, but if that is impossible, destroy the saṃghārāma'. The infuriated king cried : 'Why should I

[20] *Krimiśa and Demetrius*, IHQ, XXII, 1946, pp. 81-91.

not do it?'. So, he put them all to death, great and small indiscriminately. Blood flowed in streams. The king destroyed more than eight hundred saṃghārāmas and stūpas.

Lay people prompted by perfect faith raised their voices, uttered loud cries, lamented and became angry. The king seized and imprisoned them and had them whipped. Five hundred Arhats went up to *Nan shan* (Dakṣiṇāgiri)[21] where they took refuge, and since the mountains and valleys [in that place] were deserted and steep, the army could not reach them. That is why the king, fearing that they would not be annihilated, proposed rewards and appealed to all the kingdoms, saying : 'If I obtain a head [of a religious], I will give three thousand pieces of gold as a reward'. The Arhat *Chun t'u po t'an* (Kuṇḍopadhānīya)[22] and the people who, through the Buddha's mission, were responsible for the dissemination [of the Law], produced through transformation innumerable men who brought innumerable heads of bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs and all of them received the [promised] gold, [so that] the king's coffers were completely empty. The king's anger increased. Kuṇḍopadhānīya manifested his body and entered the attainment of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*). The king became even more terrible,
429 for the Arhat, protected by the power of the attainment, was invulnerable. The king set fire to 'Sūtra Towers' (*sūtrakūṭāgāra*), but as the fire began to burn and swirling flames were about to reach the sūtras, the bodhisattva Maitreya, by means of his supernormal power (*ṛddhyabhijñā*), secured my (sic) Sūtra and Vinaya and ascended to the Tuṣita heaven again.

Puṣyamitra then went to the *Ya ch'ih t'a* 'Stūpa of the Tooth' (Daṃṣṭrāstūpa?). The Yakṣa of that stūpa said : 'There is a Yakṣa *Ch'ung hsing* (Kṛmiśa); formerly he had asked for the hand of my daughter, but I had refused him disdainfully. Today, when I have sworn to protect the Law, I will give him my daughter so that he will become my friend'. The Yakṣa Kṛmiśa rejoiced and, grasping a huge mountain in his hand, crushed the king and his four army units with it, and they all died in an instant. Then the family of the king and his posterity were completely extinguished.

After that, there was a king whose nature was excellent. The bodhisattva Maitreya created through transformation three hundred young men (*kumāra*) who descended among mankind in order to seek Bodhi. They consulted the five hundred Arhats [of the Dakṣiṇāgiri?] and received instruction in the Law. In that land, boys and girls together left the world (*pravrajita*), and so the bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs regained their prosperity. The Arhats ascended to the [Tuṣita]

[21] Dakṣiṇāgiri may possibly designate the mountainous region situated south of Rājagṛha where the Buddhist texts record the village of Ekaṇālā and the monastery of the Dakkhiṇagirivihāra, or again the district in Avanti with the two towns of Ujjayinī and Vidiśā.

[22] This is the Kuṇḍadhāna of the Pāli sources (Majjhima, I, p. 462; Aṅguttara, I, p. 24; Theragāthā, v. 15; Apadāna, I, pp. 81-2); he is the foremost of 'those who receive food-tickets'. Wherever he went, he was accompanied by the form of a woman visible to all eyes except his own (Aṅguttara Comm., I, pp. 260-6; Dhammapada Comm., III, pp. 52-8). He was part of the group of the four Great Listeners (Ekottara, T 125, ch. 44, p. 789*a*) and the sixteen Arhats (cf. S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi*, JA, 1916, p. 58 of the offprint). The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya calls him Pūrṇa Kuṇḍopadhānīya (Divya, p. 45; T 1448, ch. 3, p. 14*a* 11).

heaven and recovered the Sūtras and Vinayas which they brought back among mankind"[23].

This version agrees with the preceding one in giving the Arhat Kuṇḍopadhānīya and the two yakṣas Daṃṣṭrā[nivāsin] and Kṛmiśa as Puṣyamitra's adversaries, but it locates the persecution and military operations which ensued in Magadhan territory around the Kukkuṭārāma of Pāṭaliputra and in the mountains of Dakṣiṇāgiri, to the south of Rājagṛha. We are indeed concerned with a "Stūpa of the Tooth", but this is not to be found in the kingdom of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka in the Swāt valley. No mention is made of the "Southern Ocean" where Puṣyamitra supposedly met his death. Finally, in the quelling of the persecution, the Bodhisattva Maitreya intervenes here for the first time.

The story does not supply us with any information about the king "whose nature was excellent" and who came "after" Puṣyamitra. It might perhaps be the Indo-Greek king Menander whose Buddhist sympathies are well-known; but more probably, one of the Kuṣāṇa sovereigns who, after the fall of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, supplanted the
430 Śakas in North West India, and also showed themselves to be favourable to Buddhism.

4. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 530-8), of uncertain date, also gives an account of Puṣyamitra's misdeeds and ignominious end, but refers to the sovereign *Gomimukhya* "Great proprietor of cattle", *Gomiṣaṇḍa* "Gomin, the ox", in allusion to the Vedic sacrifices which were revived under the Śuṅgas.

"In that inferior age, there will be a king, Gomimukhya, destroyer of my religion (*śāsanāntadhāpako mama*). Having seized the east (*prācīṃ diśam*) and the gates of Kaśmīr (*Kaśmīre dvāram*), that madman of evil intent will destroy vihāras and venerable relics (*dhātuvara*) and will cause the death of monks of good conduct. Having turned northwards (*uttarāṃ diśam*), he will meet his death : Under the blows of an angry Amanusya, he, his officers and his animal family will be struck by the edge of a mountain, and the wicked one will go to hell... After him will come a protector of the earth known as an adherent of the Buddha (*buddhapakṣa*) : Mahāyakṣa the very generous one who will delight in the doctrine of the Buddhas".

5. An echo of the persecution is again found in the seventeenth century in the *History of Buddhism* by Tāranātha (p. 81) :

"The former chaplain of King Nemacandra, Puṣyamitra, king of the brāh-

[23] Based on a partially translated passage in P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, p. 45.

mins, in agreement with other heretics made war from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhara [Kaśmīr], burned numerous vihāras and killed several monks, although most of them succeeded in finding refuge in other lands. Puṣyamitra died five years later in the north".

The only point over which the sources concur is the destruction of the Kukkuṭārāma of Pāṭaliputra "in the east". If there was an encounter between Puṣyamitra and the yakṣas Daṃṣṭrānivāsin and Kṛmiśa, it is not known exactly where it took place : at Sthūlakoṣṭhaka in the Swāt valley, at the Dakṣiṇāvihāra on the heights above Rājagṛha or in Avanti, at the gates of Kaśmīr or in Jālandhara. As for the death of Puṣyamitra, it is in turn located under the Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gayā, on the shores of the Southern Ocean or somewhere "in the north". To judge from the documents, Puṣyamitra must be acquitted through lack of proof. Nevertheless, as was remarked by H. Kern, in view of the varied opinions, it is possible that, in some localities, there may have been pillages of monasteries, perhaps with the tacit permission of the governors.

The reality of the facts matters little. Whether or not they were
431 menaced, the Buddhists at the end of the ancient era, deprived as they were of the royal favours which the Mauryas had bestowed on them and frightened by the clash of Yavana and Śaka arms on the very soil of India, believed themselves to be persecuted and behaved accordingly. Further on, we will see the repercussion this state of mind had on the sons of the Śākya.

2. — THE VIṢṆUITE DANGER

Far more than the so-called persecution by Puṣyamitra, the successes of the Viṣṇuite propaganda[24] during the last two centuries of the ancient

[24] Viṣṇuism occupies an important place in the general works on the religions of India : A. BARTH, *Les Religions de l'Inde*, 5th ed., Paris, 1914; P. OLTRAMARE, *Histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, I, Paris, 1906; L.D. BARNETT, *Hinduism*, London, 1906; *The Heart of India*, London, 1908; E.W. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, Strasbourg, 1915; J.N. FARQUHAR, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920; H. v. GLASENAPP, *Der Hinduismus*, Munich, 1922; J. GONDA, *Inleiding tot het Indische Denken*, Antwerp-Nijmegen, 1948; L. RENOU, *L'Hindouisme*, Paris, 1951; *Religions of Ancient India*, London, 1953; *Inde Classique*, I, p. 640 sq.

More specialized studies, R.G. BHANDARKAR, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Strasbourg, 1913; R. CHANDA, *Archaeology and Vaishṇava Tradition*, Calcutta, 1920; H.C. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1926; K. RÖNNOW, *Śvetadvīpa*, BSOS, V, 1929, p. 253 sq.; K.N. GOSWAMI, *Vaiṣṇavism*, IHQ, XXX, 1954, pp. 354-73; XXXI, 1955, pp. 109-33; SŪRYA

era led the Buddhists into danger, and this was all the more serious in that it was a long time before its threat was assessed.

The rival movement seems to have arisen around Mathurā, in Śūrasena country, among the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi population which deified its heroes or wise men, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and ended up by identifying them with the ancient Vedic deity Viṣṇu. Several ruling families included Bhāgavatas "Worshippers of the Lord" in their ranks, and it was not without reason that the ninth Śuṅga took the name of Bhāgavata (or Bhāga), and that the first and third Kāṇvas were respectively called Vasudeva and Nārāyaṇa. In the neighbouring kingdoms, coinage reveals the existence of a Haridatta among the Almoras, of a
432 Bhagavatamahādeva "Mahādeva, the worshipper of the Lord" among the Audumbaras, of a Viṣṇudeva in Kanauj[25].

The success of the Viṣṇuite movement in central India, in approximately the second century B.C., is attested by a sheaf of concordant evidence. Already under the first Mauryas, the ambassador Megasthenes remarks that "while Dionysus (Śiva) is worshipped in the mountain, Heracles (Kṛṣṇa) is worshipped on the plain, especially by the Surasenoi (Śūrasena), an Indian people who possess two towns, Methora (Mathurā) and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura)" (Arrian, *Ind.*, VIII, 4). It is a fact that the region of Mathurā has yielded ancient Viṣṇuite images : the Balarāma (or Saṃkarṣaṇa) in Lucknow Museum bearing a club in his right hand and a plough in his left; the Heracles in the Calcutta Museum representing Hercules overwhelming the lion of Nemea (*Mathurā*, pl. 47*b*). On a Gandhāran intaglio there is a representation of a four-armed Viṣṇu receiving the homage of an Indo-Scythian king.

In about 150 B.C., the grammarian Patañjali makes several references to the Viṣṇuite religion in his *Mahābhāṣya* : he speaks of Kṛṣṇa and his companion Saṃkarṣaṇa (II, 2, 24); he mentions a "Janārdana, fourth", an allusion to the group formed by Kṛṣṇa and his peers, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha (VI, 3, 5); he records two musical performances in the temples of Rāma (Balarāma or Saṃkarṣaṇa) and Keśava or Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (II, 2, 34); finally, he notes the existence, in his own time, of mimes and plays representing the murder of Kaṃsa by Vāsudeva (III, 1.26).

The inscriptions bear witness to the expansion of the Viṣṇuite cult, not

KĀNTA, *The Essence of Vaiṣṇavism*, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 359-67; R.C. AGRAWALA, *Vaiṣṇavite Gleanings from the Medieval Inscriptions of Mārwār*, JBRS, XI, 1954, pp. 219-22.

[25] Cf. J. ALLAN, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, pp. 120, 123, 147.

only in Vidiśā and Mathurā, cradle of the religion, but also on the east coast and in the Deccan.

In the year 14 of the fifth Śuṅga, King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra (the Bhadraka of the *Purāṇa*), the Greek Heliodorus, son of Dio lived in Taxila and was named ambassador to the Śuṅga court by the great king Antalikita (Antialcidas, ca 125-100 B.C.). As a devout Bhāgavata, he erected in Vidiśā (Besnagar) a pillar with a Garuḍa in honour of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), god of gods, and recalled on that occasion the "three immortal principles (*triṇi amutapadāni*) which lead to salvation : moderation (*dama*), generosity (*tyāga*) and diligence (*apramāda*)" (LÜDERS, 669).

433 In the year 12 of the ninth Śuṅga, Bhāga or Bhāgavata, a certain Bhāgavata, son of Gotamī, erected a second pillar with a Garuḍa, still in Vidiśā, near the great Temple of the Lord (Vāsudeva) (*Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.* 1913-14, p. 190 sq.).

A little later, in Ghasundī (district of Chitorgarh in Rājpūtana), a certain Gājāyana, son of Pārāśarī, built a *pūjāśilāprākāra*, a votive wall for the sacred stone of the Nārāyaṇavāṭaka, in honour of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva "Invincible lords and supreme sovereigns" (LÜDERS, 6).

In the reign of Śoḍāsa the great satrap of Mathurā, who is believed to have been a contemporary of Azilises (10 B.C.-5 A.D.), "the statues of the fives heroes, Lords of the Vṛṣṇi family (*bhagavatāṃ Vṛṣṇīnāṃ paṃcavīrāṇāṃ pratimāḥ*) were installed in a stone temple (*śailadevagṛha*) in Morā (in the neighbourhood of Mathurā) (EI, XXIV, p. 194). These are clearly the Viṣṇuite heroes Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa and Vidūratha. — At the same time and place, a certain Vasu erected a gateway (*toraṇa*) and a balustrade (*vedikā*) in the great temple of the Bhagavat Vāsudeva, in the hope that the Bhagavat Vāsudeva, propitiated by that offering, would show his favour to the great satrap Śoḍāsa (EI, XXIV, p. 208).

At Nānāghāṭ, in Northern Mahārāṣtra, Queen Nāyanikā, the wife of the Lord of the Deccan Śātakarṇi (ca 27-17 B.C.), invoked the gods Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, as well as the old Vedic deities such as Indra and Varuṇa (LÜDERS, 1112). Her example was to be followed by several of her descendants.

Laconic though these indications are, they show that the grammarian Patañjali and the pious donors were familiar with the moral doctrines of Viṣṇuism and that, for example, the three immortal principles recalled by Heliodorus are in line with the moral homilies of the *Mahābhārata* (V, 43, 22; XI, 7, 23), particularly the *Bhagavadgītā* (XVI, 1-3). The Bhāgavatas of the second century B.C. seem to be fully aware of the

doctrine of the *vyūha* or manifestations of Viṣṇu, as it is formulated in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 39, 73) : "From the upper form of Viṣṇu, called Vāsudeva, would emerge the Saṃkarṣaṇa bound to cosmic matter by the individual soul; from the Saṃkarṣaṇa would spring the Pradyumna which corresponds to the organ of the cosmic mind (*manas*); from the Pradyumna would come the Aniruddha, cosmic egotism (*ahaṃkāra*). In
434 the navel of the Aniruddha grew a lotus in which was born Brahmā to whom all moving and unmoving beings owe their existence". These *vyūha* moreover, are the transposition into the cosmic level of genealogical relationships, real or imaginary, in the history of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi clans : Vāsudeva is Kṛṣṇa himself, Saṃkarṣaṇa is his eldest brother Balarāma, Pradyumna is his son and Aniruddha, his grandson.

First for their kin, then for their sectaries, these heroes, deified and identified with Viṣṇu, are the object of exclusive attachment which was soon to turn to total devotion (*bhakti*). The bhāgavata adherent turns from the external world in order to commune with himself and find the divine presence within himself. This sublime attainment is most often conceived as an equation between the soul and God enabling one to see oneself in all beings and to see all beings within oneself. Personal effort, or *yoga*, is indispensable for finding that union, but does not constitute the only means of salvation. God, in this case Viṣṇu, aids the devotee with his grace (*prasāda*); he works continually for the welfare of the world and, in the event of imminent danger, he becomes partially or wholly incarnate in the form of an animal, a man, a hero or a god in order to go to the help of threatened beings. These divine descents, called *avatāra*, are indeterminate in number. Ten main ones are known to us; among them is Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava tribe, a native of Mathurā.

As far as we are concerned, this is the first time that Buddhism was confronted with a living theist doctrine positing in precise terms the problems of God, the soul and their interrelationship. It is not that India had never posited them before, since in the ancient *Upaniṣad*, all possible and imaginable solutions to philosophical and religious questions are set out in a more or less meaningful form. However, early Buddhism arose in an environment which was alien to those speculations or, if it was aware of some of them, it relegated them immediately to those indeterminate points (*avyākṛtavastu*) about which it is useless, even dangerous, to express an opinion. Throughout the Buddhist canon, there is only a single passage (*Aṅguttara*, I, p. 174) in which the problem of the Lord God is considered, and it is resolved merely in the negative : "Those who attribute everything to the creation of the Lord (*issaranimmāna*) have no

further desire for action, make no further effort to do this or avoid that". As for the Buddhist attitude regarding the soul, it is — to say the
435 very least — resolutely anti-spiritualist, since all the phenomena of existence are said to be transitory, painful and devoid of substance (*anātman*).

When Viṣṇuite propaganda put theism and spirituality back in the forefront of actuality, the Buddhists were compelled to reconsider the problem. They began by getting information about the theories of their adversaries, without trying to minimize their importance. To the old list of heretical sects drawn up in the *Aṅguttara* (III, p. 276), the canonical commentaries (*Mahāniddesa*, I, p. 89) were henceforth to add the sectaries of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. The great Buddhist scholars were fully informed about the implications, whether Viṣṇuite or Śivaite, of Hindu theism and Brāhmanical speculations concerning the Trimūrti : Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Here, we will merely give as an example three passages from the *Upadeśa* of Nāgārjuna :

"Maheśvara, the Great Lord, has eight arms (*aṣṭabhuja*), three eyes (*trinetra*) and his mount is the white bull [Nandin]. Viṣṇu, 'Universal Hearing', has four arms; he holds a conch (*śaṅkha*) and a disk (*cakra*), he is mounted on the golden-winged bird [Garuḍa]. The god Kumāra holds a cock (*kukkuṭa*), a hand-bell (*ghaṇṭā*), a red standard (*lohitapatākā*) and his mount is a peacock (*śikhagata*)" (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 73*a*). — "After the Kalpa's fire, everything is empty; then, through the causal power of beings' merits, winds arrive from the ten regions and, colliding and touching, can uphold the great waters. On the waters, there is a man with a thousand heads, two thousand arms and two thousand feet, named Viṣṇu. From his navel issues a precious lotus with a thousand leaves and golden in colour, the brilliance and rays of which are like the combined light of ten thousand suns. On that lotus, there is a man seated, his legs folded, who in turn possesses infinite light. He is named Brahmā, the king of the gods. That Brahmā mentally gives birth to eight sons, and those eight sons engender the sky, earth and men. Brahmā has completely eliminated all desire and all hatred" (*Ibid.*, ch. 8, p. 116*a*). — "There are gods who claim supremacy and who, in their arrogance, assert that they are the creators of the beings and things of heaven and earth. Thus Brahmā, the king of the gods, said to the other Brahmās : 'It is I who created you'. The god Viṣṇu said: 'All the rich, noble and glorious men in the universe are portions of my person. It is I who created the universe and it is I who destroy it (cf. *Gītā*, VII, 6). The creation and destruction of the universe is my work'. By speaking thus, those gods destroy the doctrine of the dependent origination of all phenomena" (*Ibid.* ch. 10, p. 128*a*).

436 Many similar passages could be quoted in other Buddhist works such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T 374, ch. 19, p. 476*b*), the *Madhyamakaśāstra* by Nāgārjuna (T 1564, ch. 1, p. 1*b*), the *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva (T 1569, ch. 1, p. 168*a*) as well as his *Treatise on the Nirvāṇa of the*

Heretics (T 1640, p. 157*c*), the *Commentary on the Śataśāstra* by the Parthian Chi tsang (T 1827, ch. 1, p. 244*a*), etc.

It now remains for us to discover to what degree the Buddhists allowed themselves to be influenced by the rival propaganda. Distinctions need to be made. The great scholars of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayana, versed as they were in the study of canonical texts, showed themselves to be resolutely unwilling to accept spirituality or creationist theism, whether it was of Viṣṇuite or Śivaite origin. Not content with repeating afresh the refutation of the Ātman — see, for example, chapter IX of the *Kośa* — they did not hesitate to attack the great gods of Hinduism and the philosophical concepts which supported them.

The verses cited by Nāgārjuna in his *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 73*a*) say in substance that the wise man, whatever his particular devotion for the unpretentious minor gods may be, does not believe in God and does not rely on God. The great gods of Hinduism, those of painting, sculpture, tradition and hymns, always appeared armed, and that warlike attitude can only be explained by fear and wickedness. In fact, they can do nothing for men : those who revere them do not avoid suffering or death; those who scorn them may well enjoy good fortune on earth. The truth is that in this world the destiny of mankind has no other explanation than action which automatically finds maturation, and gods play no part in that.

The argument developed by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* (II, pp. 311-13; V, p. 19) is more philosophical. It can be summarized as follows : To say that things occur through a single cause, or through God, Mahādeva or Vāsudeva, is not acceptable for several reasons : 1. If things occurred through a single and immutable cause, they would all occur at the same time, whereas everyone knows that they occur successively. If the order of their occurrence in time depended on causes outside God, God would no longer be the single cause. — 2. God creates for his own satisfaction or for the satisfaction of creatures. If the
437 creates for his own satisfaction, that is because there is something to be gained, and he is not god. If he creates for the satisfaction of others, how is it possible to explain that the latter remain subject to all kinds of suffering? — 3. To assert the creative activity of God is gratuitously to posit an invisible and uncontrollable cause, while neglecting the visible causes the efficacy of which can be ascertained at any time.

The clarity of this position adopted on the philosophical level in no way prevented good neighbourliness between the Buddhists and the Vaiṣṇavas. Both religions have many points in common : each gives the same importance to *ahiṃsā*, and the doctrine of the Viṣṇuite *avatāra* has

its counterpart in the Buddhist concept with regard to the Buddhas of the past which is attested in the canonical texts (cf. *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, Dīgha, II, pp. 2-8) and depicted on the ancient sculptures of Bhārhut and Sāñcī[26]. Although they were still very close to the original Buddhism, certain Hīnayānist sects, particularly that of the Mahāsāṃghikas whose presence in Mathurā is confirmed by the Lion Capital (Konow, p. 48), were to some extent influenced by Viṣṇuite doctrines : the Lokottaravāda which proclaims the transcendence of the Buddha was possibly provoked and at any rate favoured by the devotional atmosphere with which the Bhāgavatas, in Śaurasena country or Avanti, surrounded their chosen deities.

However, it is particularly the Mahāyānists who were influenced by Hindu theism; in the *Lotus of the Good Law*, the Buddha, who impartially displays identical concern for all creatures, is the brother of the Nārāyana who declares in the *Gītā* (IX, 19) : "I make no difference between all creatures; none do I hate, none do I love", and it is symptomatic that the *Lotus* so often qualifies the manifestations of the deeds of the Buddhas as *vyūha* (pp. 117, 146, 209, 219, etc.). A curious Buddhist text which has yet to be edited, the *Śuklavidarśanā*, does not hesitate to explain certain theories by worldly quotations and to resort to the authority of the *Gītā*. Finally, the great Buddhist scholars such as Āryadeva (T 1640, p. 157*c*), Chi tsang (T 1827, ch. 1, p. 244*a*), P'u kuang (T 1821, ch. 7, p. 140*a*) were the first to note the strange resemblance which connects the Mahāyānist theory of the Three Bodies
438 of the Buddha with the Viṣṇuite and Śivaite elucubrations on the three bodies of Īśvara.

However, it took centuries for this assimilative phenomenon to put the two religions on practically the same level. Under the Śuṅgas, the Buddhists were able to maintain the message of Śākyamuni in its original integrity better than under the Guptas.

3. — THE GREAT VIHĀRAS OF THE ŚUṄGA PERIOD

Neither the persecution by Puṣyamitra nor the success of the Viṣṇuite propaganda prevented the sons of the Śākya from ensuring themselves powerful positions in the Indian sub-continent which were as many centres of influence. To the old vihāras founded in ancient times, as well as the more recent ones built under the Mauryas, were added new ones which rivalled the old. Unfortunately, the Sinhalese chronicle is the sole

[26] CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, pl. XXIX, XXX; J. MARSHALL, etc., *Monuments of Sāñchī*, pl. XV, XXI, XXXIX, XLV, LIV.

source of information on this prosperity, and the exaggerations it bestows on the subject are hardly of a nature to inspire confidence.

We saw above how the Sinhalese king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi celebrated his victory over the Coḷa Eḷāra by erecting, among other monuments, the Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura. The laying of the foundation stone took place in the year 382 after the Nirvāṇa (104 B.C.), at a time when the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas, in Taxila, entered into diplomatic relations with the Śuṅga Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra. On that occasion, fourteen monasteries in Jambudvīpa were represented at the ceremonies by large delegations. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (XIX, 5-7) merely notes the names of the leaders, while the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXIX, 29-43) indicates the monasteries where they came from as well as the number of Indian monks who participated in those delegations.

Leaders of the delegates	Monastery of origin	Size of the Delegation
1. Indagutta	Rājagaha	80,000
2. Dhammasena	Isipatana	12,000
3. Piyadassi	Jetārāmavihāra	60,000
4. Urubuddharakkhita	Mahāvana of Vesālī	18,000
5. Urudhammarakkhita	Ghositārāma of Kosambī	30,000
439 6. Urusaṃgharakkhita	Dakkhiṇāgiri of Ujjenī	40,000
7. Mittiṇṇa (Mittanna)	Asokārāma of Pupphapura	160,000
8. Uttiṇṇa (Anattana)	Kasmīra	280,000
9. Mahādeva	Pallavabhoga	460,000
10. Yonamahādhammarakkhita	Alasande Yona-nagara	30,000
11. Uttara	Vattaniya senāsena in Viñjhāṭavī	60,000
12. Cittagutta	Bodhimaṇḍavihāra	30,000
13. Candagutta	Vanavāsa	80,000
14. Suriyagutta	Kelāsavihāra	96,000
		1,436,000

The leaders of the delegates are not purely fictional. Indagutta and Piyadassi are assured of a place in the Buddhist legend (*Mahāvaṃsa Comm.*, pp. 531, 550). The others took as religious names those which had already been borne by famous predecessors : Mahādeva continued in Pallavabhoga the part played formerly by his homonym in Mahisa-

maṇḍala. The three Rakkhitas (Buddha-, Dharma- and Saṃgharakkhita) carried on the glorious lineage of the Rakkhitas who distinguished themselves in Vanavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahāraṭṭha and Yonakaloka. Even before Aśoka, a series of religious whose names ended in Gutta represented in the Kukkuṭārāma of Pāṭaliputra an ancient tradition the origins of which date back to Mahā Kassapa; a list of them is provided by the *Saṃyutta Commentary* (III, p. 143) : Candagutta, Suriyagutta, Assagutta, Yonakadhammarakkhita, and Tissa, the younger brother of Aśoka.

Of greater interest is the list of the fourteen monasteries which were represented at the inauguration of the Mahāthūpa. At least five of them were founded in early times : 1. *Rājagaha*, the ancient capital of Magadha; 2. the *Isipatana* on the outskirts of Vārānaṣī, where the Buddha had expounded his first discourse; 3. the *Jetārāmavihāra* founded in Śrāvastī by the banker Aṇāthapiṇḍika; 4. the *Mahāvana of Vaiśālī*, better known by the name of Kūṭāgāraśālā; 5. the *Ghositārāma* in Kauśāmbī founded by the banker Ghosita.

Other more recent monasteries, which dated from the time of Aśoka and owed their creation either to the emperor himself, or to Buddhist
440 missionaries from the Mauryan period : 1. the *Dakkhiṇāgiri* of Ujjenī, situated in the province of Avanti where Aśoka was viceroy and where his son Mahinda stayed for some months before his departure for Ceylon; 2. the *Asokārāma* of Pupphapura, a large monastery founded by Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra on the site of the former Kukkuṭārāma; 3. *Kasmīra*, converted by Majjhantika and his companions; 4. *Pallavabhoga*, not the "Persian Kingdom" (Pahlavabhoga) as claimed by W. Geiger, but Pallavanad, present-day Palnod, in the district of Guntur in Andhra country, perhaps the region of Mahisamaṇḍala converted by the missionary Mahādeva; 5. *Alasanda Yonanagara*, Alexandria-under-the Caucasus, founded by Alexander in the Paropamisadae and capital of Yonakaloka, where Mahārakkhita preached the Good Law; 6. *Vanavāsa*, chief town of northern Kanara where Rakkhita was noted for his preaching; 7. the *Kelāsavihāra*, doubtless built in the Himalayan region, near the mythical Lake Anavatapta, by the founders of the Haimavata sect, Majjhima, etc., whose relics lie in Sāñcī and its neighbourhood.

Two monasteries remain which are mentioned here for the first time : 1. the *Bodhimaṇḍa* can only be located in Bodh-Gayā, the small village immortalized by the wonder of the Enlightenment, but this vihāra should not be confused with the Mahābodhi monastery, also built in Bodh-Gayā but in the reign of Samudragupta (ca 335-375) at the

instigation of the Sinhalese king Sirimeghavaṇṇa (cf. *Hsi yü chi*, T 2087, ch. 8, p. 918*b*; *Wang hsüan ts'ê*, T 2122, ch. 29, p. 502*c*). — 2. The *Vattaniya senāsana* was a hermitage situated in the Viñjhāṭavī, a forest on the Vindhya. In the past, this forest extended much further east than at present and was traversed by a highway linking Pāṭaliputra and Tamralipti; it was this route that Aśoka took when he escorted the Bodhi tree to the sea (*Mhv.*, XIX, 6). In the Śuṅga period, the Vattaniya senāsana served as a residence for the Venerables Rohaṇa and Assagutta, and it was there that they conferred ordination and gave the first instruction to a young man from Kajaṅgala (Skt. Kacaṅgala in Puṇḍravardhana, present-day Mahāsthān, District of Bogra); that young man was destined to go to Sāgala in the eastern Punjab in order to convert King Menander (*Milinda*, pp. 10, 12, 14). The hermitage was the daily setting for a wonder which is recorded in the following terms by the *Atthasālinī* (p. 419) and the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 430; ed. Warren, p. 363):
441 the Venerable Assagutta, on seeing that the monks were eating their food dry, expressed the wish that, each day before the meal, the neighbouring pool would take on the taste of curds. His wish was granted and from then on the water of the pool was transformed, before the meal, into curds but resumed its natural taste immediately afterwards. We add that the Chinese versions of the *Milindapañha* do indeed mention a Vattaniya (transcribed as *Ho tan*) monastery located "in a mountain of the land" in which dwelled 500 Arhats, including *E po yüeh*, namely Aśvagupta[27].

No one would dream of taking seriously the number of delegates sent to the inauguration of the Mahāthūpa; Ceylon would not have been able to contend with an invasion of 1,436,000 religious, however frugal they might have been. However, relatively speaking, it is interesting to note that the largest delegations were sent by Pallavabhoga or Andhra country (460,000), Kaśmīra here understood as North-West India (280,000) and, finally, Magadha (160,000). The importance of these Buddhist centres during the Śuṅga period is confirmed by what we know of the expansion of the Mahāsāṃghika sects in Andhra country, of the success met with by Buddhist propaganda in the Indo-Greek kingdoms, finally, of the support given by Aśoka to the Buddhist community in Magadha.

4. — THE ANCIENT CENTRAL INDIAN SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

PRINCIPAL CENTRES. — The growth of the Community inevitably

[27] Cf. P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, p. 84.

resulted in an increase in the number of stūpas, caityas and saṃghārāmas. It was no longer a matter, as in the early days, of rudimentary and provisional buildings due to the private initiative of some king or rich banker, but of extensive monuments for providing permanent shelter to generations of the religious. In order to enlarge and embellish them, the monks and the laity turned to the best artists of the period. It was as a result of this effort that, during the Śuṅga period, the ancient school of sculpture made its appearance and was to remain active for approximately two centuries, from 150 B.C. to 50 A.D. Its principal sphere of activity was central India, as is evident from sculptures discovered in Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñcī, but it was also implanted in Andhra country, as evidenced by certain bas-reliefs from Amarāvatī[28].

442 The stūpa of Bhārhut, discovered in 1873 by A. Cunningham, is

[28] Apart from general works noted earlier, here is a list of some studies and articles concerning the ancient school of sculpture :

I. Bhārhut. — A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Some early Buddhist Reliefs identified*, JRAS, 1928, pp. 390-8; *A Yakshi Bust from Bhārhut*, BMFA, 29, pp. 81-93; L. Bachhofer, *Frühindische Historienreliefs*, OAZ, N.F., 8, 1932, pp. 18-28; B. Barua, *Bhārhut*, 3 vol., Calcutta, 1934-37; A. Foucher, *Sur l'interprétation de quatre bas-reliefs de Bhārhut*, RAA, XIII, 1939-42, pp. 1-9; H. Lüders, *Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1941. — The ancient sculpture is also mentioned in specialized studies, such as M.M. Hallade, *Études d'art indien. La composition plastique dans les reliefs de l'Inde*, Paris, 1942; C. Marcel-Dubois, *Les instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1941.

II. Bodh-Gayā. — B.M. Barua, *Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh Gayā*, IHQ, VI, 1930, p. 1-31; *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Book I, *Pre-Buddhistic History of Gayā*, Calcutta, 1931; *A Bodh-Gayā Image Inscription*, IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 417-19; *Bodh Gayā Plaque*, IC, II, 1935, pp. 592-3; *Bodh-Gayā Sculptures*, IC, July 1937, pp. 97-107; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bodh-Gayā*, Paris, 1935.

III. Sāñcī. — *Monuments of Sāñchī* by Sir John Marshall, A. Foucher, and others, 3 vol., Delhi, 1940, is a practically exhaustive work. For something briefer, Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, 3 rd ed., Delhi, 1936.

IV. Amarāvatī. — A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique*, RAA, V, 1928, pp. 244-52; *Āndhra Sculptures*, BMFA, XXVII, pp. 19-23; A. Foucher, *Les sculptures d'Amarāvatī*, RAA, V, 1928, pp. 9-24; D. Gosh, *The Development of B. Art in South India*, IHQ, IV, 1928, pp. 724-40; R. Linossier, *Une légende d'Udena à Amarāvatī*, RAA, VI, 1929-30, pp. 101-2; M.S. Dimand, *A new Indian Relief of the Amarāvatī School*, BMMA, XXV, 1930, pp. 131-4; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Amarāvatī from A.D. 100 to 700*, QJAHRS, V, 1930, pp. 91-2; *L'architecture d'Amarāvatī*, BAFAO, April, 1932, pp. 5-16; T.N. Ramachandran, *An inscribed pillar-carving from Amarāvatī*, Acta Or., X, 1931, pp. 135-53; A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Note on an ancient sculpture from Amarāvatī*, Acta Or., X, 1931, pp. 364-71; O.C. Gangoly, *Some Buddhist Sculptures in relation to some Buddhist Texts*, NIA, I, 9, 1938, pp. 544-53; F.H. Gravely-C. Sivaramamūrti, *Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1939; C. Sivaramamūrti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1942.*

situated in Northern India at Bagheikhand, one hundred kilometres south-west of Allahābād. Circular in shape, it is surrounded by a magnificent sculptured balustrade, interrupted by a gateway at each of the four cardinal points. The balustrade is hence divided into four quadrants, each comprising sixteen uprights surmounted by a handrail and linked to each other by three cross-pieces. The medallions which adorn those uprights were convered with sculptures representing scenes from Buddhist legend and history. The balustrade, as well as the eastern
443 gateway is today to be found in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. The gateway and the sculptures were made "in the reign of the Śuṅgas" by order of the rājan Dhanabhūti Vāchiputra, with a contribution from his wife Nāgarakhitā and son Vādhapāla (Lüders, 687, 832, 869). The devout family was also involved in the work carried out around the caitya of the Ratanagṛha in Mathurā (Lüders, 125).

The architrave and part of the sculpted palisade which surrounds the Rājaprāsādacaitya, built in Bodh-Gayā by Aśoka, also date back to the Śuṅga period. They were gifts presented by noble persons related to various Śuṅga feudatories, such as Kuraṃgī, sister-in-law of Iṃdāgimitra (Lüders, 939-44) and Nāgadevā, sister-in-law of King Brahmamitra (*Bodh-Gayā*, p. 58).

Later, but infinitely richer in their motifs, are the bas-reliefs decorating the monuments of Sāñcī, in particular the four gates of the Great Stūpa 1 and the single gateway of stūpa 3. These monuments were the subject of a brief description in Chapter Three. Here, we will merely recall that the four gates of stūpa 1, belonging roughly to the same period, date from around the reign of the Andhran king Śrī-Śātakarṇi (ca 27-17 B.C.) and that the gateway of stūpa 3 betrays, through its decadent style, an even later date.

Some bas-reliefs discovered at Amarāvatī near Dhānyakaṭaka in Andhra country are closely related through their workmanship and style to the sculptures of central India. They were indubitably part of the decoration of an earlier stūpa erected in the ancient era, under the last Mauryas or first Śuṅgas. This early stūpa was completely rebuilt at the beginning of the second century A.D., but the ancient bas-reliefs were re-used in the decoration of the modernized stūpa. Hence, a tile sculpted on both sides represents on one side, the wonder of the Enlightenment of the Buddha in the schematic and aniconic style of the ancient Indian school; on the other, a reproduction of the modernized stūpa in which appears, in the embrasure of the gate, the draped figure of a Graeco-Buddhist Buddha[29].

[29] Cf. A. Foucher, *Les sculptures d'Amarâvatî*, l.c., pl. VI, p. 12.

THE ANCIENT SCULPTURES.* — The old central Indian school of
444 sculpture has three main characteristics : it is Buddhist in inspiration, Indian in its motifs, archaic in its technique. We will give only a brief outline of these three characteristics.

1. The interest of the school is centred around the person of the Buddha, whose former lives (*jātaka*) and last existence it endeavours to represent.

On the medallions of the balustrade at Bhārhut, a good forty jātakas have been identified[30] during which the future Buddha, embodied in human or animal form, sometimes male and sometimes female, performs virtuous deeds of giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*) and vigour (*vīrya*) which were one day to lead him to supreme and perfect Enlightenment. The representation at Bhārhut of the Bodhisattva in a female form is a demonstrated fact : over this point, the old sculptors plainly part company from the monastic compilers of the Jātaka, who excluded any female rebirth from their collection. Of the great deeds of the Bodhisattva, the artists at Bhārhut gave preference to the exploits illustrating the "lay" virtues of the future Buddha : morality, patience, vigour and especially giving. The Mahāyānist theoreticians were to incorporate those virtues into the list of six perfections (*pāramitā*) which in their eyes constitute the crux of the bodhisattva path; they were to add the virtues of ecstasy (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajña*), more appropriate to the religious and, for that very reason, not illustrated by the old artists.

In comparison with the number of jātakas, that of the episodes in the last life is relatively small, about ten : the conception, childhood contests, the cutting of his hair, the Enlightenment, the first discourse, the gift of the Jetavana, Indra's visit, the visit of the Nāga Elāpatra, the worship by the Pārileyyaka elephants, the descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, the Parinirvāṇa and the worship by King Ajātaśatru.

Justly distrustful of their talent, the depictors at Bhārhut considered it indispenable to indicate the subject of each of their compositions with a short inscription, and these carvings have enabled archaeologists to identify with absolute certainty the great majority of the jātakas. In all probability, those artists worked from memory or from oral indications
445 supplied by their clients who had their own folklore. Nevertheless, H. Lüders was of the opinion that they were already illustrating texts, as the sculptors at Borobudur were to do a thousand years later[31].

[30] See the list in H. LÜDERS, *Bhārhut und die b. Literatur*, pp. 132-5.

[31] ID., *ibid.*, pp. 136-76.

Moreover those texts may easily have existed then, but if the artists took their inspiration from them, it was certainly not from the Pāli Jātaka Collection. In fact, the bas reliefs and the Pāli *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* use different dialects, Prākrit on the one hand, Pāli on the other. They do not give similar titles to the narrated episodes; they frequently vary in details of the narrative; finally, they made use of different collections, since jātakas appear at Bhārhut which are completely unknown to the Pāli Collection.

At Bodh-Gayā, the number of jātakas and episodes from the last life tend to balance; on the palisade of the temple, there are a dozen jātakas — seven of which remain unidentified — and more or less the same quantity of later scenes : the first meditation, the grass-cutter's gift, the cave of the Buddha's shadow, the Dharmacakra, the return to Kapilavastu, the gift of the Jetavana, the wonder of walking on water, Indra's visit, the homage paid to the Buddha by the Pārileyyaka elephants and, finally, the Stūpas of the Parinirvāṇa.

On the carved panels at Sāñcī, which are infinitely more numerous than the medallions at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā, there are no more than five jātakas, but they are particularly famous : Ṣaḍdanta-, Mahākapi-, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-, Śyāma- and Viśvantarajātakas. In contrast, the life of Śākyamuni, from his conception to the events which followed his funeral, is profusely depicted. Hence, the four Great Wonders, birth, Enlightenment, first discourse and Nirvāṇa, are represented no fewer than 53 times[32]. This is the list of the 34 episodes in Śākyamuni's life recorded by the oral and written legend which the artists at Sāñcī endeavoured to represent; they had no hesitation in repeating themselves[33] :

I. *Cycle of Kapilavastu* : 1. the conception; 2. the first meditation; 3. the four encounters; 4. the great departure; 5. the return to Kapilavastu; 6. the gift of the Nyagrodhārāma; 7. the conversion of the Śākyas.

II. *Cycle of Bodh-Gaya* : 8. the six years of austerities; 9. Sujātā's offering; 10.
446 the grass-cutter's offering; 11. the temptation and assault by Māra; 12. the great walk after the Enlightenment; 13. the intervention of the Nāga Mucilinda; 14. the offering by the two merchants; 15. the gift of the four bowls; 16. the rest ■ the Ratnagṛha; 17. the invitation of the gods; 18. the conversion of the Jaṭilas; 19. the visits of the gods; 20. the victory over the serpent; 21. the wonders of wood and fire; 22. the wonder of the water; 23. Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi tree.

III-IV. *Cycles of Vārāṇasī and Kuśinagara* : 24. the war over the relics; 25. the transport of the relics; 26. the stūpa of Rāmagrāma.

V. *Cycle of Rājagṛha* : 27. Bimbisāra's visit; 28. Ajātaśatru's visit; 29. Indra's visit.

[32] *Monuments of Sāñchī*, I, p. 196.

[33] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 200-22.

VI. *Cycle of Vaiśālī* : 30. the monkey's offering.

VII. *Cycle of Śrāvastī* : 31. the gift of the Jetavana; 32. the Great Wonder of Śrāvastī : the twin wonders; 33. the Great Wonder of Śrāvastī : the multiplication of the imaginary Buddhas.

VIII. *Sāṃkāśya* : 24. the descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven.

Among the bas-reliefs of Amarāvatī which were produced in accordance with the canons of the ancient school, we note some half dozen jātakas (Ṣaḍdanta-, Mora-, Mahājanaka- Viśvantara- and Śibijātakas) and a few episodes of the last life : the conception, the birth, Asita's prediction, the great departure, the Enlightenment, the first discourse and the Parinirvāṇa.

In conformity with the canons of the ancient school applied at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and the first style of Amarāvatī, it is only in the jātaka scenes that the Buddha appears in the flesh in human or animal form. In the episodes concerning the last life, he is never presented as himself, but merely evoked by a certain number of symbols : a footprint, an empty throne, a parasol, a riderless horse, a fig-tree, an aerial walkway, etc. The four great wonders are also indicated by symbols : the birth by a lotus blossom; the Enlightenment by the Bodhi tree; the first discourse by the Wheel of the Law; the Parinirvāṇa by a Stūpa.

The first artists also avoided representing the features of the great disciples who in the beginning formed the nucleus of the Buddhist Saṃgha; among the adherents they depicted only the laity and, among the religious, only heretics before their conversion. A trident (*triśūla*) represents the Three Jewels : Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha.

This radical aniconism with regard to the figures of Śākyamuni and
447 the Buddhas of the past can be explained in several ways : the existence of an ancient interdict traces of which the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya has preserved, but which it does not try to justify[34], the desire to raise the person of the Master to a level higher than the image[35], the Indian custom of representing the ancient deities by symbols : Sūrya by a disk, Śiva by a liṅga, Lakṣmī by a Śrīvatsa, etc.[36]. However, the simplest and most rational explanation seems to have been supplied by A. Foucher : right from the beginning of the first pilgrimages, visitors to the holy places used to buy small cheap models roughly representing those

[34] T 1435, ch. 48, p. 352*a* 8 sq. — Cf. Hōbōgirin, *'Butsuzō'*, p. 212.

[35] Symbolico-metaphysical explanation in P. Mus, *Barabuḍur*, I, Hanoi, 1935, p. 62*; H. de Lubac, *Aspects du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1951, p. 86 sq.

[36] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 45 sq.

places. These modest mementos rapidly came to be considered as iconographical reproductions of the great wonders which had brought fame to those religious sites; from then on, it was accepted that, in order to recall any episode in the life of the Buddha, a symbol was enough to suggest his presence, a lotus, empty throne, wheel, tumulus, etc. "The subsequent development of the school", wrote A. Foucher, "was always affected by the manufactorial and religious turn it took from the beginning at the hands of the makers of devotional objects who settled at the holy places. It was owing to this false start that it was forbidden by custom to represent the main person who should have appeared at the centre of the compositions... Finally, it was the most unlikely person, namely the Indo-Greek artist who were destined to create the figurative prototype of the Buddha"[37].

The legend of the Buddha, whether jātaka or last existence, did not constitute the only source of inspiration for the ancient school; the old artists borrowed several themes from the popular beliefs which the Buddhists shared with the rest of the Indian world. They were not content with reproducing in stone sculpture of the semi-mythical continent of the Uttarakurus, the heavenly abodes of the gods of the Kāmadhātu (Caturmahārājikas, Trāyastriṃśas, Yamas, Tuṣitas, Nirmāṇaratis, Paranirmitavaśavartins) and representing the Buddhist scenes for which they were the settings (descent from the Tuṣita heaven, Cūḍā
448 festival in the paradise of Śakra, descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven); they also made a great many images of spirits, gods and demi-gods whose connection with the Good Law was more than suspect : hence, the presence at Bhārhut of Sirimā Devatā, the goddess of fertility; at Bodh-Gayā, of the solar quadriga, possibly of foreign importation; at Sāñcī, of Kuvera, Hārītī and Pañcika; and everywhere the anonymous swarm of the Nāgas and Nāgīs, the invisible presence of whom is indispensable to the health of the Indian mind.

Even if all, or nearly all the donors, who financed the erection and ornamentation of the ancient monuments, were adherents of the Good Law and, as such, respectful of the requirements of the strictest morality, the artists whose services they hired were not restrained by the same scruples. While producing at will religious or wordly works, they were easily led astray by their art and on occasions confused the serious with the frivolous. If at Bhārhut they kept within the limits of strictest decorum, at Bodh-Gayā and Sāñcī they willingly yielded to the temptation to embellish the sacred art with audaciously unveiled nude figures

[37] A. FOUCHER, *Études sur l'art bouddhique de l'Inde*, Tokyo, 1928, pp. 37-8.

or bold scenes in which duos or even trios of lovers appear. Their Buddhist clients, in their natural innocence, do not seem to have been shocked by these liberties taken in the name of art.

2. The interest of the old sculptures lies mainly in the living picture which they give us of ancient Indian civilization : "Urban and rustic architecture, furnishings, tools, weapons, musical instruments, banners, chariots, harnesses for horses and elephants, costumes and men and women's dress, etc. All that is needed is a designer to isolate all these concrete and precise details and use them as authentic illustrations in a future Dictionary of Indian antiquities. In addition to these material, but nonetheless precious details, we could gather much more about life itself at court, in the towns and monasteries, by looking in turn at those recluses busy round their sacrificial fires; those women attending to their domestic tasks; those kings seated in their palaces or walking in procession through the streets of their capital in great pomp under the curious eyes of their subjects, etc. Finally, much could be said about the equally important data provided by those sculptures on the external
449 forms of worship and even beliefs; on the figure which, for popular imagination, was assumed by spirits and fairies, as well as on the way in which the religious conscience of the time conceived the written tradition of Buddhism?"[38].

The ancient sculpture is a veritable encyclopaedia of Indian life, and it also constitutes an inexhaustible fund of ornamental themes. The place of honour is reserved for the lotus blossom which is the inspiration of innumerable medallions which decorate the balustrades at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñcī. This lotus is frequently embellished with symbolic motifs such as the wheel, the heifer, the shield and the palm-leaf. The fig-tree, the palm-tree, the mango-tree, the *bignonia suaveolens* and other Indian plants also appear frequently. The fauna was also widely used and all the animals of the jungle appear on the bas-reliefs at Sāñcī for purely decorative purposes, quite independent of the narrative. There are lions, elephants, horses, bulls, does, camels, rhinoceroses, boars and squirrels, tortoises and serpents with one or several heads. As if all this menagerie was not enough, creative imagination considered it appropriate to add quantities of fabulous animals : the deer with an elephant's head or a fish's tail, the marine monster with a crocodile's head and a whole range of griffons, winged lions with an eagle's beak or a human head. In fact, hybrid creatures ensured the transition from the

[38] A. FOUCHER, *La porte orientale du Stūpa de Sāñchī*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Conférences, XXXIV, 1910, pp. 183-4.

animal kingdom to the human being : Kiṃnaras, Suparṇas and Garuḍas, half-men and half-birds; Nāgas and Nāgīs, at will assuming a human or serpent form. In conclusion we must mention the anonymous throng of anthropomorphic beings, engaged in furious battles or occupied in mysterious tasks : certainly the least prepossessing are not those pot-bellied but energetic dwarves, who seem to have assumed the rôle of Atlantes.

Among all these ornamental motifs, it is possible to discern here and there some that have been borrowed from the Iranian world (the Persopolitan column, the griffon and other fabulous creatures), even perhaps from the Hellenistic world (the Māra crowned in Greek style[39], the vine-shoot, the bunch of grapes[40] and a figure like Aphrodite
450 adorning the balustrade of the Stūpa)[41]. Iranian influence was strong in India from the time of the accession of the Achaemenids to the Persian throne, and no tariff barriers prevented the free circulation of Greek merchandise. However, certain historians tend to exaggerate the importance of these borrowings which are of a superficial nature and in no way affect the specifically Indian character of the ancient sculpture.

3. Extremely prominent at Bhārhut, much less so at Sāñcī, the archaism of the old bas-reliefs is obvious both from the heaviness and clumsiness of the human representations and the naive technique of the sustained narration.

Alongside rural scenes of delicate and gentle realism which bear witness to a real talent as animalist artists, the Yakṣas[42] which decorate certain uprights on the balustrade at Bhārhut have an unnatural and forbidding aspect. More prepossessing are their female companions who, with bodies curved and hips swaying (*tribhaṅga*), raise their hands to grasp a branch of a flowering tree; nevertheless, they do not attain the soft, languid grace of the fairies, on the southern and eastern gates at Sāñcī, who lean their elbows or backs against mango-trees or swing gently from the branches of trees which they grasp with both hands.

According to a technique frequently applied by Christian art of the

[39] On the back of the north gate of Stūpa I. — Cf. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, II, pl. XXIX b.

[40] On the southern jamb of the west gate of Stūpa 1, where a bunch of grapes is incorporated into the "Tree of Life" (*Monuments of Sāñchī*, pl. LXVI c). — On the Tree of Life which, in Buddhism as well as Brāhmanism, played a prominent role, see the exhaustive study by O. Viennot, *Le culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1954. On its symbolism, see also H. de Lubac, *Aspects du Bouddhisme*, Ch. II, '*Deux Arbres cosmiques*', Paris, 1950, pp. 55-79.

[41] On pillar No. 22 of stūpa 2. — Cf. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, III, pl. LXXVIII.

[42] Cf. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 2 Parts, Washington, 1928-31.

Middle Ages, the artists of Bhārhut and Sāñcī retrace the consecutive episodes of a given legend within the framework of one and the same bas-relief, to such a degree that the heroes of the action are reproduced on it two or even three times. One medallion at Bhārhut[43] contains no less than three episodes : "Below, the compassionate *ruru* stag saves the merchant's son who was about to drown himself in the Ganges and carries him on its back to the bank, where one of his does is leaning over to drink from the river. Above, to the right, the king of Vārāṇasī, guided by a young merchant who is visibly serving him as path-finder, prepares, with bended bow, to kill the rare large stag, the object of his hunter's
451 covetousness. However, the words addressed to him by the stag cause him to drop his weapons, and we find him again a central figure in an edifying conversation with the marvellous animal, while the treacherous informer seems to be hiding behind the royal personage"[44].

At Sāñcī, on the median lintel of the southern gate[45], the white six-tusked elephant is depicted four times in the composition from left to right : 1. it is bathing in a lotus pool in the company of bearers of a parasol and a fly-swatter; 2. it leaves its bath and goes towards the nyagrodha standing in the centre of the panel; 3. it continues on its way to the right, preceded by an ewer-bearer; it remains alone in the forest, with its profile turned to the left.

In the scene of the Great Departure sculpted on the median lintel of the eastern gate[46], the horse Kaṇṭhaka is represented no less than five times, from the moment of leaving Kapilavastu until its return : in the first three, it appears surmounted by a parasol which evokes the presence of the Bodhisattva who is riding it; in the fourth, with the charioteer Chandaka, it is bowing respectfully before its master, here symbolised by a double footprint; in the fifth, it is turning round to return mournfully to Kapilavastu.

The synoptic method is also applied by the sculptors at Amarāvatī : in the centre of a medallion which is unfortunately damaged, appears King Śibi seated on his throne and surrounded by his ministers, women and guards; in his left hand he is holding a pigeon which has escaped from the claws of a sparrow-hawk; at the bottom of the medallion, to the left,

[43] A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, pl. XXV, 1, reproduced at the end of this volume.

[44] A. Foucher, *Les représentations de Jātakas sur les bas-reliefs de Bhārhut*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Conférences, XXX, 1908, pp. 115-16. — By the same author, *Les Vies antérieures du Buddha*, Paris, 1955, pp. 111-13.

[45] *Monuments of Sāñchī*, II, pl. XV, 2; reproduced at the end of this volume, plate XX.

[46] *Monuments of Sāñchī*, II, pl. XL, 2; reproduced at the end of this volume, plate XXI.

some caṇḍālas are gashing the king's arm to cut away from his flesh a weight equal to that of the pigeon, for the benefit of the sparrow-hawk deprived of its prey, but this flesh becomes so heavy that the king and his protégé have to be weighed; in the damaged right hand corner, one of the pans of the scales can still be seen[47].

No such process of continuous narrative is to be found at Bodh-Gayā where the technique seems to be even more rudimentary; whether jātaka
452 scenes or episodes from the last life are concerned, the tale has hardly been outlined than it stops short, and this brevity makes the interpretation of the bas-reliefs on the palisade particularly difficult. However, at Sāñcī, the skilfully applied synoptic method is combined with a consummate art of composition and perspective and an unequalled dexterity in reproducing the holy legend down to the very last detail.

In these old sculptures which are not entirely devoid of naivety, the hearts and minds of the sons of the Śākya are laid bare; there, the bhikṣus and upāsakas reveal themselves much more than in their most scholarly works, and it is comforting to know that, despite the strict renunciations imposed upon them by their beliefs, and possibly because of them, those professional ascetics, jealously controlled their senses and retained a child-like spirit, capable of puerile amazement and enthusiasm for the spectacle of life and nature in all its forms.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.* — The ancient sculptures are accompanied by votive inscriptions, giving the name of the donor or donors, or descriptive ones, indicating the subject of the composition. 225 have been counted at Bhārhut, 45 at Bodh-Gayā and 824 at Sāñcī. Apart from a few graffiti at Bhārhut in Kharoṣṭhī script, they use the Brāhmī alphabet. The greatest majority date from the Śuṅga period and, palaeographically, they are located between the edicts of Aśoka on the one hand and the inscription of Śoḍāsa, the satrap of Mathurā (ca 5 to 19 A.D.), on the other. They are roughly contemporary with the inscriptions of Heliodorus on the pillar at Besnagar, of Queen Nāyanikā at Nānāghāt, and of King Khāravela at Hāthigumphā[48]. In Sāñcī, those which cover the pavement, balustrades and reliquaries are older than those on the great gateways of Stūpa 1.

[47] A. FOUCHER, *Les sculptures d'Amarâvatî*, RAA, V, pl. VIII, 1; reproduced at the end of this volume.

[48] From the palaeographic point of view, the ancient Brāhmī inscriptions are generally classed in six groups. Lastly, see N.C. MAJUMDAR, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, I, p. 264 sq.; III, pl. CXLI.

Their language is epigraphical Prākrit[49]. Both at Bhārhut (abbreviation, B) and Sāñcī (abbreviation, S), it is devoid of Māgadhisms, is of clearly western composition and has several features in common with
453 the Aśokan edicts in Girnār and Mysore, the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā, the rock-carved ones at Nāsik, and especially with Pāli. It is different from the latter particularly owing to a strong tendency to simplify geminate consonants.

Skt. *ṛ* = P(āli) *a, i, u* : *kata, gahapati, miga, isi* (B), *samātika* (S).
Skt. *ai* = P. *e* : *paṃcanekāyika, Vejayaṃta, Selapura* (B).
Skt. *au* = P. *o* : *Kosaṃbi*, but *pauṭeṇa* (B).
Skt. *kt* = P. *tt* : *muta* (B).
Skt. *kṣ* = P. *cch, kkh* : *bhichuni* (B), *yakha* (B, S), *rakhita* (S), *bhikhu* and *bhikhunī* (S), *cuḍa* (S), *sejha* (S), *sihanā* (S), as in Ardhamāgadhī.
Skt. *gn* = P. *gg* : *Agidata* (S).
Skt. *gr* = P. *gg* : *nigodha* (B), *gāma* (S).
Skt. *jñ* = P. *ññ* : *ñati, raña* (B), *ñati, rāño* (S).
Skt. *ñc* = P. *ñc, ṇṇ* : *pacasana* (B), *paṃcanekāyika* (B), *paca* (S).
Skt. *ñj* = P. *ñj* : *kujara* (S).
Skt. *ṇḍ* = P. *ṇḍ* : *Koḍiniputa* (S).
Skt. *ṇy* = P. *ññ* : *Dhaña* (S).
Skt. *tr* = P. *tt* : *Mita* (B), *Ahimita* (S).
Skt. *dg* = P. *gg* : *Mogalāna* (S).
Skt. *ts* = P. *cch, ss* : *Vāchi* (B, S).
Skt. *ty* = P. *cc* : *Kācāniputa* (S).
Skt. *tsn* = P. ?[50] : *Jonhaka* from *Jyotsnāka* (S).
Skt. *dy* = P. *jj, yy* : *paṭipajeya* (S).
Skt. *dhy* = P. *jjh* : *majhaka* (B), *Majhima, Vijha* (S).
Skt. *dr* = P. *d* : *Idasāla* (B), *Idadeva* (S).
Skt. *ny* = P. *ññ* : *Dhañā, ānaṃ* (S).
Skt. *pt* = P. *tt* : *Guta* (B), *Ajitiguta* (S).
Skt. *pr* = P. *pp* : *pāsāda* (B), *Pasanaka* (S).
Skt. *rv* = P. *bb* : *savata* (B), *save* (S).
Skt. *rdh* = P. *ddh, ḍḍh* : *vaḍhana* (B), *vaḍhaki, vaḍaki* (S).
Skt. *rm* = P. *mm* : *dhaṃma, kaṃmaṃta* (B), *Dhama, Dhaṃma, kaṃmika* (S).
Skt. *ry* = P. *riy, yy, ll, yir* : *Aya* (B, S), *ācariya* (S).
Skt. *rh* = P. *rah* (through epenthesis) : *Arahaguta* (B), *Araha, Ara* (S).
Skt. *lg* = P. *gg* : *phagu* (B), *Phaguna* (S).
Skt. *rg* = P. *gg* : *Gāgī* (B).
Skt. *mb* = P. *mb* : *Kāboja* (S).
Skt. *s, ṣ, ś* = P. *s* : *nisisani* from niśritāni, *Alaṃbusā, Avisana, Isāna, kesi, satu* (B).

[49] Cf. D. Barua, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 112-18; N.C. Majumdar, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, 1, pp. 278-80.

[50] In Pāli, the group is usually dissociated by means of anaptyxia; cf. Pāli *kasiṇa* as against Skt. *kṛtsna*.

454 Skt. *śy* = P. *ss*, *cch* : *Kasapa* (B, S).
Skt. *śv* = P. *ss* : *Seṭaka* (B), *Asvadeva*, *Asadeva* (S).
Skt. *st* = P. *tth* : *thabha* (B, S), *bahuhathika* (B).
Skt. *sn* = P. *ṇh* : *nhusā*, *nusā*, *sunhusā* (S).
Skt. *sm* = P. *mh* : *girimha* (S).
The declension is very close to the Pāli, particularly themes in *a*.
Skt. nom. sg. *-aḥ* = P. *-o* : *thabo* (B, S).
Skt. inst. sg. *-ena* = P. *-ena*, *-ā* (Ved.) : *Pauṭena*, *Saṃthatena*, *Puṭeṇa* (B).
Skt. abl. sg. *-āt* = P. *-ā* (devā), *-asmā* (devasmā), *-amhā* (devamhā), *-ato* (devato) : *Pāṭaliputā*, *Vedisā* (B), *Vedisā*, *Tubavanā*, *Vāḍivahanā*, *Kaṃdaḍigāmā* (S). — *Vedisāto* (B), *Vāḍivahanāto*, *Kurarāto*, *Arapānāto*, *Bhogavaḍhanāto*, *Pokharāto*[51]. — Also an abl. sg. in *-atu* : *gāmatu* (S).
Skt. gen. sg. *-asya* = P. *-assa* : *devasa*, *Pusaṣa* (B, S).
Skt. loc. sg. *-e* = P. *-e* (deve), *asmiṃ* (devasmiṃ), *amhi* (devamhi) : *pāsāde*, *pavate* (B).
Skt. nom. pl. *-āḥ* = P. *-ā* : *thabhā* (B).
Skt. ac. pl. *-ān* = P. *-e* : *sise* (B).
Skt. inst. pl. *-ebhiḥ* (Ved.) = P. *ehi* : *Vedisakehi daṃtakārehi* (S).
Skt. gen pl. *-ānām* = P. *-ānam* : *devānaṃ*, *dāyakānaṃ* (B).
In the feminine themes in *-ā*, the gen. sg. is *-āyāḥ* in Skt., *-āya* in Pāli. The inscriptions display a mixture of the forms attested on the eastern and western recensions of the Aśokan edicts : *-āyā* in *devāyā*, *Purikāyā* (B), *-āya* in *devāya*, *āvāsikāya*, *bhāriyāya* (B), *-āye* in *datāye*, *Nāgāye* (B).
The declension of masculine themes in *-i* is very close to the Pāli; in the sing. we note at Bhārhut the nom. *Kaḍari*, *Vijapi*, the instr. *Danabhūtinā*, the abl. *kucimhā*, *girimhā* (attested *girimha* at S.), the gen. *atevāsino*, *gahapatino*, *girino*, *peṭakino* and *Dhanabhūtisa*.
In syntax, we would point out, as did Barua, some curious substitutions of case : the nom. for the instr. in *Arahaguto Devaputo vokato* (= Arhadguptena devaputreṇa vyavakṛtaḥ); the gen. pl. for the instr. sg. in *Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānaṃ* (= Vasugupto mukto Mahādevena)[52].

THE DONORS AT BHĀRHUT AND SĀÑCĪ. — To judge from their names, the pious donors did not all come from Buddhist families, such as Araha, Dhamadata, Sagha, Budhita, etc., but also from circles which
455 had formerly espoused the Vedic or Hindu rites : *names of Nakṣatras*, Asāḍa, Phaguna, Rohīnī; of *Vedic divinities*, Agidevā, Mahida, Mita; of *popular deities*, Nāga, Nāgila; *names connected with Viṣṇuite rituals*, Vinhukā, Visnurakkhitā, or *Śivaite*, Sivanadi, Nadiguta, etc.[53]. This seems to indicate that in the Śuṅga period Buddhist propaganda had made in roads into the majority of the Indian religions and recruited followers from the widest of circles.

[51] Endings in *-a* and *-āto* are also found at Nāsik; cf. *vijayakhāḍhāvārā* and *khetāto* (EI, VIII, pp. 71, 77).
[52] Cf. BARUA, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

Of the 126 donors mentioned at Bhārhut, 7 were princes or princesses, 24 were bhikṣus, 14 were bhikṣuṇīs, 81 were lay sympathisers of whom 51 were men and 30 women. They came from 28 different localities, some of which are well-known, Kosaṃbi, Nāsika, Pāṭaliputa, Bhojakaṭa and Vidisā[53].

The monks, who bear the title of Aya "noble" or Bhadaṃta "venerable", readily record their religious functions, their "doctoral" titles, or even their particular practices or devotions : resident monk (*avāsika*), architect (*navakamika*), guest-master (*bhatudesaka*), knower of the Sūtras (*sutaṃtika*), versed in the Piṭakas (*peṭaki*) or the Five Collections (*paṃcanekāyika*), reciter (*bhānaka*), wheel-bearer (*bodhicaka*), devoted to the application of mindfulness (*saṭupadāna*). For their part, the laity readily state their functions : gardener (*ārāmaka*), local chief (*mahāmukhi*), sculptor (*rupakāraka*).

At Sāñcī, most of the donors came from the region of Mālwā : Kurara or Kuraghara, Ujeni, Navagāma, Nadinagara (Nandner) and Vidisa. However, some of them were natives of distant regions : Paṭithana (Paithan), Gandhāra, Kāmboja, Cirātī, without forgetting a Yona from Śvetapatha.

Besides the religious titles already noted at Bhārhut, we may also point out those of *Thera* "elder", *Dhamakathika* instructor of the Law", *Sadhivihārī* "companion in the religious life", *Vināyaka* "preceptor" and *Sapurisa* "worthy man".

Among the laity, all positions and occupations are represented : a queen, a householder, nineteen bankers, five merchants, a craftmaster, a royal scribe, a governor, a soldier, a copyist, a weaver, a dressmaker, masons and craftsmen.

Besides the individual gifts, there were collective presentations made by families, villages and committees (*gothi*) — such as the "Buddhist
456 Committee" of Dharmavardhana — sects and guilds such as the ivory-workers (*daṃtakāra*) of Vidiśā, and those mysterious associations from Ujjayinī entitled Dhamaka, Magalakaṭiya, Sāphineyaka, Tāpasiya and Vākiliya.

Throughout the inscriptions and sculptures, the religious mentality of all these people is easily discernible. Their main interest concerned the life of Śākyamuni, Master of the Law in his last existence, and a model of the virtues — especially the lay virtues — in the course of his various jātakas. The taste for anecdotes about his former lives, is very strong at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā, but less so at Sāñcī. However, Buddhist piety was not strictly limited to Śākyamuni, and the Buddhas of the past find

[53] See G. Bühler, *Sāñchī Stūpa Inscriptions*, EI, II, pp. 95-6.

their place there as well as several gods and demi-gods : Devaputras, Devatās, Lokapālas, Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, Nāgarājas and Apsaras.

At that ancient period, the mental attitude remained strictly orthodox, that is, in conformity with the spirit of the Buddha. The generous donors did not expect to accede to Nirvāṇa directly by means of their gifts, but merely to benefit from the five advantages of giving mentioned in the *Aṅguttara* (III, pp. 38-41) : the generous donor is appreciated by everyone, loved by worthy people, renowned everywhere; he fearlessly enters any company and, after his death, he will be reborn in the heavenly world. Furthermore, they knew that those meritorious deeds were their property, their personal heritage, the womb that bore them (*Majjhima*, III, p. 203) and that, as they alone had accomplished them, they alone would reap their fruit (*ibid.*, III, p. 179). There could be no question of transferring that merit to a third party, nor even of expressing intentions which the mechanism of the maturation of actions would render invalid. Among the many donors at Bhārhut and Sāñcī in the Śuṅga period, Sagharakhita was the only one to have performed his pious deed "for the benefit of his mother and father" (BARUA, 79); all the others, hundreds in number, merely state their names, qualifications and the object of their offering, without attempting to direct the mechanism of maturation towards a particular end.

The three imprecatory inscriptions (MAJŪMDAR, 389, 396, 404) engraved on the gateways of Stūpa 1 are also characteristic of the spirit of Sāñcī. They proclaim that whoever destroys or causes to be destroyed at Sāñcī a gateway (*toraṇa*) or a balustrade (*vedikā*), or again whoever transmits "to another school" (*āna ācariyakula*) any one of the above-
457 mentioned monuments, will undergo the infernal punishment reserved for offenders guilty of the five "misdeeds of immediate (*anantarya*) retribution".

III. — HELLENISM AND BUDDHISM IN THE ŚUṄGA PERIOD

It is appropriate here to examine the important but difficult question of the relationship between the Indo-Greek sovereigns and their Indian subjects, in both the western kingdom (164-90 B.C.) and the eastern kingdom (167-30 B.C.). To what degree did the Greeks come under Indian and particularly Buddhist influence, and in what way did the Buddhists react when faced with foreign occupation?

1. — THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE GREEKS

THE GREEKS' FAITHFULNESS TO THEIR ANCESTRAL GODS. — Greece has

always been interested in India. From the sixth century B.C., the colonists of Asia Minor, Scylax of Caryanda (522-486), Hecataeus of Miletus (ca 500), Herodotus of Halicarnassus (480-425) and Ctesias of Cnidos (415-397) supplied curious information on that distant land; the objectivity of this information is seriously counterbalanced by the search for fantastic details and concern over literary presentation. In the fourth century B.C., Alexander's raid on India which was both a military undertaking and a scientific exploration, put the Graeco-Macedonians into direct contact with the region of the North-West; and the details of this experience were recorded, with varying degrees of competence and truthfulness, by the specialists and scholars who took part in the expedition, or who collected the verbal accounts of eye-witnesses; among the main ones, are the pilots Nearchus of Crete and Onesicritus of Aegina, the engineer Aristobulus of Cassandreia and the historian Clitarchus of Colophon. At the beginning of the third century, the ambassadors of the Seleucids and Ptolemies were the first Westerners to reach the heart of the Indian empire. Megasthenes, who stayed in the capital Pāṭaliputra from approximately 302 to 291, left a detailed description of India, the *Indica* which, apart from the geography, was to constitute the most outstanding document of western knowledge concern-
458 ing the Indian world. None of these authors mention the Buddhists, and the description of the Sarmans (*śramaṇa*) given by Megasthenes applies more to the brāhmin ascetics than to the disciples of the Buddha[54].

The Graeco-Macedonian soldiers who took part in Alexander's raid showed a keen interest in the lands they were travelling through and in the strange populations they encountered; but, the further eastwards they advanced, the more they longed for their own country. This nostalgia was the deep-seated reason for the mutiny at the Hyphasis in 325, the revolt of the settlers in Bactria in 325 and 321, and possibly also for the haste with which the satraps Eudemus and Peithon abandoned, the former in 317, the latter in 316, their Indian governorships in order to rejoin the Diadochi in Susiana. The nostalgia was compounded by a feeling of being uprooted, and the soldiers reacted against this attempting to recreate the atmosphere of their homeland abroad. Near the river

[54] The classifying of the Indian religious into Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (in Greek, Σαρμᾶναι and Βραχμᾶναι) was a commonplace in Greek and Latin literature : Megasthenes, frg. 40 and 41 (Strabo, XV, 1, 59; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, I, 15, 71, 5); Strabo, XV, 1 70; Bardesanes, Porph. frg. Περὶ ἀμψύχων (ed. Nauck, *BT*, 1886, IV, 17 sq., p. 256); Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.*, II, 14. All these texts are collected in B. BRELOER and F. BÖMER, *Fontes Historiae Religionum Indicarum*, Bonn, 1939.

Kabul, they came across a town named Nysa, where ivy grew and close to which rose a mountain called Mirus (Skt. Meru?); they concluded that the city had been founded by the god Dionysus during an expedition to India, and named Nysa by him in memory of his nurse Nyse. They also inferred that the mountain owed its name of μηρός "thigh" to the fact that Dionysus had grown in the thigh of Zeus. This was all that was needed to induce the Macedonian notables to offer a sacrifice to the Thracian god, crown themselves with ivy and devote themselves to Bacchic ecstasies (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 1-2). The third-century geographer, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, quoted by Arrian (*ibid.*, V, 3), supplies further details about this acclimatization of Greek legends on Indian territory : "The Macedonians, having found a cave in the Paropamisadae and having heard a native legend or possibly having invented it themselves, claimed that it was none other than the cavern in which Prometheus had been chained, that the eagle went there to devour the entrails of Prometheus, and that Heracles came to that place, killed the
459 eagle and released Prometheus from his chains. As for the Caucasian massif, they must have mentally transferred it from the region of the Pontus to the eastern borders of the territory, in the land of the Paropamisadae, as far as the Indians. As for the Paropamisus mountain, they themselves must have called it Caucasus to the glory of Alexander, as though the latter had truly crossed the Caucasus. When they encountered oxen branded with the sign of the club on Indian land, they must have deduced from this that Heracles had arrived among the Indians" (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 3, 1-4)[55]. Eratosthenes also questioned the Indian excursion of Dionysus and attributed it to an invention by the soldiers, or flattery by the natives aimed at proving that Alexander went personally wherever the god had been.

The treaty of 305 concluded between Seleucus I and Candragupta momentarily kept the Greeks out of North-West India. They therefore did not witness the Buddhist penetration into Gandhāra, in the reign of Aśoka the Maurya (268-231). The few contingents which remained in Bactria were not affected by the propaganda and when, in 256, Aśoka undertook to disseminate his Dharma among the foreign kingdoms, he neglected to send his envoys to Bactria. When the latter seceded from the Seleucids in about 250, the first two kings, Diodotus I and II (ca

[55] While Buddhist propaganda located a large number of jātakas in the territory of the North-West, the Graeco-Macedonians situated some episodes from classical mythology in the same region. The conjunction of these identical methods of propaganda is possibly not fortuitous.

250-225), were too occupied with their skirmishes with Tiridates, Antiochus II Theos and Seleucus II Callinicus to pay attention to the success of the Buddhist propaganda among their neighbours beyond the Hindūkush. Bactria, over which they ruled, remained Iranian, both by its beliefs and its customs, but the kings, in memory of their mother-country, struck coins with the effigy of Zeus.

The victorious return of the Greeks to Indian territory took place at the end of the reign of Euthydemus of Magnesia (205-189). It seems that his son Demetrius had been in possession of Kapiśa, Gandhāra and the Western Punjab since 182. By that date, the last two regions had been won over to Buddhism. However, questions of a religious nature could not preoccupy a prince who nurtured the project of conquering the Indian empire and whose lieutenants in fact reached the walls of
460 Pāṭaliputra. There is nothing to prove that Demetrius paid the slightest attention to the beliefs of his Buddhist subjects.

The dissensions which broke out between the Greeks at the end of the reign of Demetrius (ca 167) resulted in the formation on Indian soil of two Indo-Greek kingdoms. The western one was established by Eucratides and the eastern one instituted by Menander. The former was conquered, in about the year 90, by the Śaka Maues, while the latter lasted until approximately the year 30 B.C. For the whole of that period, the Greek kings struck coins on the reverse of which appeared most of the gods of the Olympian pantheon : Hermes represented by his caduceus (Demetrius), Poseidon holding a palm-leaf in his right hand (Antimachus), Apollo and his tripod (Apollodotus I), Artemis (?) as "goddess of Puṣkarāvatī" wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus in her right hand (Diomedes), the Nike of the battle of the Hydaspes (Eucratides), Athena Promachos (Menander), Heracles seated on a rock (Euthydemus) or standing with a head-dress of an elephant's scalp (Demetrius), standing Zeus, a coin characteristic of Bactria and Arachosia (Heliocles), the Zeus of the city of Kāpiśī seated on a throne with emblems representing an elephant and a mountain (Eucratides), Zeus enthroned but without emblems (Heliocles), the charging Dioscuri (Eucratides) or the *Pilei* of the Dioscuri, a type from the region of Takṣaśilā (Eucratides), etc.[56].

Once the monetary types were established they were transmitted from successor to successor, and most of them were adopted by the Śaka and Pahlava invaders of the first century B.C. Whatever ideological signi-

[56] On these various monetary types and the kings who were their initiators, see the excellent tables drawn up by E.J. Rapson in *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 586-92.

ficance may be attributed to those coins, they prove that, during the time of the occupation of Indian territory, the Greek kings publicly acknowledged the traditional pantheon of their distant homeland. The numerous seals, medallions, gold and copper rings, terracotta statuettes discovered in the Greek city of Taxila-Sirkap and representing Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Heracles, Eos, Psyche, Nike and even the winged steed Pegasus[57] prove that those ancient deities were not relegated to the level of mere monetary emblems.

Everything leads us to believe that the occupying authorities conceded
461 only an official interest in the Indian religions. With regard to the princes of the western kingdom, Eucratides and his successors, it cannot be perceived that they favoured Buddhism in any way. One of them, Antialcidas, as we saw earlier, in order to win the favour of his Śuṅga colleague, the Indian king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, considered it advisable to send him as an ambassador a certain Heliodorus who had entered the Viṣṇuite sect of the Bhāgavatas.

The Euthydemids of the eastern kingdom, the capital of which was Śākala situated in the central Punjab, showed, more for political reasons than by conviction, that they were fervent sympathizers of Buddhism, and it is not impossible that one of them, Menander, was converted to the Good Law.

THE CONVERSION OF MENANDER. — The powerful king who ruled from 163 to 150 over an extensive portion of North-West India was, before his accession to the throne, one of the most brilliant captains of Demetrius, and his victories led him to the gates of Pāṭaliputra. He was not personally a member of the royal lineage of the Euthydemids, but he always defended its interests, and was allied with it through his marriage to the princess Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrius or more pro-
462 bably of Apollodotus I. There is no doubt about his philhellenism : his palace was guarded by a troop of 500 Yonakas and his ministers were Greeks : Demetrius, Antiochus, Pacorus and Sabbadotus[58]. Until the end of his reign, he struck coins of the "Athena Promachos", "Elephant-head and caduceus", "Victory of Nicaea-on-the-Jhelum", and "Ox-head (Bucephala)" types, thus bearing witness to his faithfulness to the gods of Olympia and Alexandrian glories.

Menander was Greek through his family, marriage and traditions, but he was nonetheless a "native of the village of Kalasi, in the dvīpa of Alasanda"[59], i.e. the town of Kāpiśī, in the district of Alexandria-under-

[57] J. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 123-36.

[58] Milindapañha, p. 29.

[59] Ibid., pp. 82-3.



(Musée Guimet)

XXIII — Coin of King Menander

the-Caucasus. Even though the Indian world may still have held some secrets for him, he did not feel in the least exiled; he never knew the nostalgia for the Greek homeland, which earlier had tormented Alexander's officers and the first Seleucids. His profound understanding of the indigenous world explains both his success as a captain and the lustre of his reign.

When called upon by political circumstances to fight general Puṣyamitra, the new ruler of the Indian empire, he was able to discern those among his subjects who were likely to support his action. He could obtain nothing from the brāhmins who did not forgive him for being a foreigner or, in any case, if he was born of a Greek father and a local mother, a "half-caste". The kṣatriyas whom he had dispossessed of their ancestral duties could not be favourable to him. Menander therefore turned to the wealthy middle class of the towns : these people were free from xenophobia and caste prejudice, preoccupied with business rather than politics and ready to welcome anyone who would guarantee them peace and security. It was with this middle class that the Buddhist propaganda had found most favour, for, while revealing to the lay and religious alike a higher moral ideal, the doctrine of Śākyamuni in no way prevented them from watching over their material interests : the inner discipline which it inculcated in its followers found its application

in the practice of daily life, and even in the management of affairs. Menander made that middle class the best support of his military campaigns and of his throne and, in order to win its sympathies, was not sparing in his favours towards it.

Many are the sources which bear witness to Menander's Buddhophi-
463 lia. Some are of Greek origin, others of Indian provenance.

To begin with the former, we note the epithet "Saviour" which appears, both in Greek and Prākrit, on the king's coins, as also on those of his colleague Apollodotus. Of whom could he have called himself saviour, if not of all those whom his enemy Puṣyamitra had fought, the supporters of the old Mauryan power, who had brought about the greatness of Buddhism, the bhikṣus and upāsakas who had been so cruelly persecuted by the Śuṅga usurper?

If it is true that his capital Śākala did indeed bear the name of Euthymedia, as seems to be indicated by a certain manuscript reading in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 46), this may be an indication of Menander's conversion to the Good Law, his adherence to the Buddhist eightfold Path, one of the limbs of which is "right thought" [in Skt. *samyaksaṃkalpa*, in Greek εὐθυμηδία].

A tradition relating to Menander's death and funeral was acquired in the first century A.D. by Plutarch of Chaeronaea. The learned Boeotian seems to think that Indian towns shared his relics and built stūpas in his memory, an honour which the Buddhist Law reserves for Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas or those universal monarchs known as Cakravartins. It is a fact that the symbol of the eight-spoked wheel (*cakra*) appears on Menander's coins. Here, moreover, is the text taken from the *Moralia* (821 D-E) by Plutarch : "When Menander, who had ruled with moderation, met his death during an expedition, the (Indian) villages celebrated his funeral ceremony jointly; they put forth rival claims over his relics, and it was with difficulty that they came to the agreement that each city would receive an equal part of his ashes, and that each of them would have reliquaries (μνημεία) of that king". We will have to give up any attempt to discover through which implications, the episodes forming part of the life of the Buddha — war and distribution of the relics, erection of commemorative stūpas — were applied to the Indo-Greek king.

With the Indian sources, we are on much firmer ground. They at least prove that, from the time of Menander, the governors and officers on Indo-Greek land did not hesitate to profess the Buddhist religion publicly, a profession which would have been dangerous if their leader had not approved of it to a certain extent.

464 The stūpa at Shinkot in Bajaur, a district situated twenty miles west of the confluence of the Pañjkora and the Swāt, has yielded a much damaged soapstone casket. On the receptacle and its lid can be read fragments of five inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī which seem to indicate that the casket was consecrated twice; the original consecration was performed by Viyakamitra during Menander's reign; as the relic which it contained had been broken, a reconsecration took place later through the good offices of Vijayamitra, probably a descendant of Viyakamitra. The inscription was published and discussed in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, 1937, pp. 1-7; XXVI, 1942, pp. 318-22; XXVII, 1947, pp. 52-8. The following is an attempt at a translation.

"On the 14th day of the month of Kārtikka, in the (reign) of the Mahārāja Menedra (in the year...), (a bodily relic of the Buddha), which is endowed with life... was installed. (The bodily relic) of Śākyamuni, which is endowed with life... (is the gift) of Viyakamitra, whom no king can rival. (By) Vijayamitra... the bowl was installed. — That relic, having been broken, is no longer honoured by homages; it is disintegrating with time; no one reveres (it) or conciliates the ancestors with offerings and water. After having removed the bowl from that (broken relic, installed in the past by Viyakamitra), a (new) relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, fully enlightened, has been installed here by Vijayamitra, whom no king can rival, on the 25th day of the month of Vaiśākha, in the year 5. — Written by Viśpila, on orders (ἀναγκαῖος)".

Whether the reconsecration in the year 5 also took place during Menander's reign is a debatable question. The main point is that Viyakamitra, a vassal of the latter and ruler over the Indo-Iranian borderlands with the pompous title of *apracaraja* (Skt. *apratyagrāja*, cf. the *apadihata* of the Indo-Greek coins), had installed a relic of Śākyamuni in a stūpa, but that, since the container had been broken, the relic was no longer surrounded by the requisite veneration, which consisted mainly of offerings to ancestors. The Vijayamitra who later reconsecrated it and who bore the same title as Viyakamitra might be his son or one of his successors. Some rectangular copper coins discovered in Taxila-Sirkap bear the legend *Vijayamitrasa* written in Brāhmī on the obverse and in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse[60].

465 As their names indicate, Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra were Indians, but some of the Indo-Greek vassal kings were Meridarchs (Greek μεριδάρχης, Skt. *meridarkha*) of Greek origin who also showed evidence of their Buddhist faith. A soapstone reliquary discovered in the village

[60] This Vijayamitra is presented as king of the Kulūs; the presence of the emblems of the *triratna* and the six-arched *caitya* seems to indicate that he was a Buddhist. Cf. J. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, I, pp. 170, 213; II, pp. 787, 820, 841; III, pl. 243, Nos. 252-7.

of Pathan in the Swât valley bears an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī worded as follows: "These bodily relics of the Lord Śākyamuni were installed by the meridarch Theüdora (Theodorus), for the prosperity of many people" (KONOW, p. 4). A copper plate found near Taxila records that another meridarch, whose name is effaced, erected, with his wife, a stūpa "in honour of his mother and father, as a respectful offering" (KONOW, p. 5).

However, Menander does not owe his well-established reputation as a Buddhist sympathizer, to a few fragmentary inscriptions, but to a work which reports a dialogue that probably took place in Śākala between the sovereign and the Buddhist monk Nāgasena. This work, entitled *Milindapañha* "The Questions of Menander"[61], existed in three Chinese translations made respectively in the third, fourth and fifth centuries. The second version, by an anonymous translator between 317 and 420, has come down to us in two recensions, the one complete and the other incomplete, both little affected by each other : it is called in Chinese "Sūtra of the Bhikṣu Nāgasena" (T 1670). Its original was probably composed in an Indian dialect (Prākrit of the North-West), and represented the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādin school[62].

This version corresponds to the first part of the Pāli work entitled *Milindapañha*. Of the seven books which make up the latter, only the second, third and a small part of the first seem to be authentic. Books IV to VII were successively added in Ceylon, where the first of them existed since the fifth century. Adapted in this way, the work on the whole represents the views of the Sinhalese Theravādin school.*

466 Finally, under the title of *Avādana of the discussion of King Nanda* (sic) *and Nāgasena*, a chapter of the *Tsa pao tsang ching* (T 203, ch. 9, pp. 492*c*-493*b*), translated in 472, reproduces a fragment of the dialogue between Menander and Nāgasena, but it is a fragment taken from a different recension, which was known to Vasubandhu who refers to it in his *Abhidharmakośa* (IX, p. 263).

Disregarding interpolations and additions, the original work was divided into two parts : an introduction and the dialogue itself.

The introduction included a description of the setting (Śākala), a brief biography of the monk Nāgasena, the presentation of Menander, disappointed after his earlier conversation with the monk Āyupāla and,

[61] Milindapañha, ed. V. TRENCKNER, London, 1880; English translation by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, SBE, vol. 35 and 36, London 1890; German tr. by F.O. SCHRADER, Berlin, 1905, and NYANATILOKA, Munich, 1919; French tr. by L. FINOT, Paris, 1923.

[62] P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, pp. 1-259.

finally the meeting of the king and Nāgasena. The biography of Nāgasena amounts to so little that one would be quite right in wondering if the person really existed : "Nāgasena was born in a northerly region, at the foot of the Himālayas (in the village of Kajaṅgala) according to the Pāli text, in Kaśmīr according to the Chinese text. He was instructed in the Buddhist doctrine by the Arhat Rohaṇa (*Lou han*), then by the Arhat Assagutta (*E po yüeh*) who lived in the monastery of Vattaniya (*Ho tan*) in the region where Nāgasena was born. He was guilty of some misdeed, had a new teacher, obtained the state of streamwinner and caused a lay man or woman to obtain it also, and attained *arhattvam*. He toured and preached, then, having become famous, settled at the monastery of Saṅkkheyya (*Hsieh ti chia*) in Sāgala (*Shê chieh*), a flourishing town in the land of the Yonakas (*Ta ch'in*) where Milinda (*Mi lan*) reigned. That sovereign had already held a debate with the Buddhist master Āyupāla (*Yeh ho lo*) and proved him to be wrong. Informed of the presence of Nāgasena, the king went to find him at the monastery. Next day the debate was held in the palace"[63].

The problems which were discussed during the dialogue are on the whole identical to those which already constituted favourite themes in the canon in general and the *Kathāvatthu* in particular : the non-existence of the individual, Saṃsāra, the rebirth of the "Name-and-form", Arhatship, the nature of Nirvāṇa, the existence of the Buddha and his superiority over all beings, etc. Only one was of a nature to interest the Indo-Greek king and seems to reflect contemporary concerns : that of the usefulness of the religious life. Menander had asked
467 Āyupāla a question : "If by observing their moral habits, the laity acquire merit for the present and future, what is the good of becoming a monk?". Āyupāla remained silent (*Miliñda*, pp. 19-20). The correct answer was given by Nāgasena : the religious attain holiness more surely and quickly than the laity (*Tsa pao tsang ching*, T 203, ch. 9, p. 492*c*).

If the interview between Milinda and Nāgasena corresponds to some true fact, one might wonder what its result was. Book VII of the Pāli recension (p. 420) claims that, once the dialogue was over, Menander was immediately received as an upāsaka. He then placed his son on the throne, took up the religious life and attained Arhatship. Book III, which falls within the scope of the original text, provides another epilogue (p. 88), but which does not appear in the Chinese version : satisfied with the answers that had been given him, Menander allocated eight hundred daily meals to Nāgasena, confessed his desire to take up

[63] After ID., *ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

the relgious life, while regretting that political circumstances prevented from fulfilling his aspirations : "As a lion captured in a golden cage stretches its neck outwards, even so do I, while remaining in the world, aspire for solitude. But if I left the world to take up the religious life, I would not live long, for I have many enemies". A mere aspiration, not followed by any practical achievement, such is doubtless the limit of Menander's Buddhist experience. If he felt sympathy towards the sons of the Śākya, this was as much through policy as conviction. There was no trace of proselytism in him, for this was not the way with the Greeks.

Certain critics have been struck with the liveliness of the dialogue in the *Milindapañha* and they have attempted to see in it a more or less direct influence of the Platonic dialogue. In fact, the dialogue style was always well known in India, and the Upaniṣads, the epic, even certain canonical sūtras provide good examples of it. In any case, Nāgasena lacks that point of irony and apparent lightness which constituted the charm of Socratic conversation.

However, the *Milindapañha* as a dialogue between a sovereign and foreign sages is no novelty in the history of universal literature. The encounter between Alexander and some Indian gymnosophists is treated by several sources as a conversation in the course of which the king is supposed to have asked a group of ten sages a series of embarrassing questions and the letter by Pseudo-Aristeas narrates the interrogation in
468 Alexandria to which Ptolemy II had subjected seventy-two Jewish scholars whom he had invited to translate their scriptures into Greek. Tarn, who pointed out some curious coincidences between these various compositions and the *Milinda,* concluded, perhaps overhastily, that the Indian author of the Milindapañha took his inspiration from a Greek source which dealt with the "Questions of Menander"[64].

However, it may be, the *Milindapañha,* even in its later books, acquired such authority in the Buddhist world that, along with other compositions such as the *Nettipakaraṇa,* the *Peṭakopadesa* and the *Suttasaṅgaha,* it is classed in Ceylon among the paracanonical works, and the Burmese consider it as part of the canon. In the fifth century, the learned Sinhalese commentator Buddhaghosa frequently quoted it in support of his arguments and on the subcontinent the great scholar Vasubandhu also consulted it as an undisputed authority.

Consequently there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Buddhists considered the Indo-Greek king as one of theirs, one of the few Yavanas to be converted, as against numerous Scythians, Parthians, Serindians

[64] W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1951, pp. 414-36.

and Chinese who were later to follow his example by also adhering to the Good Law.

Again in the eleventh century, the Kaśmīrian author Kṣmendra, in his *Avadānakalpalatā* (ch. 57, v. 15), did not hesitate to transform a Buddhist legend, which in all likelihood dated from the Kuṣāṇa period, in order to introduce the Indo-Greek king into it. This is the supposed journey of the Buddha in North-West India, a journey to which we will return, but where it is said that, on his arrival near Peshāwār, the Buddha predicted the erection on the spot of a gigantic stūpa and caitya by the great Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka. In the history of Buddhism, Kaniṣka is looked on as a second Aśoka. However, Kṣemendra did not hesitate to remove him from the legend in order to substitute Menander for him. In fact, he claimed that on arrival at the village of Pāṭala, "the Blessed One said to Indra, who had come to that place to see, that a king named Milindra would build a stūpa in that country".

That the Kaśmīrians who, of all the Buddhists on the subcontinent, were the only ones to deal — very badly — with religious history insisted on taking over the memory of Menander, clearly appears in a
469 passage by Tāranātha (p. 23) : "At that time, there lived in the land of Tukhāra a king named Minara. All the inhabitants of the country venerated the sky-god, but made no distinction between vice and virtue. At the time of their festivals, they offered the sky the thick smoke which came from the burning of rice, fabrics, precious stones and aromatic wood. Dhītika came through the air to the place of sacrifice with a throng of five hundred Arhats, and seated himself in the festival hall. They believed he was the sky god, bowed down at his feet and made him rich offerings. However, when he had expounded the doctrine, the king, at the head of a thousand persons, recognized the truth and innumerable persons were led to utter the formula of the Three Refuges and were introduced to the main points of the doctrine". Dhītika is in fact a personage well-known to the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin schools where he plays the part of sixth patriarch, immediately after the first five Masters of the Law (*Legend of Aśoka*, T 2042, ch. 5, p. 121*a* 27; ch. 6, p. 126*a* 27; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 152*c* 16; ch. 10, p. 169*b* 29; *Mūlasarv. Vinaya*, T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411*b* 28. See also *Ching tê ch'uan têng lu*, T 2076, ch. 1, p. 207*c* 20; *Fo tsu t'ung chi*, T 2035, ch. 5, p. 172*b* 24).

2. THE GREEK INFLUENCE ON BUDDHISM

THE MATERIAL RATHER THAN RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE. — We do not intend to examine here the huge problem of the Hellenic influence on the

Indian world. No one would dream of denying it, on the contrary it has been a great pleasure for some to point out the many Greek incidences on Indian life and thought : commercial relationships, religions and philosophies, sciences (mathematics, geometry, astronomy and astrology, medicine), art and literature (stories, fables and folklore)[65]. The
470 general conclusion to be drawn from the research is that India incontestably underwent Hellenistic influences in various spheres, but that she assimilated them so perfectly that, with a few exceptions, the foreign origin of those influences gradually faded till it became imperceptible. Whatever may have been her contacts with other countries, India retained and upheld her own genius and, unlike so many countries of the Near and Middle East, never allowed herself to be Hellenized.

Without going into details of that vast research, we would like to examine here what the Buddhists of North-West India gained from the century and a half of Greek occupation which political circumstances imposed upon them. The Greeks founded a new city in Taxila, to be precise, in Sirkap, built according to the chequer-board layout of Hellenic towns of the time and defended by a stone wall equipped with bastions[66]. The Scythian and Parthian towns which succeeded it have not effaced that first city to such a degree that one can no longer judge the enormous progress it represented in comparison to the Taxila of Biṛ Mound which was built of mud and crude bricks, without any pre-established plan. The excavations at Sirkap have yielded quantities of objects made of stone or metal, of a specifically Greek character, as much through the choice of stone or the nature of the alloy as through the form or destination : clay amphoras and pots with handles, embossed porcelain with a black-tinted varnish metal, stone disks modelled on the *phiale mesomphalos*, toilet utensils adorned with classically inspired bas-reliefs[67].

The coinage copied directly from Greek and Seleucid models, marks a considerable progress over the coins of Indian origin. The majority, particularly the oldest, are of great artistic value. The first Bactrian coins

[65] On the problem of Greek influence, see the bibliography on the Subject in L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 241-3; H. Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Art du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1950, pp. 78-90. A good general view is given by W.W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 351-408; A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, II, pp. 254-306; J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 39-44; On Greeks and Śakas in India, JRAS, 1947, pp. 3-32. On the Roman influence, J. Filliozat, *Les échanges de l'Inde et de l'Empire romain*, RH, 1949, pp. 1-29.*

[66] On Greek Sirkap, J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 112-36. It is probable that Menander's Śākala was also built according to the chequer-board plan.

[67] J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 123-30.

bear only a Greek legend; but from the time of Demetrius, the legend is bilingual : Greek on the obverse and Prākrit in Kharoṣṭhī characters on the reverse. On the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, the Brāhmī alphabet replaces Kharoṣṭhī. The mint used concurrently Hellenic models and Indian symbols, such as the elephant, Indian buffalo, or local deities.

471 In order to administer their territories, the Indo-Greeks took their inspiration from Macedonian and Seleucid precedents, which in turn were copied from the ancient Achaemenid organization[69]. The basic territorial division was the satrapy, and the satrap was himself assisted by "divisional officers" or meridarchs. The satraps, who often struck coins in their own name, seem to have enjoyed extensive authority. The Macedonians and Seleucids, even while appointing local people to the functions of satrap or governor, established in the principal centres garrisons and military colonies recruited from among their own nationals on whose faithfulness they erroneously believed they could count. This precaution seems to have been neglected by the Indo-Greek kings whose administration relied mainly on the goodwill and cooperation of the indigenous element. Despite being of Greek origin, the ruling aristocracy used only Indian Prākrit as their official language and means of communication. Apart from the legends on the coins, no Greek inscription appears in the archives. The only attested language is Prākrit of the North-West.

Even while making the most of the advantages of a materially superior civilization, the Indians were little impressed by the Western thought which those foreign soldiers, cut off from their mother-country, moreover represented only very imperfectly. Pondering incessantly over plans of conquest, shaken by internal battles, the Indo-Greek kings did not for an instant dream of converting their indigenous subjects to their religion or philosophies. Any attempt in that direction would have come up against Indian nationalism, carefully maintained by the brāhmins and firmly defended by the caste system. Of all those foreign conquerors, India has only retained the name of Milinda, for the sole reason that he was interested in Buddhism, and if the inhabitants of Vidiśā knew of Antialcidas, this was because an ambassador, claiming to be a follower of Viṣṇu, himself mentioned the name of his sovereign on the pillar at Besnagar. Of Alexander the Great there is no memory, except perhaps for the bronze panels fixed on the walls of the Iranian temple of Jaṇḍil (Taxila) and which, according to Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii*, II,

[69] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 40-1.

20, p. 62)[69], apparently represented the prowesses of Porus and Alexan-
472 der, or again that unseemly play on words by Bāṇa (*Harṣacarita*, p. 214) concerning a certain *Alasaś Caṇḍakośaḥ* in which S. Lévi ingeniously thought he had discovered an allusion to the Macedonian conqueror[70]. In order to eradicate any trace of the foreign occupation, the Indians set about turning the Alexandrian glories to their profit : the towns of Nicaea and Bucephala founded on either side of the Hydaspes in order to commemorate the defeat of Porus were renamed by the Buddhists as Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva and linked with the biography of the legendary king Mahāsaṃmata, who is thought to have received the royal consecration at Ādirājya and the "jewel" of the fine horse at Bhadrāśva (*Gilgit Mss*, III, 1, p. 3)[71]. Little credit is paid to the "Hellenic sacrifices" which according to Plutarch (*Vita Alex.*, LXII, 8) the kings of the Prasioi are thought to have performed regularly at the dozen altars built by Alexander, not far from the Hyphasis, at the farthest point of his advance eastwards (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, ed. Kayser, II, 43, p. 84, 3). The expression used by Plutarch βωμοὺς διαβαίνοντες σέβονται "they honoured the altars while walking about them" recalls a Buddhist *pradakṣiṇā* rather than animal sacrifices[72].

Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable to claim that the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular were not influenced by their invaders, especially those with whom they were on friendly terms. We believe that the ancient piety somewhat washed over the Buddhist mentality, that the Greeks played a part in the invention of the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni and, finally, that the Hellenic presence on the North-West frontiers paved the way for a great many of tales and legends which the Indians welcomed eagerly. We hasten to say, however, that this influence took a long time to become apparent and that although it was implanted during the Indo-Greek occupation, it did not bear fruit until first the Śaka-Pahlava period, and then the Kuṣāṇa. Furthermore, the considerable development of the communication routes in the first centuries A.D. intensified the relations between East and West : once they were established, cultural exchanges were maintained and amplified. This is precisely what makes it so difficult, if not
473 impossible, to date what Buddhism borrowed from abroad, mainly in the realm of ideas.

[69] B. Breloer, FHRI, p. 111.

[70] S. Lévi, *Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents indiens*, Mém. S. Lévi, Paris, 1937, pp. 414-15.

[71] É. Lamotte, *Alexandre et le bouddhisme*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50, I, pp. 156-8.

[72] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 148-9.

THE ANCIENT PRAYER. — The principal elements of the eightfold Path which leads to the cessation of suffering and to Nirvāṇa are morality, concentration and wisdom; no place is attributed to prayer. In the Buddhist outlook, prayer is nonsense. The destiny of beings is not governed by a deity but regulated mechanically by the process of the maturation of action. Deeds, as we have seen, are the sole assets of beings, they are their race and heritage; nowhere in the universe is there a place where one can escape the fruit of actions; one is alone in gathering the fruit of the actions which one alone has performed. Neither gods nor Buddhas intervene in the mechanism of moral maturation to which they are themselves subject. No doubt there are śramaṇas and brāhmins who claim that everything that mankind experiences on this earth, whether happiness or sorrow, has its cause in the intervention of a sovereign (*īśvaranirmāṇa*). This, however, is an implicit admission that, if men are assassins, thieves, adulteres and liars, it is the fault of God. To explain everything through divine will is equivalent to denying human liberty; it is refusing man the possibility of choosing between what needs to be done and what does not need to be done. In truth, "everything that man experiences in this world, happiness, sorrow, the absence of happiness and sorrow, all that has its cause in previous action" (*Aṅguttara*, I, p. 173; *Madhyama*, T 26, ch. 3, p. 435*a-b*).

It ensues from this that if early Buddhism counselled good thought (*kuśalacitta*), concentration (*samādhāna*), the recollection (*anusmṛti*) of the Buddha, the Law and the Community, firm resolve (*adhimukti*) and spiritual aspiration (*praṇidhāna*) for correcting conduct or purifying the mind, it was completely unaware of the prayer of deprecation, propitiation and thanksgiving, which do not even have a name in its language.

The rejection of prayer is not a prejudice of disillusioned philosophers, but results from a fundamental Buddhist attitude. Proof of this is to be found in the numerous dedicatory inscriptions engraved on the base of sculptures at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñcī. The pious donors, simple people for the most part, do not formulate any requests on them, or
474 discharge any vows; they merely specify the nature of their gift — upright (*stambha*), cross-piece (*sūcī*), gateway (*toraṇa*), coping (*uṣṇīṣa*) or sculpture (*śilākarmānta*) — and state their identity, name, place of origin, qualities and profession. This step can in no way be explained as a gesture of vanity. The principle that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing does not apply to them, since the devout laity are advised to write down their meritorious works in a notebook, and the reading of this *puṇyapustaka* is made for them on their death-bed; it comforts the dying and purifies their last thoughts in order to ensure a

good rebirth. When the Sinhalese king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi felt his end approaching, he ordered his scribe (*lekhaka*) to read out loud his "notebook of meritorious deeds", in which were recorded in detail the monasteries that the king had founded, the temples he had erected, his alms to the Saṃgha and the numerous festivals he had organized. Comforted by those memories, he cast his eyes one final time on the Mahā Thupā, and breathed his last. After his death, he appeared in a heavenly form, standing, in a chariot which had come to fetch him from the Tuṣita heaven (*Mhv.*, XXXII, 24-75; *Manorathapūraṇī*, II, p. 214).

Faith in the sovereign and exclusive virtue of action exempted the Buddhist from believing in gods. Therefore it is not surprising that the Buddhists of the North-West, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Yüeh chih, showed a less disinterested piety and that we see them formulating, on their dedicatory inscriptions, "intentions" which dangerously resemble petitionary prayers.

After the Aśokan edicts, the oldest known inscription in the North-West is probably that on the reliquary of Shinkot which was mentioned above. This reliquary was presented and replaced after some years interval by two Indians, Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra, one of whom was a vassal of the Indo-Greek king Menander. For those two devotees, the bodily relic (*śarīra*) of the Buddha is more than an element (*dhātu*) for commemoration : it is a living being "endowed with breath" (*prāṇasameta*), in the presence of which one may "conciliate the ancestors with offerings and water" (*piṇḍodakaiḥ pitṛn grāhayati*). It goes without saying that reverence for ancestors (*pretadakṣiṇā*), mentioned in the *Dīgha* (III, p. 189), *Aṅguttara* (III, p. 43) and *Milindapañha* (p. 294), is not absolutely alien to Buddhism. Nonetheless, it is only an inferior kind of worship, one of those many ceremonies of which Aśoka said
475 that "even if they must be performed, they are of little use" (Bloch, p. 114). The most curious thing here is that this worship was performed at the very shrine of the Buddha and that the commemorative stūpa was used as a βωμός.

Worship implies prayer, and it is starting from this principle that other subjects and contemporaries of the Indo-Greek kings, Greeks by origin, but Buddhists by conversion, accomplished their pious deads for particular ends and at the same time stating their intentions : the meridarch Theodorus installed relics "for the prosperity of many people" (Konow, p. 4); another meridarch, whose name is effaced, erected with his wife a stūpa "in honour of his mother and father" (Konow, p. 5); a certain Theodorus, son of Datia (Datis?), dug a well "in honour of all beings" (Konow, p. 66).

The example set by the Greeks as early as the second century B.C. was followed blindly by the foreign Śakas, Pahlavas and Yüeh Chih who succeeded them on the territories of the North-West and who also embraced the Buddhist religion.

According to the evidence of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the donations by these new sons of the Śākya were intended as worship, *pūjā*. This *pūjā* is not addressed only to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, but also to many other venerable persons : a mother or father, relative or friend, master, dignitary — satrap or great satrap —, even "all beings" in general. The inscription on the Lion Capital of Mathurā is a *pūjā* "to the entire Scythian Country" (KONOW, p. 48).

The intention of the donors is not always religious, nor exclusively so, attainment of Nirvāṇa (KONOW, pp. 77, 158), the obtaining of a "Good Share" or *agrabhāga* (KONOW, p. 170), a curious expression which does not belong to the technical vocabulary of Buddhism; E. Senart wondered whether it might not represent an attempt at a direct or indirect translation of the Greek αγαθὴ τύχη[73]. The aims sought, the favours requested are generally more humble : *āyurbalavṛddhi*, an increase in life and strenghth (KONOW, pp. 28, 145); *aroga*, good health for oneself or for someone else (KONOW, pp. 77, 91, 114, 124, 129, 170, 172); *hitasukha*, welfare and happiness (KONOW, pp. 16, 65, 137, 141, 165),
476 *dīrghāyus*, longevity (KONOW, p. 176), and even the protection of young children in times of epidemic (KONOW, p. 127).

Assiduous readers of Buddhist texts will not fail to notice that those self-interested donors may be guilty of quite serious deviationism. However, this lowering of the ideal is more difficult to explain.

It could, of course, be a matter of the resurgence of the autochtonous environment. Since Vedic times, India had known and practised all forms of prayer. The ancient hymns consist of praises and thanksgivings to the divinities of nature, myth and philosophy who "bring all favours". They often conclude with a request "May we forever, happy at heart, happy in countenance, rich in children, free from wrong, free from complaint, day after day, living for a long time yet, see you rise, O potent Mitra, the Sun!" (*Ṛgveda*, X, 37). The wrongdoer does not hesitate to ask forgiveness for his faults : "If we have performed by speech, O god, or by mental inadvertence, a serious matter for anger, dispel those grievances, O just ones!" (*ibid.*)[74].

However, the hypothesis of an Indian resurgence does not explain

[73] E. SENART, *Notes d'épigraphie indienne*, JA, XV, 8th series, p. 123.

[74] Cf. L. RENOU, *La poésie religieuse de l'Inde antique*, Paris, 1942, p. 34.

why self-interested piety first showed itself among Buddhists of likely foreign origin who were the least to be affected by local influences. The fact is all the more curious in that their Indian co-religionists do not seem to have followed suit at the same period. At the beginning of the era, the *dānapati* who left inscriptions in central India (Mathurā, Sārnāth, Bodh-Gayā), on the western coast (Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā, the first caves at Ajaṇṭā, Junnar, Bedsā, Nāsik, Kārli, Kānheri) and in Andhra country (Jaggayyapeta, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) remained the spiritual inheritors of the early donors at Bhārhut and Sāñcī and, persuaded by the mechanism of Pratītyasamutpāda, did not formulate any requests, and were content to "note" their pious works.

Should we see in the self-interested *pūjā* of the North-West a natural evolution betraying the new tendencies of the nascent Mahāyāna? It is true that several Mahāyāna sects developed a genuine Buddhist devotion (*bhakti*) which was to find its most adequate mode of expression in works of higher mysticism such as the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and *Saddharma-*
477 *puṇḍarīka*. However, this is a depersonalized devotion, focussed on that initial aspiration which is the arousal of the thought of Bodhi (*bodhicittotpāda*) : to accede to supreme and perfect Enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) in order to ensure the welfare and happiness of all beings (*sarvasattvahitasukha*).

The bodhisattva, an adherent of the Mahāyāna, practises the sevenfold supreme worship three times a day : 1-2. to honour (*vandanā*) and serve (*pūjanā*) the Buddhas, 3. to confess his misdeeds (*pāpadeśanā*), 4. to delight in the good action of beings (*anumodanā*), 5. to invite the Buddhas to expound the Law (*adhyeṣaṇā*), 6. to arouse the thought of Bodhi (*bodhicittotpāda*), 7. to apply all merit to the welfare of creatures (*pariṇamanā*)[75].

By so doing, he proves his perfect disinterest since, according to the formula of his Prātimokṣa, altruism is his only rule of conduct :

"I, of such-and-such a name, who have thus aroused the thought of Bodhi, adopt the infinite world of beings as my mother, father, sisters, brothers, sons, daughters, relatives of whatever degree and kinsfolk. Having adopted them, with all my power, all my strength, all my knowledge, I will implant the wholesome root in them. Henceforth, the gift I give, the morality I observe, the patience I retain, the vigour I use, the ecstasy I practise, the wisdom I develop, the beneficial skilfulness I evince : all that will be for the interest, welfare and happiness of all beings"[76].

[75] Dharmasaṃgraha, §14; Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna, vv. 4-12. See also Upāliparipṛcchā, quoted in Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 171, l.5.

[76] Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 275.

Such disinterestedness sets the adherent of the Mahāyāna well above the first Buddhists of the North-West whose piety, real though it may have been, was not free of personal motivations.

Hence, neither the resurgence of the Vedic prayer nor the later developments of Mahāyānist piety supply an adequate explanation for the religious mentality of the Yavanas who turned to Buddhism at the period of the Indo-Greek kingdoms.

Should we, however, reproach those foreigners and soldiers for not having grasped the mysteries of the theory of dependent origination, for not having understood that, if action constitutes the only explanation
478 for existence, prayer is totally inefficacious? Taking the Three Refuges could not instantaneously eliminate their Hellenic atavism and, being Greek, they continued to pray in Greek. Based essentially on the anthropomorphic concept of divinity, the εὐσέβεια, or *pietas*, found its natural expression in the petitionary prayer (λιτή). It has been recognized since the time of Homer that "everything is in the lap of the gods" (ταῦτα θεῶν γούνασι κεῖται)[77].

The hero of the epic knows how to approach the gods. He washes his hands[78], puts on spotless garments[79], crowns himself with flowers and takes in his hands the attributes of the suppliant (ἱκετηρία) a palm-leaf surrounded by wool.

He adopts a ritual attitude, which varies according to the deities whom he is addressing : eyes raised skywards (ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν)[80] with hands raised in the air (χεῖρας ἀνασχών)[81] when he is praying to the inhabitants of the sky; arms extended horizontally over the sea[82] if he is addressing the gods of the waters; stretched over the earth and striking the soil with both hands[83] when he is invoking the lords of the hells.

In order to make himself heard, the Greek prayed out loud (μεγάλ' εὔχετο)[84] and, to avoid any cause of equivocation, stated in full (ἐπίκλησις) the titles of the gods whom he wished to interest in his cause[85].

[77] Homer, *Iliad*, XVII, 514; XX, 435; *Odyssey*, I, 267, 408; XVI, 129.
[78] *Il.*, XVI, 230; *Od.*, II, 261.
[79] *Od.*, IV, 750; XVII, 48.
[80] *Il.*, VII, 178.
[81] *Il.*, V, 174; VI, 257; VII, 130; XXIV, 301; *Od.*, IX, 294; XIII, 355.
[82] *Il.*, I, 351; *Od.*, IX, 527; Pindar, *Ol.*, I, 71; VI, 58.
[83] *Il.*, IX, 568-70; XIV, 271-2.
[84] *Il.*, I, 450, III, 275; VIII, 347; *Od.*, XVII, 239.
[85] *Il.*, I, 37-9, 451-2; XVI, 233-5.

The personal piety (εὐσέβεια) of the suppliant did not guarantee that his prayer would be answered[86]. Originally at least, the prayer was like a bargain between man and deity, a bargain that could take several forms[87].

a. "If I do that for you, you must do this for me"[88]. — This is the
479 first prayer of Chryseis to Apollo : "If I have ever erected a temple for you which pleased you, if I have ever burned to you fat haunches of bulls and goats, grant my wish : let your arrows pay for my pleas to the Danaans!" (*Ib.*, I, 39-42).

b. "If you do that for me, I will do this for you"[89]. — As for example, in the prayer of Nestor to Athene : "Queen, be favourable to us! Grant us great renown, to me, to my children, to my worthy companion! I will sacrifice a one-year-old cow to you, an untamed beast, whose wide brow has never yet been yoked, and I will offer it to you, its horns plated with gold" (*Od.*, III, 380-4).

c. "What you did for me in the past, do again for me now"[90]. — This is the second prayer of Chryseis to Apollo : "You have already heard my wishes not long ago; you paid homage to me, by striking the army of the Achaeans heavily. This time again, therefore, grant my wish : spare the Danaans from the scurrilous plague" (*Ib.*, I, 453-6).

This ancient prayer, basically inspired by concern for the *do ut des*, travelled down the ages without undergoing any substantial changes. It is again found, scarcely modified, penned by the great Greek and Roman writers[91]. No attention was paid to the objection raised by certain thinkers that the gods know what we need better than we do. Unlike the Buddhists, the ancient world was convinced that every man needs the gods, but that their aid had to be requested. Should we therefore be surprised that the Greeks who had strayed in the second century B.C. to the frontiers of North-West India combined petitionary prayer with the Buddhist *pradakṣiṇā*?

THE IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA[92]. — The artists of the ancient Central

[86] However, see *Il.*, I 218; Pindar, *Ol.*, VIII, 8.

[87] Cf. *ERE*, X, p. 184.

[88] *Il.*, I, 39-42; VIII, 203-4; 238-40; XV, 372-3; *Od.*, IV, 763-5; XVII, 240-2.

[89] *Il.*, VI, 115, 308-9; *Od.*, III, 380-4; XIII, 358.

[90] *Il.*, I 453-6; V, 116-17; X, 278-80; Pindar, *Isth.*, VI, 42.

[91] See A. Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, New York, 1910, pp. 85-6.

[92] The problem of its origin has been strongly debated, but no definite solution has yet settled the matter. The present state of the dispute can be summarized in a few lines :

"Mathurā is the bridge between the two types of Buddhist iconography [i.e. the symbolic representation or image of the Buddha]. Unfortunately, it is still not possible to synchronize satisfactorily the Kuṣāṇa era with that — or those — of Gandhāra. That is why the

Indian school of sculpture had refrained from representing Śākyamuni
480 in his last existence in his human form; they merely indicated his presence by symbols. However, the schools of sculpture at Gandhāra and Mathurā, which seem to have been started, the former towards the end of the ancient era, the latter a few decades later, did not hesitate to fashion images of the Buddha. The Gandhāran Buddha betrays its half-foreign origin by the folds of the drapery, the nimbus which surrounds his head and the very features of his face which often recall those of Apollo and Dionysius. The Mathurān Buddha — termed Bodhisattva on the inscriptions — is closer to the authentic Indian type.

The appearance of the image of the Buddha on the monuments constituted a revolution in the history of Buddhist art, and there have been unending discussions over its origin. Apart from some minor details, three theories obtain.

1. The Greek origin of the Buddha image was proposed in 1913 by A. Foucher and supported by various western archaeologists : Sir John Marshall, J.P. Vogel, W.W. Tarn, etc.[93].

debate remains open as to whether or not the Gandhāran type pre-dates the Mathurān type; some assumptions are in favour of the first hypothesis, but many archaeologists support the second" (after J. Auboyer, *Arts et Styles de l'Inde*, Paris, 1951, p. 64).

"The schools of Gandhāra (the lower Kābul Valley and the upper Indus, around Peshāwār) and Mathurā, both of which flourished under the Kuṣāṇa kings, vie for the honour of having produced the first images of the Buddha. Most Indian authorities now believe that the Buddha image originated at Mathurā; most earlier Europeans supported Gandhāra, but some recent experts are less certain" (A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 367).

An analytical bibliography of the subject can be found in H. Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Art du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1950, pp. 46-64.*

[93] A. Foucher, *L'origine grecque de l'image du Buddha*, Conf. du Musée Guimet, 1913; *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, Paris, 1918, pp. 278-322; *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1947, pp. 340-1; G.N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1921; B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Oxford, 1924; L. Bachhofer, *Zur Datierung der Gandhāra Plastik*, Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, VI, 1924-25, pp. 4-30; L. Adam, *Buddhastatuen, Ursprung und Formen des Buddhagestalt*, Stuttgart, 1925; L. Scherman, *Der älteste nationalindischen Buddha-Typ*, Panthéon, 1928; pp. 147-50; *Buddha im Fürstenschmück*, ABAW, Philos.-hist. Abt., N.F., VII, 1932; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1929, I, pp. 81-2; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*... pp. 252-6; P. Stern, in *L'Inde antique et la Civilisation indienne*, Paris, 1933, p. 419 sq.; J.P. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, Oxford, 1936, p. 24 sq.; S. Élisséeff and others, *Arts Musulmans, Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1939, p. 131; S. Lévi, *L'Inde civilisatrice*, Paris, 1938, p. 77; Sir John Marshall, in *Cambridge Hist. of India*, I, pp. 648-9; *Greeks and Śakas in India*, JRAS, 1947, pp. 3-32; W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1951, p. 400 sq. 537; N.R. Ray, in *The History and Culture of Indian People*, II, Bombay, 1953, p. 519. — Concerning

481 The difficulty is that, if the idea of depicting the founder of Buddhism with a human aspect was best conceived in the mind of a Greek in the second century B.C., we do not, however possess any Buddha image prior to the Christian era. Contrary to what is asserted by Tarn[94], it is extremely doubtful whether the effigy of the Buddha appears on the coin of Maues (ca 90-53 B.C.) in the *British Museum Catalogue*, pl. XVII, No. 5[95], and if it is true that the Buddha of the Bīmarān reliquary was found together with three coins of Azes I (ca 38-10 B.C), the experts now agree that this reliquary must be considered as a work of the second century A.D.[96].

2. The Indian origin of the Buddha image was supported by A. Coomaraswamy, W. Goloubew and, following them, by a whole series of writers[97]. India has always worshipped images, and representations
482 of the Indian sage or yogi date back to remote antiquity. The appearance of Buddhist devotion round about the beginning of the Christian era incited in reverers of the Blessed One the wish to possess a Buddha

the influence of the Roman Empire on Gandhāran art, defined as "Romano-Buddhist", H. Buchtal, *The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art*, JRAS, 1943, pp. 137-48; *The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture*, TOCS, XIX, 1942-43, pp. 21-32; *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra sculpture*, PBA, XXXI, 1946, pp. 1-28. — For the parallelism with Christian art, B. Rowland, *Gandhāra and Early Christian Art : Buddha Palliatus*, AJA, No. 49, 1945, pp. 455-8; *Gandhāra and Early Christian Art : The Homme-arcade and the Date of the Bīmarān Reliquary*, AB, 1946, pp. 44-7; *Gandhāra and Late Antique Art; the Buddha Image*, AJA, No. 46, 1942, pp. 223-36. — On the Bactrian origin of Graeco-Buddhist art (origin disputed by Foucher), J. Hackin, *L'Art bouddhique de la Bactriane et les origines de l'Art gréco-bouddhique*, Bull. archéol. de l'Académie afghane, I, 1937. — On the relationship between Gandhāran and Mathurān arts and Buddhist thought, M. Bussagli, *Note sull'immagine del Buddha*, Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Ser. VIII, vol. I, fasc. 7-9, 1946.

[94] *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 400 sq.

[95] E. Bazin-Foucher, JA, 1938, p. 518; L. Bachhofer, JAOS, 1941; J. Marshall, JRAS, 1947, p. 14.

[96] J. Marshall, JRAS, 1947, p. 14; A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*..., Errata to Vol. II, p. 341, 1.17; B. Rowland, AB, 1946, pp. 44-7.

[97] W. Cohn, *La Sculpture hindoue*, Paris, 1922; W. Goloubew, review of *Art du Gandhāra*, BEFEO, XXIII, 1923, pp. 438-56; A. Coomaraswamy, Review of *Art du Gandhāra* in Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1924, p. 51; *The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image*, JAOS, 1926, pp. 165-70; *The Origin of the Buddha Image*, AB, IX, No. 4, 1927; *The Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Harvard, 1935; *Geschichte der Indischen und Indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 54 sq.; O. Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, China und Japan*, Berlin, 1928; S. Konow, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buddhabildes*, SPAW, XXIX, 1928, pp. 565-74; P. Mus, *Barabuḍur*, Hanoi, 1935, II, p. 662 sq.; G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1937, I, pp. 196-203; O.C. Gangoly, *The Antiquity of the Buddha Image*, OAZ, 1938, 2-3, pp. 41-59.

image. The Mathurā Buddha, fashioned in imitation of statues of Nāgas and Yakṣas, is of Indian inspiration and creation. It is possibly the ancestor of all the images of the Blessed One, and it survived the classical vogue represented by the Gandhāran school, without undergoing any basic alterations.

The problem is that the Mathurān sculpture, from the Kuṣāṇa period, does not date further back into the past than about the middle of the first century A.D., whereas the Gandhāran production began at a considerably earlier date. Therefore it is difficult to see how the Mathurān Buddha could have been a prototype. Again, if the Buddha image is of Indian origin, an explanation will have to be given as to which event caused the Mathurāns to break suddenly with the Indian custom, firmly established in the ancient school of sculpture, whereby the Buddha in his last existence is represented only in symbolic form. The development of Buddhist *bhakti* is not enough to explain such an artistic revolution, since long after the creation of the statue of Śākyamuni, the cult of the image was completely unknown. The Pāli commentaries consider it a grave offence to destroy a caitya, attack the Bodhi tree or damage relics, but nowhere do they condemn harming images. A learned Sinhalese monk was still writing quite recently that, according to the Buddhist concept, an image is of no importance unless it contains relics; without them, the spiritual value of the image amounts to practically nothing[98].

3. Finally, other writers decided in favour of two independent origins
483 of the Buddha image[99]. E. Waldschmidt believed that the Gandhāran Buddha dated from the beginnings of the Christian era, while the Mathurān Buddha, uninfluenced by the former, appeared a century later. He believed that the influence of the Greek Buddha was felt in Mathurā some twenty years after the creation of the Indian type and then disappeared, thus allowing the forming of the classical Buddhas of the Gupta period and of later ages, all of which were based on the Mathurān Buddha.

Nevertheless, however different the Greek and Indian types of statue may be, their general affinities are so pronounced that they enable us to drop the hypothesis of an independent creation; one of the two was necessarily derived from the other. Furthermore, it is difficult to see how the district of Mathurā, which was under the sway of the Indo-Greek

[98] W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 126.

[99] E. Waldschmidt, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien*, OAZ, VI, 1930, pp. 265-77; H.G. Rawlinson and others, *Indian Art*, London, 1947, p. 77 sq.; Id., *India. A Short Cultural History*, 2nd ed., London, 1943, p. 101.

kings until the invasion of the Śakas of Maues (ca 90-53), could have avoided the influence of Gandhāra.

The only way of setting the question and enabling everyone to come to an agreement would be for new archaeological discoveries to come to light. In the meanwhile, it might be thought that the idea of representing the Buddha with human features is more likely to have germinated in the brain of a Greek anthropomorphist than that of an Indian Buddhist whom the ancient central Indian school of sculpture had accustomed to aniconism. The initiative can hardly have come from the Śaka-Pahlavas who, before entering India, were completely, or almost completely, unaware of Buddhism. It may be attributable to the Greeks who, before them, had occupied the North West for nearly a century, and lived in close contact with the indigenous Buddhists of Gandhāra and the Punjab[100]. Nurtured on anthropomorphism, the Greeks could only conceive gods in human form. They persuaded the locals to banish once and for all their aniconic scruples and represent the Buddha in person. The suggestion was all the more tempting because those advisers included in their ranks consummate artists, trained in the studios of painting and sculpture at Antioch, Palmyra, Susa and Seleuceia. They were expert at sketching in a few lines or carving with rapid blows of the chisel an artistic image of the Buddha Śākyamuni, so much more alive
484 than the obscure symbols adopted by the old school in order to suggest the presence of the Master. The proposal was accepted, and the first image of the Buddha was painted or sculpted by a Greek artist tinged with Buddhism, possibly, as A. Foucher claimed, by a cross-bred artist of half-Greek and half-Buddhist birth[101]. After some tentative experimentation, the Apollonian type of Buddha was definitively created.

This memorable invention which is not later than the first Śaka invasion in approximately 87 B.C., cannot be earlier than the death of Menander in about 150 B.C., since, to judge from the *Milindapañha*, that king, during his long conversations with the Buddhists, did not broach the artistic problem of the Buddha image with his interlocutors. His successor Strato, who had to cede Gandhāra and the Western Punjab to his rival Heliocles, hardly had time to extricate himself from his military concerns. Antialcidas, of the western Greek kingdom, who ruled in Taxila from 125 to 100, was led by political circumstances to be more interested in Viṣṇuism than Buddhism and had to find among his subjects a person who was sufficiently converted to Bhāgavata ideas to

[100] See the remarks by L. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu*, Rome, 1950, pp. 63-80.

[101] A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, II, p. 320.

be accepted as ambassador to the last Śuṅgas. It was therefore among the immediate successors of Antialcidas, particularly Archebius, the king of Taxila, who governed Gandhāra between the death of Antialcidas (100 B.C.) and the raid by the Śakas of Maues (87 B.C.), that we must situate the fortunate initiative that endowed the sacred art with an entirely new formula[102].

The cradle of Graeco-Buddhist art should necessarily be sought in regions where the Greeks and Buddhists were in continuous and prolonged contact. In this case, it was the districts of the North-West where the effective presence of the Good Law is confirmed before the arrival of the Indo-Greeks by the numerous Aśokan stūpas of the archaic type, as well as the proliferation of local legends, particularly jātakas, the acclimatization of which in the North-West possibly dates back to the first missionaries of the Mauryan period, Madhyāntika and his companions. In fact, as we saw earlier, ancient stūpas are recorded at Jaguḍa, Nagarahāra, in the district of Puṣkarāvatī, in Uḍḍiyāna and in the
485 Western Punjab; jātakas have been located by the indigenous legend throughout the territory : Nagarahāra, Puṣkarāvatī, Varṣapura, Shahkot, Maṅgalapura, Mount Ilam, Sunigrām, Gumbatai, Girārai, the Adinzai Valley, Rohitaka, Takṣaśilā, Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva. The same sites have provided the most interesting and authentic examples of Graeco-Buddhist art. That is why A. Foucher[103], relying both on the old indications, particularly the *Memoirs* of Hsüan tsang, and the results of excavations, has been able to determine with precision the cradle of the school as well as its farthest limits : to the east Nagarahāra and Haḍḍa, to the west Taxila, to the north the new Chitral road through the Malakand Pass and the bridge at Chakdarra, to the south the confluence of the Kurram and the Indus. Originally, neither Kapiśa nor Bactria were part of the movement; it was not before the second century A.D., under Kaniṣka and his successors, that they fully accepted the Good Law. With the exception of the old Pilu-sār stūpa in Kapiśa, they show no trace of ancient constructions; finally, they were never included in the array of the old legends. It is therefore from within a relatively restricted area, Gandhāra in the old acceptation of the term, that the Graeco-Buddhist school was one day to radiate throughout the whole of India and extend its ramifications as far as China, Japan, the Malayan archipelago and Tibet. Furthermore, similarities have long since been noticed between certain statues of the Buddha and the first

[102] For A. Foucher, *o.l.*, II, p. 321, the very first origins of the Indo-Greek School go back to before the year 75 B.C.

[103] *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, II, p. 308.

representations of Christ : both robed in the himation, they are related to the type of Greek orator or philosopher the best example of which is the Sophocles in the Museum of Latran[104].

It is quite unlikely that, in the beginning, the Gandhāran artist made use of the formula they had invented on a large scale. The artistic taste of the Greeks kept them away from idolatry and fetishism, and the statues of their gods carved by renowned sculptors would not easily lend themselves, on account of their very value, to reproductions in series. The Śakas, who were less fastidious, possibly made copies of images but, as we saw above, no specimen of a Buddha of the Scytho-Parthian period has been attested with certainty, although future excavations still leave us hope. However, they kept intact the type of Apollonian Buddha
486 draped in the himation which had been initiated in the Indo-Greek period, and transmitted it to the Tukhārans when the latter succeeded them in North-West India at the beginning of the Christian era. The Kuṣāṇa dynasts were to favour the mass production of those Buddha images which were to multiply in statues in the round, bas-reliefs, reliquaries and coins. The intensity of this assembly-line work soon to lead to the decadence of the original type which, since the time of its creation, had benefited from all the perfections of the classical technique.

THE COMMUNICATION OF THE LEGENDS[105]. — The setting up of the Indo-Greek kingdoms on the western marches of India resulted in the contact, across the Middle and Near East, of the Indian and Mediterranean worlds. The exchanges begun in the second century B.C. were extended still further during the first years of the Christian era due to the policy of peace initiated in Asia by the first Roman emperors, and the development of communication routes, both on land and at sea. Commercial trading went hand in hand with the exchange of ideas. The lovely dream nurtured by Aśoka of a universal Dharma acceptable to all

[104] See A. FOUCHER, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, pp. 783-96.

[105] Indian Buddhist folklore is assigned to voluminous collections of which these are the main ones ; *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, ed. V. FAUSBÖLL, 7 vol., London, 1877-97; tr. E.B. COWELL, 7 vol., Cambridge, 1895-1913; partial tr. by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, London, 1880; C. RHYS DAVIDS, *Stories of the Buddha*, London, 1929. — *Cariyāpiṭaka*, ed. R. MORRIS, London, 1882; tr. B.C. LAW, *Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, III, London, 1938. — *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E.B. COWELL and R.A. NEIL, Cambridge, 1886; partial tr., H. ZIMMER, *Karman, ein buddhistischer Legendkranz*, Munich, 1925. — *Māhavastu*, ed. E. SENART, 3 vol., Paris, 1882-97; tr. J.J. JONES, 3 vol., London 1949-56. — *Avadānaśataka*, ed. J.S. SPEYER, 2 vol., St. Petersburg, 1902-09; tr. L. FEER, Paris, 1891. — *Jātakamālā*, ed. H. KERN, Boston, 1891; tr. J.S. SPEYER, London, 1895. — F.A. SCHIEFNER, *Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources*, London, 1882. — E. CHAVANNES, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, 4 vol., Paris, 1910-34; A. FOUCHER, *Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha*, Paris, 1955.

men proved no doubt to be utopian; the Greeks, being particularists and sceptics, did not attempt to convince the Indians of the seriousness of their philosophies, nor did the Indians succeed in instilling their religions in the Mleccha-barbarians who occupied them. However, there is a point in the realm of ideas at which Easterners and Westerners were able to indulge, without scruples or mental reservations, in pleasant exchanges : that of fables, apologues, parables, versified tales, ballads, adven-
487 ture stories, humorous yarns or fairy tales. The loquacious Greeks could not fail to amuse the Indians with their marvellous stories and, in return, the inexhaustible Indian folklore was unlikely to leave them indifferent. Just as in communicating vessels, the bottomless reservoir of Indian legends mingled with the almost equally rich supply of western tales. Hence, the creation of an immense universal narrative literature in continual expansion, a joint work of Graeco-Roman paganism, Iranian Mazdaism and Zoroastrianism, Syrian Judaism and Christianity, and finally, Indian Buddhism. The stories, tales, legends and fables, undergoing a perpetual interchange of ideas, were conveyed from one end of the world to the other and, if they ever had any local characteristics which might betray their origin, they soon eliminated them and acquired a universal aspect which made them to the taste and within the reach of everybody. In the course of time, the Buddhist legend derived part of its inspiration from this composite oral tradition and, in its biographies of the Buddha's former lives as well as of his last existence, there are numerous passages which recall, either closely or remotely, a Greek legend, a story by Herodotus, an Eastern or Biblical tale, or an evangelical pericope. We will return to the subject further on, but we should note now that the analogies are more superficial than profound; they decrease in a new context and most frequently just disappear. The Indians have an unequalled power of assimilation, and rethink in their own way whatever comes to them from abroad; long ago, the Arab historian al-Bīrūnī stated : "Say something to a Hindu, tomorrow he will repeat to you in Indian what you told him and you will hardly recognize it!".

In literature, as in the artistic field, the influences of the Greek environment are undeniable but, from the outset, difficult to discover, since every foreign contribution was rapidly assimilated.

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489 CHAPTER FIVE

THE PERIOD OF THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVAS

General features of the period. — In the course of this period, which covers roughly the years 100 B.C. to 75 A.D., were successively to appear the Scytho-Parthians (Śaka-Pahlavas) in the North-West, the Cedis and the first Sātavāhanas respectively in Kaliṅga and the northern Deccan and, finally, in Ceylon the group of the "Eleven Kings". With regard to this period, one of the most obscure in the history of India, details are sparse, fragmentary and often contradictory : some brief indications scattered throughout Indian literature, particularly Jaina texts; a few inscriptions in Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī, doubtful in reading and in the main referring to unknown eras; finally, an excessive number of coins struck by the most obscure of dynasts. Thus, the sequence and dating of the reigns are still subject to discussion. The most recent publications, which do not always show progress over their predecessors, frequently differ from the remarkable works devoted to the period in question by E.J. Rapson, W.W. Tarn, A. Foucher and Sir John Marshall. It is advisable, for the sake of easy reading, to give a brief summary of the chronological system adopted in the present chapter.

1. In the preceding chapters, we saw how North-West India had successively to submit to the yoke of Achaemenid Persia (559-328), of the Macedonian soldiery (327-312) and, finally, of Seleucus I (312-306), before returning to the mother country in 305. For more than a century (305-190), it revolved in the orbit of the Indian empire of the Mauryas. The latter had not yet collapsed when the Greek kings of Bactria seized the Indian districts of the North-West by force, and established on their soil the Indo-Greek kingdoms, the last of which was to endure until approximately the year 30 B.C.

The progressive elimination of the Yavanas did not restore freedom to the North-West. The Greek domination was followed by that of the
490 Śaka-Pahlavas whose appearance in India occurred in about the year 110 B.C. and continued in the North-West until approximately the year 60 A.D.

Between 174 and 129 B.C., the peoples of Central Asia, particularly the Yüeh chich, underwent a long period of disturbance. Under their impetus, the eastern Scythians (Śaka Tigrakhudas, including the tribes

of the Massagetae, Sacaraucae and Dahae scattered between the Caspian and the Jaxartes), wrested Bactria from the Greek king Heliocles (140 B.C.) and, continuing their march southward, came up against the kingdom the Arsacid Parthians (between 128 and 120 B.C.). Having ravaged Parthia, they massively occupied the Persian province of Drangiana, on the banks of the Helmand, and so considerably reinforced their kinsmen, the Śaka Haumavarga (Amurgioi Scythians) who had transformed the land into 'Scythian Country" (Śakasthāna, Sijistān, Seistān).

Expelled from that land by the Suren of the Parthian king Mithridates II, the Śakas moved eastward and, by the routes of Arachosia and Gedrosia, spread into the Sindh. That is how, in about the year 110 B.C (a doubtful date), the former Patalene became the cradle of an Indo-Scythia (the Śakadvīpa of the Indians, 'Ινδοσχυθία of the Greeks) from whence the Scythians set out on the conquest of India.

Between 90 and 53 B.C., the Śakas of Maues occupied Gandhāra (Puṣkarāvatī) and the Western Punjab (Taxila), and that thrust marked the end of the western Greek kingdom. Simultaneously, some Scythian satraps settled on the Upper Indus, in the region of Chukhsa, and on the banks of the Yamunā, at Mathurā.

Some time before the year 58 B.C., Scythian Sāhis overran Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt) and reached Avanti (Mālwā, capital Ujjayinī). In 58 Vikramāditya, the king of Mālwā and possibly vassal of a Śātavāhana from the Deccan, expelled them from Ujjayinī, and that victory marked the point of departure of the famous Indian era called the "Vikrama Era".

[One hundred and thirty-five years later, in 78 A.D., the point of departure of the Śaka era, a return offensive by the Śakas was to cause the establishment in Western and Central India of two Scythian kingdoms : 1. the kingdom of the Kṣaharāta satraps, which was to be destroyed in 124 A.D. by the Śātavāhana king, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi; 2. the kingdom of the Great Satraps of Ujjayinī which was to last until the end of the fourth century A.D. when it fell to the attacks of the Indian emperor Candragupta II].

Between the years 38 to 30 B.C., the Śaka Azes I conquered, to the
491 east of the Jhelum, the last possessions of the eastern Greek kingdom (Śākala) and to the west, in Kapiśa, gained the inheritance of the Greek king Hermaeus.

At the beginning of the Christian era, the Arsacid Parthians, having concluded a truce with the Romans, succeeded in imposing their authority over the Śakas in India. In approximately 19 A.D., the Pahlava

Gondophares was named Suren of the Parthian king Artaban III and, in about 25 A.D., he set out to attack Indo-Scythia and rapidly conquered nearly all the Śaka possessions. Of the kings of this period, Gondophares is the only one to emerge from the haze of numismatics and epigraphy and find a place in the literature. The Christian and pagan legend connects him with the apostle Saint Thomas and the Neopythagorean sage Apollonius of Tyana; these are, however, late and apocryphal traditions.

In approximately 60 A.D., at the end of the reign of Pacores, the successor to Gondophares, North-West India fell into the hands of the Kuṣāṇa kings from Bactria.

2. While these events were taking place in the west, the collapse, around 40 or 30 B.C., of the Indian kingdom of the Śuṅga-Kāṇvas led to the formation on the sub-continent of two new powers : the Śātavāhanas of the northern Deccan and the Cedis of Kaliṅga. The first three Śātavāhanas, who reigned between 60 and 17 B.C., triumphed in the battles against the Kāṇvas and Śakas and, around Pratiṣṭhāna, established a Deccan empire the dominion of which extended from Eastern Mālwā to the district of Aurangābād (Hyderābād) passing through Mahārāṣṭra. Under their king Khāravela (28-17 B.C.), the Cedis of Kaliṅga gained some quick but ephemeral successes.

3. Between the years 20 B.C. and 75 A.D., the successors of the famous Vaṭṭagāmaṇi who occupied the Sinhalese throne were eleven in number. Some were notable for their cruelty (Coranāga) or their excesses (Anulā), while others, in contrast, for their Buddhist devoutness and their generosity (Bhātikābhaya and Mahāḍāthika).



Overcome by fear and stupor at the arrival of the Scythian hordes, the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular did not have much to complain about. The atrocities and destructions merely marked the
492 making of contact. Having been civilized by their long stay in Parthia and also tinged with Hellenism, the Śakas continued in the North-West the policy inaugurated by the Yavanas and took as their own the established institutions and customs. Even while remaining faithful to their Iranian beliefs, they showed favour to the Buddhists, and the Scythian satraps of Chukhsa (Liaka Kusūlaka, Pātika, Arṭa, Kharahostes, Maṇigula) as well as those in Mathurā (Rājuvula, his wife Ayasia Kamuīa, and his son Śoḍāsa) appear in the lists of benefactors of the Community for having endowed in a princely way the establishments

of the Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsāṃghikas. As for the Pahlavas, they were noteworthy, if not within their own borders at least outside, for their extreme religious tolerance. It is difficult to see how Gondophares could have entered the Christian and pagan legend on an equal footing if he had shown sectarianism or narrow-mindedness.

Nevertheless, in order to reach those simple and superficially Hellenized minds, the Buddhist preaching had to modify its methods and replace its long and learned sūtras with more modest catechetics : short stanzas, supposedly endowed with magical power and expressing the quintessence of the doctrine in a striking manner, or again, alphabetical lists which enabled the basic truths to be easily remembered. Such somewhat childish procedures are doubtless evidence of the pliability and ingenutiy of the propagandists, but they do not mark any special progress in the diffusion of the doctrine. However, the latter was soon to be explained at length and in detail to the Chinese, who were to have access, in translation, to an enormous amount of Buddhist literature.

In another field, it was at the period with which we are concerned, near the beginning of the Christian era — and not in the second century B.C., as it was long believed — that the Buddhists took up the habit, wherever the terrain permitted it and particularly in the western Ghāts, of carving for themselves caityagṛha and vihāra in the living rock. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine here the first inventions of this rock-cut architecture which was to continue to be practised for many more centuries.

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I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

1. — THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVAS[1]

THE SCYTHIAN WORLD. — It was not Indians but barbarian hordes

[1] On the Scythians in general, see E.H. MINNS, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913; M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922; *Skythen und der Bosporus*, I, Berlin, 1931; E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān*, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran, IV, Berlin, 1932; R. GROUSSET, *L'empire des steppes*, Paris, 1939; W.M. MACGOVERN, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, Chapel Hill, 1939. — On religion and customs, E. BENVENISTE, *Traditions iraniennes sur les classes sociales*, JA, 1938, pp. 529-49; *Les Mages dans L'Ancien Iran* (Publ. de la Société des Études iraniennes, 15), Paris, 1938; J. PRZYLUSKI, *Nouveaux aspects de l'histoire des Scythes*, RUB, 1937, No. 3-4, pp. 1-30 (proposing that the Śākyas were Scythians); *Les Mages et les Mèdes* RHR, CXXII, 1940, pp. 85-101; *Le culte de l'étendard chez les Scythes et dans l'Inde*, Zalmoxis, I, 1938, pp. 13-19.

On the Parthians, *Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, Ch. 3, by M. ROSTOVTZEFF; X, Ch. 14, by W.W. TARN (with bibliography); N.C. DEBEVOISE, *A Political History of Parthia*,

originating from Central Asia who put an end to the Greek occupation
494 of North-West India. Among those peoples who appeared in the course of the second century B.C., the foremost place must be accorded to the Yüeh chih and the Śakas.

Although the former, from the ethnographical point of view, have still not been properly identified, the latter, of Indo-European tongue and Iranian race, were known to history from the eighth century before the Christian era. Herodotus devotes a long account to them in his *Histories* (IV, 1-144). They were called Scythians by the Greeks, Sakas by the Iranians and Śakas by the Indians and these last associated them closely with the Pahlavas (Parthians).

The Scythians, being inveterate nomads, were dispersed into various tribes, each having its own king and subordinate chiefs. The latter were buried in wide graves (*kurgan*) with their horses and servants. The Scythian armies consisted of mounted archers, trained in the "scorched earth" tactic. They did not cultivate the soil but merely exploited the harvests of the sedentary populations who were exposed to their raids. In the region of the Black Sea, they sold the surplus to the Greeks of Pontus, and in exchange acquired pottery and metal utensils. Scythian tombs have yielded a profusion of ornaments made of gold (extracted from the Ural mines) which display a marked preference for animal motifs with representations of hunting scenes of excellent craftmanship.

The inscription by Darius at Naqš-i-Rustam (KENT, p. 137), records three groups of Sakas :

Chicago, 1939; C. HUART and L. DELAPORTE, *L'Iran Antique*, Paris, 1943, pp. 319-40; R. GHIRSHMAN, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam*, Paris, 1951, pp. 216-58.

On the Scytho-Parthian period in India, the masterly description by E. RAPSON, *Scythian and Parthian Invaders*, in *Cambridge History of India*, 1, pp. 563-92. «Everything tallies in Rapson's system» wrote L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*..., p. 275. On that system, some statements or hypotheses in W.W. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1951, Ch. VII and VIII; A. FOUCHER, *La vieille route de l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1947, pp. 220-2; Sir John MARSHALL, *Taxila*, 1, 1951, pp. 44-66.

More recent works tend to avoid Rapson's chronological system : J.E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, *The «Scythian» Period*, Leiden, 1949, dates the Śakas of Ujjayinī and Mathurā back to the beginning of the last century B.C., and has the Indo-Parthians reign in the second half of the same century (Maues between 60 and 50, Azes between 50 and 30; Gondophernes between 30 and 15 B.C.). — S. CHATTOPADHYAYA, *The Sakas in India* (Viśvabhārati Annals, VII), Santiniketan, 1955, situates the accession of Maues in approximately 32 B.C., and has him reign until 20 A.D. — In the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, II, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, p. 127, D.C. SIRCAR proposes the following dates : Maues, ca 20 B.C.-22 A.C.; Azes I, ca 5 B.C.-30 A.D.; Azilises, ca 28-40 A.D.; Azes II, ca 35-79 A.D.*

On the language of the Śakas and Pahlavas, see below.

a. The *Saka Tigrakhauda* "weavers of pointed helmets", including the powerful tribes of the Massagetae, Sacaraucae and Dahae, who were scattered over the territory which extended from the Caspian Sea to the Jaxartes. These are the Σάκαι Scythians mentioned by Herodotus (VII, 64) and who served in the army of Xerxes with their neighbours, the Bactrians. "They had on their heads", says the historian, "caps ending in a point and which were straight and stiff" (περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας).

b. The *Saka Haumavarga*, who are the Σαχαι Ἀμυργίοι of Herodotus (VII, 64). In all likelihood they occupied, in the Persian province of Drangiāna, the Helmand valley, a region which was subsequently to be designated by the name of "Śaka Country" (Śakasthāna, Sijistān, Seistān).

495 c. The *Saka Paradraya* or "Scythians from overseas", inhabitants of the Russian steppes to the north of the Black Sea.

In the seventh century B.C., these last travelled through the territories situated between the Carpathians and the Don and including to the east the arid steppes between the Don and the Dnieper, to the west the fertile plains of the "Country of black earth". Between 650 and 620 B.C., a group of Scythian invaders conquered Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, while another wave advanced along the Carpathians as far as the Middle Danube. However, most of the Scythian forces remained in southern Russia. It was there that, in about 512, they triumphantly repulsed an invasion by the Persian king Darius and that, in 325, they destroyed the expeditionary force of Alexander's general Zopyrion. However, after the year 300, they were driven from the Balkans and Central Europe by the Celts and, during the ensuing centuries, were replaced in Southern Russia by the Sarmatians. A few Scythians found refuge in the Crimea and Romania (Dobruja) but, under the Roman empire, the Scythians of Europe no longer played any political role.

The history of the Scythians of Asia was just as eventful. Under the impulse of other peoples of Central Asia, the Śakas of the Jaxartes and the Caspian invaded the Parthian empire during the second century B.C. Repelled by Mithridates II the Great, some of them went to reinforce the Śakas of Seistān, without, however, being able to hold their ground for long among them. Repulsed eastwards, the invaders crossed Baluchistān and went on to occupy the lower Sindh (Abiria and Patalene of the Greeks), which was then given the name of Śakadvīpa. It was from this base that they set out in the first century B.C. to conquer North-West India : a first wave, proceeding up the Indus, extended its march as far Western Punjab and Taxila; a second, travelling in a south-easterly

direction, successively occupied Kacchā (Kutch), Surāṣṭra (Kathiāwār and Gujarāt) and the coastral region as far as the port of Baruckaccha (Broach); from there, crossing the Narmadā, it reached Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti.

The paragraphs which follow will deal in turn with the movements of the Yüeh chih and the Śakas in Central Asia, the invasion of the Parthian empire and, finally, the conquest of India.

THE YÜEH CHIH AND THE ŚAKAS IN CENTRAL ASIA (174-129 B.C.). — We
496 owe most of the information with regard to this movement of peoples to the Chinese histories: Chapters 110 and 123 of the *Shih chi* or *Historical Memoirs* of Ssŭ ma Ch'ien (died in about the year 80 B.C.); Chapters 61 and 96 of the *Ch'ien Han shu* or *History of the Former Han*, written by Pan Ku (died in 92 or 91 A.D.) and completed by Pan Chao (died after 102)[2].

At the beginning of the second century, the Yüeh chich were living "between Tun huang and the Ch'i lien shan", in Western Kansu, where later the Greek geographer Ptolemy (VI, 16) was to note the existence of the people of the Thaguroi, a Mount Thaguron and a town Thogara. They were nomads, moving here and there with their flocks; they had the same customs as the Hsiung nu of Eastern Mongolia; their archers amounted to ten or twenty myriads. To begin with, they were strong and unbothered by the Hsiung nu. However, when Mao tun (209-174 B.C.) became king, he attacked and defeated the Yüeh chih. His successor, the Chen-yu Lao-chang of the Hsiung nu (174-160 B.C.) even killed the king of the Yüeh chih and made his skull into a drinking-cup. A small group of Yüeh chich separated from the main body and reached the mountains of North-East Tibet, the Richthofen Range, where they were henceforth to be known to the Chinese Annals by the name of Hsiao Yüeh chih "Little Yüeh chih". The larger mass, which emigrated westwards, was finally to reach Bactria : they were called the Ta Yüeh chih "Great Yüeh chih".

During their first campaign (ca 172-161 B.C.), the Ta Yüeh chih, marching eastwards, reached the region of Issik-kūl, between Ili and Ferghāna. They seized the land of the Wu sun and killed their king Nan

[2] These sources are studied in A. WYLIE, *Notes on the Western Regions*, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, X, 1881, p. 20 (tr. of Ch. 96 (1) and 61 (1-6) of the *Ch'ien han shu*); XI, 1881 (tr. of Ch. 96 (2) of the *Ch'ien han shu*); P. PELLIOT, *Tokharien* [redacted] *Koutchéen*, JA, 1934, pp. 23-106; HANEDA TÔRU, *A propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Kouei-chouang*, Bull. de la maison Franco-Japonaise, IV, 1933, pp. 1-28; R. GROUSSET, *L'orientalisme et les études historiques*, Revue historique, Bulletin Critique, CLXXXI, fasc. I, Jan.-Mar. 1937.

tou mi. Then, still continuing west, they repulsed the Sai (Śakas) : the Sai wang (Śaka king), fleeing southwards, took possession of Chi pin.

Meanwhile, the son of the Wu sun king Nan tou mi, having been an orphan from the cradle, was miraculously fed by a she-wolf and a crow and was given hospitality by the king of the Hsiung nu. When that prince, who was named Kun mo, grew up, he attacked and defeated the Yüeh chih.

497 During a second campaign which took place between 133 and 129, "the Yüeh chih fled far away and entered Ta yüan (Ferghāna); to the west, they defeated the Ta hsia (inhabitants of Bactria) and subdued them. They then set up their headquarters to the north of the river Wei (Oxus)" (*Shih-chi*, Ch. 123). The *Ch'ien Han shu* adds that the king of the country of the Ta Yüeh chih held his seat of government in Chien chih ch'êng (perhaps Marakanda or Samarkand) and that the Ta hsia (Bactrians) submitted without resisting : "At the outset, the Ta hsia had no great leaders. In the towns and hamlets, they often established minor chiefs. They were a weak people and fearful of war. That is why, when the Yüeh chih came, they all submitted; they all received the Chinese envoys" (*Ch'ien Han shu*, Ch. 96 *a*). The subjection of Bactria was an accomplished fact, in 128, by the time of the journey of the Chinese envoy Chang Ch'ien in the western regions.

By that date, several years had already passed since the Greeks of the eastern kingdom had evacuated Bactria; in about 140, Heliocles, exhausted by his Indian campaigns, had withdrawn south of the Hindūkush, leaving the indigenous Bactrians undefended against incursions from the North. The classical historians allude to them briefly : "The best known of the nomad tribes which seized Bactria from the Greeks are the Asioi, the Pasianoi, the Tokharoi (the Yüeh chih of the *Chinese Annals*) and the Sakarauloi (a Śaka tribe)[3], all peoples who had come from the regions situated on the other side of the Jaxartes, i.e. the bank which faces the [present] possessions of the Sakai and Sogdiana and which was then occupied by the Sakai themselves" (Strabo, XI, 8, 2). Pompeius Trogus in turn says that "the Saraucae and the Asiani, Scythian peoples, seized Bactra and Sogdiana" (Justin, *Prologue* XLI, ed. CHAMBRY, II, p. 306).

By comparing these statements, we can assume that Bactria was wrested from the Greeks in about 140 by various nomad tribes including

[3] The identification of these various peoples has been much debated. See the bibliography on the subject and a constructive critique in H.W. BAILEY, *Recent Work in «Tokharian»*, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1947, pp. 126-53.

the Śakas, before passing, in approximately 129, into the hands of the Ta Yüeh chih or Tokharoi.

THE INVASION OF PARTHIA BY THE ŚAKAS (128-110 B.C.). — In the reign of Mithridates I (171-138), Parthia had become a powerful empire.
498 Between the years 160 and 145, Mithridates had seized two satraps from the Bactrian king Eucratides, conquered Media, penetrated as far as Mesopotamia and established his capital in Seleuceia. Summoned to their aid by the Greeks of the region, the Seleucid Demetrius II Nicator was vanquished and captured (140-139) by him.

Mithridates I was succeeded by Phraates II (137-128). The new king had to face an attempt by the Seleucid Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129) who intended to free his brother Demetrius II and reconquer the lost provinces. The beginnings of the campaign were disastrous for the Parthians. Antiochus VII entered Mesopotamia, gained three successive victories and reached Ecbatana. Phraates II was forced to negotiate (129) : he freed Demetrius II whom he had held captive for ten years, evacuated all the conquered provinces with the exception of Parthyene and agreed to pay tribute. However, the negligence of the Greeks reduced their successes to nothing. The demands of the Greek soldiery quartered in Media disgusted the population; the discontent was exploited by Parthian agents and an uprising broke out; the rout of Antiochus was total, he himself was killed and part of his army was incorporated into the Parthian troops.

Determined to exploit his victory, Phraates II resolved to make war against Syria, but the movements of the Scythians recalled him to the defence of his frontiers. "The Scythians had, with a promise of reward, called for the help of the Parthians against Antiochus [VII], the king of Syria; however, having arrived when the war was over, they saw themselves frustrated of any reward under the pretext that they had come too late. Annoyed at having made a long journey for nothing, they asked to be compensated for their weariness or else to be used against another enemy. Angered by the scornful answer they were given, they set out to ravage the Parthian territory... Phraates took to war with him a body of Greeks who had been taken prisoner in Antiochus' war, whom he treated with haughtiness and cruelty, without considering that captivity had not softened their hostile feelings and that rebellious grievances had exasperated them even further. Hence, seeing the Parthian army yielding, they entered the enemy ranks and avenged themselves for their captivity, as they had long wanted to do, with a bloody massacre of the Parthian army and of King Phraates himself" (Justin, XLII, 1, 2-5).

Phraates II was succeeded by his paternal uncle Artaban II (128-123). Having waged war on the Tocharians, he was wounded in the arm and died immediately (Justin, XLII, 2, 2).

499 There is every reason to suppose that, in about 130, the Scythians or Śakas conquered a large part of the Parthian empire. According to Herzfeld[4], they founded the Scythian dynasty of Adiabene to the east of the Tigris and possibly Caracene (Muhammarah) on the Persian Gulf. According to Ghirshman[5], the invaders spread in two directions : some thrust directly west through Merv, Hecatompylos, Ecbatana, while others turned southwards by descending from Merv to Herat, towards the rich province of Seistān. Justin (XLII, 2, 1) merely says that after having ravaged Parthia, the Scythians, satisfied with their victory, returned to their own country (*in patriam revertuntur*). However, we know from the information supplied above that this country was not only that of the Saka Tigrakhauda of the Caspian and the Jaxartes, but also of the Saka Haumavarga or 'Αμυργίοι of Seistān. In this last province, the Scythians were very numerous; it is believed that Mithridates I had, some twenty-five years earlier, established his Śaka mercenaries there and that that date — 155 B.C. — was the point of departure of an early Śaka era used by certain Indian inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī.

However it may be, it was the son and successor of Artaban, Mithridates II (123-88) who had to re-establish the situation : "His exploits earned him the epithet of Great; he waged some successful battles against the Scythians, and avenged the outrage done to his parents" (Justin, XLII, 2, 3 and 5). His vassal the Suren, who belonged to one of the seven great Parthian families, waged a continuing battle with the Śakas, expelled them from Parthia and Seistān and received as a reward a personal fief, Seistān, the capital of which was to be found at Alexandria-Prophthasia.

Expelled in about the year 120 from their second country, the Śakas, retracing in the opposite direction the route previously taken by Craterus, Alexander's general, followed the left bank of the Helmand, entered Arachosia and, through the passes of Bolan and Mulla, reached the districts of the Middle Indus (the Abiria of the *Periplus*, 41, and of Ptolemy, VII, 1 55) and the Lower Indus (the Patalene of Strabo, XV, 1, 13, of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55 etc.). The region of the Sindh, the conquest of which was completed in about 110 B.C., became the base of operations
500 for the Scythians, from where they were to conquer North-West India. When several decades later, in about 62 B.C., they added to it the Kutch peninsula and Kāthiāwār, it rightly received the name of Indo-Scythia : "As for the entire region along the remaining part of the Indus, it bore

[4] E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London and New York, 1941, p. 191.
[5] R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam*, Paris, 1951, p. 221.

the generic name of Indo-Scythia; the portion which is parallel with the mouths is Patalene; that which is above, Abiria; that which surrounds the mouths of the Indus and the Kanthian gulf is Syrastrene" (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55).

The conquest of India by the Śakas and Pahlavas (90 B.C.-50 A.D.). — For a century and a half, the North-West was in the hands of Śaka invaders, who acted at times on their own behalf, at others in the name of the central Parthian power which ended in frustrating them of the fruit of their conquests. The Indians who, in their lists of tribes, closely associate the Śaka-Pahlavas with the Yavanas, envelop them with equal contempt : the *Manusmṛti* (X, 43-4) considers them as races who gradually fell to the rank of Śūdras "through omission of the rites and non-frequentation of the brahmins".

Maues (90-53 B.C.). — The first Scythian conqueror was named Maues or Mauakes in Greek, Moa or Moga in Sanskrit, Mu k'ua in Chinese. Some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Mānsherā, district of Hazāra (Konow, p. 20), Fatehjang in the district of Attock (Id., p. 22) and Taxila (Id., pp. 28-9) and dated, the first two in the year 68, the third in the year 78 of the former Śaka era which began in approximately 155 B.C.[6], prove that before the years 87 and 77 B.C., "in the reign of the Great King, the Great Moga", the Śakas had taken possession of the Western Punjab and Taxila. We are therefore justified in thinking that in about 90 B.C. a Śaka horde, led by Maues, went up the Indus on both banks and seized the Greek kingdom of Taxila from King Archebius(?). The coinage of the period confirms such a conquest, since Maues, who was still content with the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ struck coins of
501 the "Elephant Head : Cadeceus" and "Apollo : Tripod" types initiated at Taxila, the former by Demetrius, the latter by Apollodotus I.

In 88, the king of the Parthians, Mithridates II the Great died and his official title of "King of Kings" fell into disuse until the year 57, then to be taken up again by Orodes I. Severing the last links which still attached him to the Arsacids, Maues took advantage of the situation to arrogate it himself. Henceforth he was to call himself, on his bilingual

[6] As may well be believed, the point of departure of this old Śaka era is much debated : 155 B.C. (Tarn), 150 B.C. (Rapson); 129 B.C. (van Lohuizen de Leeuw); 123 B.C. (M.N. Saka). For S. Konow, seven different eras were in use during the first centuries before and after Christ : two Parthian eras, the ancient and the new; the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), the era of Azes, the era beginning in 50 A.D., the Śaka era and the era of Kaniṣka. See a description and discussion of the question in van Lohuizen, *The «Scythian» Period*, pp. 1-72.

coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa*, and on the Kharoṣṭhī inscription at Taxila, *Maharayasa mahaṃtasa Mogasa* (KONOW, p. 28). Some of these coins, of the Poseidon with trident type, possibly commemorate a naval victory on the Indus or the Jhelum.

The conquests of Maues to the west were very extensive; coins of the "Elephant : Indian Buffalo" and "Goddess of Puṣkarāvatī : Indian Buffalo" types prove that he ruled, not only at Taxila, but also at Puṣkarāvatī in Gandhāra. Coins of the Kapiśī "Enthroned Zeus" type copied from Eucratides and Antialcidas, also lead us to believe that he extended his domination over Kapiśa; notwithstanding, on his death which occurred in about 53 B.C., it was not a Śaka but a Greek, Amyntas, who ruled over the Paropamisadae.

Maues governed part of the possessions through the intermediary of satraps. The region of Chukhsa on the Upper Indus, including the eastern valley of Peshāwār, and the present-day districts of Hazāra, Attock and Miānwāli, obeyed the orders of the kṣatrapa Liaka Kusūlaka whose name appears on the copper plate of Taxila (KONOW, p. 28) which probably dates from the year 78 B.C., as well as on coins of the "*Pilei* of the Dioscuri" type with the Greek legend ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ. This satrap, as well as his son Pātika, belonged to the Scythian family of the Kṣaharātas whose members reigned over Surāṣṭra and Avanti.

It is doubtful whether Maues' empire extended east of the Jhelum. Nevertheless, during his time, Śaka satraps ruled in Mathurā where they struck coins. The latter, copied from the Indian princes whom they had supplanted, bore the goddess Lakṣmī on the obverse and a horse on the reverse; these khatapas or mahakhatapas who followed each other between 87 and 38 B.C. were named Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa and Hagāna.

In his capacity of King of Kings (*sāhānu sāhi*) and suzerain (*sāman-*
502 *tādhipati*), Maues had under his orders a quantity of vassals (*sāmanta*), bearing the title of kings (*sāhi*) but in fact merely tribal chiefs. Towards the end of his reign, at all events shortly before the year 58 B.C. (beginning of the Vikrama era), a sāhi defection resulted in the extension of Scythian power in Western and Central India at a time when the Kāṇva empire, already displaying signs of weakness, was about to collapse under the impact of internal dissensions and Andhran arms. A Jaina work of unknown date, the *Kālakācāryakathānaka*[7], reports the events as follows :

[7] Ed. H. JACOBI, ZDMG, XXXIV, 1880, p. 247 sq.

The Jaina master Kālaka, whose sister had been abducted by Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjayinī [in the service of the Andhras?], went to the kūla of the Sagakūlas [kūla of the Śakas, situated in the Sindh]. There, the vassals (*sāmanta*) were called Sāhis "kings" and their supreme chief (*sāmantāhivaī*) Sāhāṇu sāhi "King of Kings". Kālaka stayed with one of those Sāhis, and when that chief, with ninety-five other Sāhis, fell into disgrace with the "King of Kings" [Maues?], Kālaka invited him to accompany him to Hindugades [Hindukadeśa, the Indian sub-continent]. They crossed the Indus (*uttariūṇa Sindhuṃ*), went in boats (*samāruhiūṇa jāṇavattesu*), made their way to Suraṭṭha [Surāṣṭra, present-day Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt] and divided the country between them.

When autumn arrived, the master [Kālaka] took him to Ujjayinī, where Gardabhilla was made prisoner. A Sāhi was established as King of Kings (*rāyāhirāya = rājātirāja*), and in that manner the dynasty [redacted]f the Śaka kings was founded.

Some time afterwards, Vikramāditya, the king of Mālavā [and doubtless a vassal of the Śātavāhanas of the Deccan] overthrew that Śaka dynasty and established his own era [the Vikrama era which began in [redacted] B.C.]. However, that dynasty was also overthrown by another Śaka king who founded his own era when 135 years of the Vikrama era had already passed [the Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D.].

It ensues from this passage that, shortly before the year 58 B.C., some Scythian sāhis, breaking away from the King of Kings of the Sindh, scattered in Aparānta and Avanti and that Ujjayinī, the capital, was governed for some time by a new King of Kings, independently of the Sindh. Expelled from Ujjayinī in 58 by the Indian king Vikrama, the Śakas nevertheless remained on the western coast, in Surāṣṭra and the
503 ports of Bharukaccha and Śūrpāraka where their presence is recorded, in the first century of the Christian era, by the author of the *Periplus* (§ 41). One hundred and thirty-five years later, a Śaka king reconquered even Avanti and placed his capital in Ujjayinī. This victory which occurred in 78 A.D., the point of departure of the new Śaka era, marked the beginnings of two separate Śaka kingdoms : that of the Kṣaharāta satrap kings occupying Surāṣṭra and Aparānta, and that of the great satraps of Ujjayinī established in Avanti. Both, we believe, adopted the new Śaka era in the year 78 A.D. and, if this calculation is correct, the first kingdom was overthrown in the year 124 A.D. by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, while the satraps of Ujjayinī remained in power until approximately the year 390 A.D., a date at which their possessions were added to the crown of the Indian emperor Candragupta II.

In any case, at the beginning of the second half of the last century of the ancient era, the Śakas held a considerable portion of Indian territory :

1. The possessions of Maues extended over Arachosia, the Sindh,

Gandhāra and the Western Punjab. In these last two provinces, his states were wedged between the last representatives of the eastern and western Greek kingdoms. The second of these, reduced to the territory of the Paropamisadae or Kapiśa, was governed, towards the end of Maues' reign, by a certain Amyntas who is believed to be Greek. Probably supported by the Yüeh chih princes who then occupied Bactria as far as the northern slopes of the Hindūkush, this Amyntas had seized Kapiśa or had proclaimed his independence there; he struck coins of the "Enthroned Zeus" type with the legend in Kharoṣṭhī. He is believed to have ruled from 54 to 49 B.C., and was succeeded by Hermaeus.

2. The region of Chukhsa on the Upper Indus was under the command of the Kṣaharāta Liaka Kusūlaka, a vassal of Maues.

3. Śaka satraps governed the region of Mathurā in their own names.

4. Finally, some Scythian Sāhis, who had evaded the authority of Maues, had crossed the Indus and reached the western coast of Surāṣṭra by sea. From there they had gone on to Avanti and, for a time, occupied Ujjayinī from where King Vikrama expelled them.

An indication of Scythian power at that period is the fact that,
504 according to Pseudo-Lucian (*Macrobii*, 15), the Sakaraukoi were able to impose on the Parthians a king of their own choice, Sinatruces (77-70), the brother of Phraates II or son of Arsaces Dikaius, who had lived among them for a long time. However, the division and rivalries of the Śaka princes, recorded by the Greek historians, was to cause their downfall.

Successors of Maues. — Historians have given various opinions on the order of succession of the Śaka or Pahlava princes who followed Maues, but the coinage of Arachosia enabled Tarn and Marshall to establish this classification :

Some silver coins copied from Heliocles but of a special type, representing the prince on horseback on the obverse and, on the reverse, an effigy of Zeus standing, full-face, bearded and with head bent, were struck successively in Arachosia by :

a. Vonones and his legate Śpalahores given the purely honorific title of "brother of the Great King" : on the obverse, the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ; on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend, *Mahārajabhrata dhramikasa Śpalahorasa*.

b. Vonones and Śpalagadames.

c. Śpalirises alone.

d. Śpalirises and Azes I.

e. Azes I alone.

Some bronze coins, also struck in Arachosia, can be classed in two groups. The first represents on the obverse Heracles full face crowning himself with his right hand and holding in his left a club and a lion-skin; on the reverse, Athena standing to the left, with a shield and sword. They were struck by :

a. Vonones and Śpalahores : on the obverse, the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ; on the reverse the Kharoṣṭhī legend, *Maharājabhrata dhramikasa Śpalahorasa.*

b. Vonones and Śpalagadames.

The second group represents on the obverse the king on horseback in a stippled square; on the reverse, Heracles, naked and with a diadem, seated on a rock, a club on his lap. These coins were successively struck by :

a. Śpalyris (= Śpalahores?) and Śpalagadames : on the obverse, the Greek legend ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend, *Śpalahora putrasa dhramiasa Śpalagadamasa.*

505 b. Azes I.

c. Azilises.

This sequence led Tarn and Marshall[8] to reconstruct the succession of Maues in the following order : 1. Vonones and his legates Śpalahores (or Śpalyris) and Śpalagadames, 2. Śpalirises, 3. Azes I, 4. Azilises, 5. Azes II.

VONONES (53-40 B.C.). — The imperial title of King of Kings which became vacant on the death of Maues was assumed in about 53 by the Parthian Vonones, the Suren of Eastern Iran. In Arachosia, his suzerainty was recognized by Śpalahores or Śpalyris, "Brother of the Great King", and his son Śpalagadames. Coins of both dynasts having been found in the Scythian layers at Sirkap, we may assume that they also functioned in Taxila as legates of Vonones. They perhaps came into conflict with Amyntas, the Greek king of Kapiśa. However, on the death of the latter in approximately 49, Parthian domination over the Western Punjab was temporarily interrupted. Again it was a Greek, Hermaeus (49-38 B.C.), who succeeded Amyntas in Kapiśa where he struck coins of the "Bust of the king : Enthroned Zeus" type with the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, *Mahārajasa tratārasa Heramayasa.* The same prince wasted no time in seizing Gandhāra and the Western Punjab where his coins are found in quite large numbers : on the obverse they bear the bust of the king to the right with a Greek legend

[8] *Greeks in Bactria*, p. 347; *Taxila*, I, pp. 49-50.

erased; on the reverse, winged Nike holding a garland in her right hand and a palm in her left, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Maharajasa Heramayasa*[9].

After the decease of Śpalagadames which occurred in about 49, the Suren Vonones established Śpalirises as his legate and "brother". On a silver coin of the "Standing Zeus" type, Śpalirises does in fact bear the title of brother of the king. However, it was not long before he gained
506 his independence and took to himself the title of "Great King" in conjunction with his son Azes I, then after the death of Vonones, that of "Great King of Kings" :

ŚPALIRISES (45-38 B.C.). — The copper coins on which Śpalirises appears with his imperial title of ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ CΠΑΛΙΡΙCΟΥ, *Maharajasa mahaṃtakasa Śpaliriśasa* are of the "Enthroned Zeus" type characteristic of the town of Kāpiśī. All the same, it is doubtful whether that prince really seized Kapiśa, since the Paropamisadae seem to have remained in the hands of the Greeks until the death of Hermaeus in about the year 30. It is probable that the Kapiśī of Vonones was merely intended to assert in theory the rights of Parthia over the region of the Paropamisadae.

At the time of Vonones, the more or less independent Śaka satraps continued to govern certain territories in the North-West : Hagāmaṣa and Hagāna in Mathurā; Pātika in Chukhsa. Pātika, of the Kṣaharāta family, was the son of Liaka Kusūlaka, the vassal of Maues. The copper plate at Taxila (KONOW, p. 28) informs us that, during his father's lifetime, he re-established to the north of Taxila a "dislodged" relic of the Bhagavat Śākyamuni as well as a monastery, thus earning him the Buddhist title of "Great Benefactor" (*mahādānapati*). The inscription on the Lion Capital of Mathurā (KONOW, p. 48) shows that he succeeded his father with the title of Mahākṣatrapa and that he doubtless had the kṣatrapa Mevaki Miyika as a colleague and neighbour.

AZES I (38-10 B.C.). — Azes I, the son of Śpalirises, was the most powerful Śaka dynast after Maues. During his father's lifetime, in about 45, he already bore the title of Great King. Having mounted the throne

[9] Rightly or wrongly, Hermaeus has been identified with the Yin mo fu of the Chinese sources, that king of Chi pin who contended with the emperor of China Yüan ti (48-33 B.C.). These events are narrated in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, Ch. 96*a* (cf. A. WYLIE, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, X, 1881, p. 33 sq.; O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen für Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Abhandl. d. preuss. Akad. zu Berlin, 1904, No. 1, p. 63 sq.). For interpretations, see S. KONOW, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, pp. XXIII-XXV; W. W. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria*, p. 340; J. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, I, pp. 48-9.

in approximately the year 38, he inherited the imperial title, as is proved by Arachosian coins of the "King on horseback : Standing Zeus" type, with the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ, *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*. It is not without astonishment that we see all the great figures of the Greek pantheon appearing on the coins of the Śaka king : Zeus, Poseidon, Pallas, Hermes, Hephaestus, the winged Nike and Demeter with the horn of plenty. His conquests were considerable :

a. From Hermaeus he retook Gandhāra (Puṣkarāvatī) and the Western Punjab (Taxila). This is proved by the fact that he struck coins of the
507 "City of Puṣkalāvatī : Indian Ox" and "Elephant : Indian Buffalo" types, characteristic of those two regions.

b. To the east of the Jhelum, he captured the Greek kingdom of the Eastern Punjab, capital Śākala, from the last Euthydemids. Indeed, he overstruck certain coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus and adopted the "Athena Promachos" or "Athena" type which characterized the Euthydemid house.

c. Again, in all probability, he annexed Kapiśa on the death of Hermaeus which took place in the year 30, since he himself, as well as his successor Azilises, struck local coins of the "Zeus Nikephorus, standing with sceptre" and "Zeus Nikephorus, seated on the throne".

d. The suzerainty of Azes also extended to the region of Mathurā, where the Indian era known as Vikrama was in use, and which began in the year 58 B.C. Azes seems to have adopted this calculation, while changing its name "Vikrama era" to "Era of Azes (Ayasa)". Dated in the era of Azes are the inscription of Śivarakṣita at Shahdaur (Konow, p. 17) the number of which has been effaced, the copper plate at Kālawān (J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 327) in the year 134 (= 76 A.D.), and the silver scroll of Taxila (Konow, p. 77) in the year 136 (= 78 A.D.).

Azes I governed his vast possessions through intermediaries :

a. In the satrapy of Chukhsa, Kharahostes is mentioned on the Lion Capital of Mathurā (Konow, p. 48) as a yuvarāja, the son of Arṭa, husband of Abuholā and father of Ayasi Kamuïa. The latter was to marry Rajula or Rājuvula, the satrap of Mathurā. Kharahostes, who doubtless succeeded Pātika as satrap of Chukhsa, struck coins representing on the obverse the king on horseback, with a pointed lance, and the Greek legend ΧΑΡΑΗΩϹΤΕΙ ϹΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑΟΥ, and on the reverse a lion to the right with the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Chatrapasa pra Kharaōstasa Artasa putrasa*.

b. Rājuvula, known both from inscriptions and coins, was the most

powerful satrap of the period. His many coins fall into at least four classes[10] : 1. Silver coins bearing on the obverse the bust of the king to
508 the right with the Greek legend (much effaced and incorrect) BACIΛEI BACIΛEΩC CΩTHPOC PAZY; on the reverse, Athena Promachos carrying the aegis in her left hand and throwing a thunderbolt with her right; Kharoṣṭhī legend : *Apratihatacakrasa chatrapasa Rajuvulasa*. It should be noted that the Athena Promachos type had been instituted in the Eastern Punjab (Śākala) by Menander and widely used by the whole Euthydemid lineage. — 2. Some lead coins struck in Mathurā and representing on the obverse the goddess Lakṣmī between two symbols with the Brāhmī legend *Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa*. — 3. Some lead coins bearing on the obverse a standing lion to the right and an erased Greek legend; on the reverse, Heracles (?) full-face, his arm extended, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend *sa Rajalasa aprati*. According to Marshall, this type was initiated by Maues in Taxila. — 4. Copper coins of the "King on horseback : Zeus Nikephoros" type with, on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Chatrapa ... Rajuvula*.

On the Lion Capital of Mathurā (Konow, p. 48) and the Brāhmī inscription of Mora (Lüders, 14), Rajula, or again Rājūvula, bears the title of Mahākṣatrapa. It is probable that after the conquest of the Eastern Punjab (Śākala) by Azes I, Rājuvula first governed that region with the title of "satrap". Later, his fief was enlarged in the east by the region of Mathurā and, in the west, by that of Taxila; from then on, he took the title of "Great Satrap". It is believed that he lived until the year 17 B.C. After his death, his possessions were shared between various princes, including his son Śoḍāsa.

Azilises (10 B.C.-5 A.D.) and Azes II (5-19 A.D.). — The great King of Kings Azilises wielded power first under the aegis of his father Azes I, then alone, finally in association with his son Azes II. His very varied coinage attests the extent of his states : silver coins of the "Standing Zeus" type (Arachosia), copper ones of the "Standing or seated Heracles" type (Arachosia), "Goddess of the city and Zeus" (Gandhāra), "Elephant and Indian Buffalo" (Taxila). The coin which he struck in association with his son Azes II is of copper. The obverse represents Heracles, with the club and lion-skin, crowning himself, and bears the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ; the reverse represents a standing horse to the right, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa*.

[10] Cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, pp. 185-9, to be completed by J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 54; II, pp. 812-13.

That Azes (II) left coins of the "King on horseback : Pallas Athena"
509 type bearing on the reverse the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Indravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa*. From this it can be concluded that Azes II took as his lieutenant a certain Aśpavarma whose father, Indravarma, had already served under Azilises.

As for the rest, Azilises and Azes II resorted to the services of numerous vassals :

a. In the Western Punjab (Taxila), Indravarma under Azilises, Aśpavarma under Azes II. Indravarma, under the name of Iṃdravasa, struck coins of the "King on Horseback : Pallas Athena" type. As for his son Aśpavarma, he can perhaps be identified with that Īśparaka whose name appears on an inscribed ladle found in Mahal, near Taxila : "A gift from Īśparaka to the community of the four regions at the Uttarārāma of Takṣaśilā, in favour of the Kāśyapīyas" (KONOW, p. 88).

b. In the Eastern Punjab (Śākala), Bhadrayaśa who, on his copper coins of the Athena Alkis type, took the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ[11].

c. In the satrapy of Chuhksa, Maṇigula (KONOW, p. 82), continuing the lineage of Liaka Kusūlaka, Pātika, Arta and Kharahostes (KONOW, p. 48).

d. Finally in Mathurā, Śoḍāsa, the son of Rājuvula, the great satrap of Azes I, and who seems to have succeeded his father, but only in the region of Mathurā, from the year 17 B.C. onwards. Śoḍāsa bears the title of Satrap then of Great Satrap on the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions at Mathurā (Lion Capital, KONOW, p. 48; panel at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, LÜDERS, 59; Jail Mound panel, LÜDERS, 82; jamb of the temple of Viṣṇu at Morā, EI, XXIV, 1938, p. 208). On his coins of the Lakṣmī type, rediscovered in the region of Mathurā exclusively, he bears the titles of "Satrap Śoḍāsa, son of the Great Satrap", "Satrap Śoḍāsa, son of Rājuvula" and finally, "Great Satrap Śoḍāsa".

GONDOPHARES (19-45 A.D.). — During the final decades of the ancient era, the Arsacids, absorbed in the skirmishes with Rome, had no leisure to concern themselves with their eastern possessions and left the field open to the Śakas in their Indian undertakings.

The reigns of Orodes I (57-38 B.C.) and Phraates IV (37-2 B.C.) were
510 marked by fierce battles against the Romans. In 53, the Suren of Orodes vanquished the legions of the triumvir Crassus in the famous battle of Carrhae (Harran) which cost the Romans twenty thousand dead and ten thousand prisoners. Crassus perished in the skirmish, and the Suren abused his corpse. The conquered man's right hand and head were cut

[11] J. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, II, p. 813, No. 184.

off and sent to Artaxata and the frightful trophy was cast by Sillaces at the feet of Orodes and his son Pacorus.

In 42, the Parthians invaded Syria and Judaea but, in 38, they were attacked in the Taurus by Antony's general, Ventidius Bassus. At Gindarus, they suffered a serious defeat during which Pacorus met his death. Orodes then relinquished the power and his second son, Phraates IV, mounted the throne. He immediately had to confront a renewed Roman attack commanded by Antony in person. Eager to avenge the affront inflicted twenty years earlier on the Roman eagles and Crassus, the triumvir marched on the Euphrates; however, once again the expedition ended in defeat, followed by a disastrous retreat (36 B.C.).

The accession of Augustus and the policy of peace which the emperor inaugurated in the East protected the Parthians against the imperial eagles for nearly a century. Phraates IV sent an embassy to Augustus, returned the trophies captured from Crassus and Antony and had his four sons educated in Rome. Furthermore, the emperor having presented him with an Italian slave, Musa, he married her and elevated her to the rank of queen. From this union was born a son, Phraataces, and in order that he might accede to the Parthian throne, Musa had no hesitation in poisoning the old king.

Phraataces, under the name of Phraates V (2 B.C.-4 A.D.), ruled for some time jointly with his mother. In the end, a rebellion by the nobility forced him to retire to Roman territory.

Brought to power by the nobility, the usurper Orodes II occupied the throne for only four years (4-8 A.D.). He made himself unbearable through his cruelty and was assassinated during a hunting party.

The Parthian nobility asked Rome for one of the four sons of Phraates IV to be sent to occupy the throne, and the choice fell on Vonones I. His reign was brief (8-11 A.D.) since, having been educated in the West and therefore unfamiliar with Persian customs, he soon displeased his subjects. A rival, Artaban, prince of Media and an
511 Arsacid through his mother, was given the power by the malcontents, and Vonones went to Armenia where he occupied the then vacant throne.

Artaban III was to rule for some thirty years (11-40 A.D.) in perfect harmony with the Roman Empire with which, in the year 18, he renewed the pact of friendship which had formerly been concluded by Phraates IV.

Orthagnes, Artaban's Suren, governed Seistān with the title of Great King of Kings. His vassals in Arachosia were Gondophares and his brother Guda or Gada. Copper coins exist which bear on the obverse

the bust of Orthagnes with the Greek legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗC, and, on the reverse, a standing Victory, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Guḍasa*.

The first vassal of the Suren, Gudaphara, was destined to a brilliant future and his exploits nourished the legend as much as the chronicle.

He was called in Iranian Vindapharna, "Conqueror of glory", but his name appears in the most diverse forms : Gudaphara on inscriptions from the North-West, Guduphara or Gadapharna on the Kharoṣṭhī legends of coins, Undopheros, Undopherros or Gondopherros on the Greek legends of the same coins, and finally, Gûdnafar, Gundafor, Gundoforus and Goundaphorus in the apocryphal *Acta*.

In approximately the year 19 A.D., this Gondophares, as he is called by modern historians, succeeded Orthagnes as Suren of Eastern Iran. In that capacity, he governed the province of Aria, the districts situated between Lake Hāmūn and the river Helmand (Drangiana and Seistān) and, finally, Kandahār or Arachosia, a region called "White India" ('Ινδικὴ Λευχή) in the *Mansiones Parthicae* (§ 19) by Isidorus of Charax (ca 26 A.D.).

Gondophares wielded power with the full agreement of the Arsacids, and the characteristic monogram which appears on his coins as well as those of the Parthian kings Orodes I, Phraates IV and Artaban III, is perhaps an indication of this allegiance.

While his predecessor, the Suren Orthagnes, had styled himself "King of Kings" after the example of his suzerains, Gondophares had first to be content with the more modest title of "Saviour King"; this is evident from coins of the "Bust of the King : Nike" type bearing the legends ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΩΤΗΡΟC ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ, *Maharajasa Gudapharnasa tratarasa*.

512 It is generally believed that in about the year 25 A.D. Gondophares made an attack on Indo-Scythia, vanquished the Śaka Azes II and his general Aśpavarma, and established his capital in Taxila. It was then perhaps that he assumed the imperial title of "Great King of Kings", making him the equal of the Arsacid princes. From then on, he struck silver and copper coins of the "King on Horseback : Standing Zeus" type, sometimes alone, with the legens ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΙCΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΙ ΥΝΔΟΦΡΡ, *Maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrata Gudapharasa*, and sometimes in the company of a legate : Aśpavarma (the former strategus of Azes II, retained in service by Gondophares) Sasan or Sasa and, finally, Abdagases or Avadagaśa, this last qualified as "nephew" (ἀδελφιδέος, *bhradaputra*) of Gondophares.

Starting from Taxila, Gondophares extended his conquests towards the west and east. According to J. Marshall, his empire when at its largest, included Seistān (Śakasthāna), the Sindh (Śakadvīpa) with prolongations to the Kutch peninsula (Kacchā) and Kāthiāwār (Surāṣṭra), Arachosia, the Paropamisadae, Gandhāra and the plains of the Punjab as least as far as Rāvi.

The Parthian dynasty administered its vast territories through the intermediary of strategoi and vassals whose names and titles are known from coins :

1. No doubt we should locate in Taxila the legates who have been mentioned above : the strategus Aśpavarma, Sasan and finally Abdagases "the nephew of Gondophares".

The last seems to have risen in rank during his career. On silver coins of the "King on Horseback : Standing Zeus" type, he is still only ἀδελφιδέος of Gondophares; later, on copper coins of the "Athena" type, struck in his name alone, he styles himself "Saviour King", in Greek ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΩΤΗΡΟC ΑΒΔΑΓΑCΟΥ, in Prākrit *Tratarasa maharajasa Avadagaśasa*.

2. In the ancient Scythian satrapy of Chukhsa made famous at the time of Maues by the Kṣaharāta satraps — Liaka Kusūlaka, Pātika, Arṭa and Kharahostes — then under Azes II by Maṇigula, Gondophares seems to have been represented by Maṇigula's son. The latter appears with the name of Jihoṇika on the inscription on the *askos*-vase dated in the year 191 of the ancient Śaka era, i.e. 36 A.D. (KONOW, p. 82); he is called Zeionises on coins of the "Goddess of the City" type.

3. The monogram of Gondophares decorates the edge of silver coins
513 of the "Bust of the King : Standing Nike" type found in Sirkap by Sir John Marshall and struck in the name of *Rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedanasa* or in that of *Satavastrasa maharajasa*. In all probability, these were feudatories of Gondophares whose fiefs were to be found in the lower Sindh or in Kāthiāwār. Sapedana (Sapedanes) is perhaps to be compared with the Sandanes who controlled the ports of the western coast of India, particularly Suppara (Śūrpāraka) and Kalliena (Kalyāṇa) : "Since it has been in the hands of Sandanes, commerce is considerably disrupted, and Greek ships which berth in those places risk being taken under heavy guard to Barygaza (Bharukaccha)" (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, § 52). Doubtless, Gondophares exerted only nominal authority over those kings of the Sindh who survived him and continued to rule under his successor Pacores.

The inscription of Takht-ī-Bahī (KONOW, p. 62) in Gandhāra proves that Gondophares was still alive in the year 45 A.D. It commemorates

the building of a chapel by a certain Balasami (Skt. Balasvāmin) in the year 26 of the reign of the Mahārāja Guduvhara, corresponding to the year 103 of an unspecified era. If it is the era of Azes or Vikrama which began in 58 B.C., the inscription would be from 103-58 = 45 A.D., and Gondophares would have acceded to the throne 26 years earlier, i.e. in 19 A.D.

Of the countless Śaka-Pahlavas of Indo-Scythia, Gondophares is the only one to have emerged from obscurity to take his place in legend. His name and those of certain of his intimates, such as Guḍa and Abdagases, are mentioned in the Christian and pagan traditions concerning the journey of the apostle Thomas to India, the visit to Taxila by Apollonius of Tyana, and the pilgrimage to Nazareth of the three wise kings.

Gondophares and Saint Thomas. — According to the *Acts of Thomas*[12] (also named Judas), the apostle purportedly went to the court of Gondophares and underwent martyrdom in the city of King Mizdai.

In Jerusalem the apostles had just allocated to one another the lands which they were to evangelize. Judas-Thomas, also called Didymus (twin), received India as his field of apostleship. Meanwhile, there arrived in the region of the
514 South an Indian merchant, named Habbān (Abannes, Abban), charged by his master, the king of India Gundaphar (Goundaphoros, Gundaforus) with obtaining a skillful architect for him. While the merchant was walking about the market, Jesus appeared to him and proposed selling him one of his slaves who was an expert in the art of building for the price of twenty pieces of silver. This slave was none other than Thomas who was thus given the opportunity to reach India in the company of the merchant.

Driven by favourable winds, the two voyagers quickly reached the port of Sandarūk (Andrapolis on the western coast of India). They attended a feast offered by the king of the region on the occasion of his daughter's wedding. On this occasion Thomas sang a hymn celebrating the mystical union of the soul with eternal wisdom. The king invited him to bless the young newly weds. Thomas had only just left the nuptial chamber when Christ, with the features of the apostle, appeared to the young couple and converted them to the idea of continence within marriage. The king was furious and set up a search for Thomas and his companion, but they had already left the region.

Continuing his journey, the apostle arrived at Gundaphar's court. He was ordered to build a grandiose palace and he promised to complete the work in six months. However he spent the funds put at his disposal on charities. Informed of this mystification Gundaphar asked to see with his own eyes the building

[12] W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871 : I, pp. 171-333 (text); II, pp. 146-298 (transln); P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, III, Paris, 1892, pp. 3-175; M. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae graece*, Leipzig, 1883; *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, II b, Leipzig, 1903.

being erected for him; he was appeased by a dream in which he saw the sacred palace being built at his expense in the skies. The king, his brother Gad and the entire court were converted; following them, a multitude of persons embraced the true faith. Signs and miracles were performed by the apostle.

The news of the wonders spread. In a neighbouring kingdom, King Mazdai (Misdaios, Misdeus) sent the general Sifūr (Siphōr, Sapor) in search of Thomas to deliver his wife and daughter who were possessed by a demon. Entrusting his converts to the guardianship of the deacon Xanthippus (Xenophon), Thomas reached Mazdai's kingdom. There he carried out the conversion of Queen Tertia and a noble lady, Mygdonia, and pledged them to practise continence within marriage. Thrown into prison by the king, he freed himself of his own accord in order to complete the instruction of his catechumens. Finally, he was led out of the town and killed with spears by four soldiers. The apostle was interred in the burial-ground of the ancient kings, but his disciples removed the body in secret and transported it to the West.

The *Acts of Thomas* are an authentic product of Syriac literature, and
515 it is proven that the Greek is not the original[13]. They are especially in the hymns — hymn sung during the ceremony of baptism (Ch. 27), hymn for the celebration of Eucharist (Ch. 50), hymn of the soul (Ch. 108-13) — of of a pronounced Gnostic nature[14]. The work is recorded by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries as being into the hands of heretics : Encratites, Apostolics, Manichaeans or Priscillianists[15]. However, the Catholics did not deny themselves the reading of it. In 494, a decree by Pope Gelasius rejected it from the canon of holy books recognized by the Church.

The historicity of the journey and martyrdom of Saint Thomas in India has been much debated[16]. The German Jesuits J. Dahlmann and A. Väth are in favour, while the Belgian Jesuit P. Peeters is against[17].

[13] F.C. Burkitt, *The Original Language of the Acts of Judas Thomas*, Journal of Theological Studies, I, pp. 280-90; II, p. 429; III, p. 94; P. Peeters, *Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine*, Anal. Boll., XL, 1922, p. 255, n.6; repeated in *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Brussels, 1950, p. 179, n.3; P. Devos, *Actes de Thomas et Actes de Paul*, Anal. Boll., LXIX, 1951, p. 124 sq.

[14] K. Macke, *Syrische Lieder gnostischer Ursprungs*, Tübinger Theol. Quartalschrift, 1874, pp. 3-70; A. Bevan, *The Hymn of the Soul*, Texts and Studies, V, fasc. 3; G. Hoffmann, *Zwei Hymnen der Thomasakten*, Zeitschrift für die N.T. Wissenschaft, IV, 1903, pp. 273-309; E. Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen ausgelegt*, Giessen, 1904.

[15] Cf. É. Amman, *Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament*, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, I, Paris, 1928, p. 501; Epiphanius, *Haeres*, XLVII, 1, Migne PG, 41, 852 (Encratites); LXI, 1, ibid., 41, 1046 (Apostolics); Augustine, *Cont. Faustum*, XXII, 79; *Cont. Adimant*, XVII, 2 (Manichaeans), Migne PL, 42, 452 and 758; Turribius, *Epist. ad Idac*, Migne PL, 54, 694 (Priscillianists).

[16] See the bibliography in L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 277.

[17] J. Dahlmann, *Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des*

In fact, tradition is inconsistent about the peoples evangelized by Saint Thomas, the nature of his death and possibly the site of his martyrdom[18].

516 For the Valentinian Gnostic Heracleon (ca 145-180), cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, IV, 9, Migne PG, 8, 1281), the apostle purportedly died a natural death, after Saints Peter and Paul (Photius, *Bibl.*, cod. 276; Migne PG, 104, 256) : "All the Saved did not leave this world after having confessed the confession which is made by voice (ἡ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογία) : for example, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others". In other words, not all the apostles died as martyrs.

According to Origen (185-254), *Clement. Recognit.*, IX, 29 (Migne PG, 1, 1415) and Socrates (ca 450), *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 19 (Migne PG, 67, 125), Saint Thomas took the Gospel to the Parthians.

St. Jerome (331-420), in his *De vitis apost.*, V (Migne PL, 23, 722) and the Pseudo-Dorothea, *De LXX Dom. disc.* (Migne PL, 92, 1072) mention, besides the Parthians, other peoples who were evangelized by the apostle, and give as his place of death Kalamina in India, a town which, to our knowledge, has not yet been identified.

From the fourth and fifth centuries onwards, the tradition which makes Thomas the apostle to and martyr in India is well established : Ambrose (340-397), *In Ps. 45* (Migne PL, 14, 1143); Jerome (331-420), *Ep. 59 ad Marcellam* (Hilberg, 546); Gregory of Nazianzus (330-390), *Or. 33 contra Arianos* (Migne PG, 36, 228), Nicephorus, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 40 (Migne PG, 145, 861); Paulinus of Nola (353-431), *Carm. 18 fragm.* (Migne PL, 61, 672).

We still do not know the age of the tradition of the Christians of Malabar, known as the Christians of Saint Thomas, in the terms of which the apostle came in 52 A.D. from Socotora to the island of Malankara, near Cranganor (Malabar) and supposedly founded the seven communities of Cranganur, Palur, North Palur, South Pallipuram, Naranam, Nellakkul and Quilon; moving from there to Malaipur (a suburb of Madras) in Coromandel, he apparently converted King Sagan; a brahmin put him to death with a lance on a nearby mountain. The saint's body was transported to Edessa, as in the other legend.

In Malaipur (Maliyâpur, near Madras), later San Thome, where the apostle was supposedly assassinated, was rediscovered, in 1547, a cross with a Pahlavi inscription which may date back to the tenth century[19]. At least four copies exist in Travancore.

Christentums zum fernen Osten, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912; A. Väth, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens*, Aachen, 1925. — P. Peeters, review of Dahlmann, Anal. Boll., XXXII, 1913, pp. 75-7. See the same *Analecta*, 1925, p. 401.

[18] Cf. K. Staab, *Thomas hl. Apostel*, Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, X, 1938, pp. 109-11.

It should be noted that, according to other Apocrypha, Saint Bartholomew also supposedly evangelized India where his executioner was said to be King Polymius. Cf. the *Martyre de Barthélemy* in *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. *Tischendorf*, Leipzig, 1851, p. 243; R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, II, 1, pp. 128-50; *Abdiae Apostolicae historiae*, ed. Fabricius, Hamburg, 1719, p. 669.

[19] On this find, bibliography in L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynastie et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kaniṣka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes*, Paris, 1935, p. 249.

On Friday 5 May 1122, the Roman court of Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124) was much agitated by the unexpected arrival of a so-called Indian prelate whose exalted discourses gave credence in the West to the posthumous miracle of Saint Thomas. The Indian prelate's account is transmitted in two versions, of which the second is the only one to specify that the miracle occurred in Hulna, the capital of the Indian kingdom, traversed by the river Physon and near which
517 stood a mountain bearing on its summit the church of Saint Thomas. That church, which is supposed to contain the body of the saint, was the setting each year for an outstanding miracle. : "Every year, during the eight days preceding the feast of Saint Thomas and the eight days following it, the deep river which encircled the church half opened to give passage. On the feast day itself, the archbishop at the head of all his praying people, approached the saint's shrine and, assisted by his peers, withdrew the body and placed it on the pontifical throne; everyone set about presenting their oblation to the Apostle, whose arm extended and hand half opened, closing only to refuse offerings from heretics"[20].

Although it is doubtful whether the apostle met his death in India — be it Indo-Scythia or Coromandel —, it would not be chronologically impossible for a Christian mission to have entered Indo-Scythia in the reign of Gondophares. However, if there was a mission, it had no tangible effect. We have to wait for the establishment of Christian dioceses on Indian territory and neighbouring regions for Christianity to attest its presence in an effective manner. However, the setting up of dioceses in Sassanid Persia and Gupta India is not attested before the fifth century. The Chaldaean bishoprics of Sarbaziyah (Gedrōsia), Segestān (Seistān or Drangiana), Merv and Herāt (in Khorāsān) are recorded in 424 by the *Synodicon Orientale*[21]. At the first council of Seleuceia (410), it is believed that a number of bishops came from various provinces of the Sassanid empire; at the second (486), the bishop of Herāt attended[22].

A passage in the *Topographia Christiana* (III, p. 169 A-B)[23] by

[20] Cf. P. Devos, *Le miracle posthume de saint Thomas l'Apôtre*, Anal. Boll., LXVI, 1948, pp. 231-75, with a rich bibliography and new documentation.

[21] Ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris, 1902, p. 43; transln., p. 285.

[22] In particular see V.J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide*, Paris, 1904; E.R. Hayes, *L'École d'Édesse*, Paris, 1930; A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde*, II, p. 290. On the expansion of the Chaldaean, Byzantine, Armenian and Syrian Churches in Central Asia and the Far East, H.E. Cardinal Tisserant, *Nestorienne (l'Église)*, Dict. de théologie cath., XI, Paris, 1931, col. 157-323; J. Dauvillier, *Les provinces chaldéennes de l'extérieur au Moyen Age*, Mélanges Cavallera, Toulouse, 1948, pp. 260-316; *Byzantins d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient au Moyen Age*, Mélanges Jugie, Revue des Études byzantines, XI, 1953, pp. 62-87; *Communication au IXe congrès international d'études byzantines faite à Thessalonique en avril 1953; L'Expansion de l'Église syrienne en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient*, Orient Syrien, No. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1956, pp. 1-12.

[23] Ed. E.O. Winstedt, Cambridge, 1909, p. 119.

518 Cosmas Indicopleustes (Constantine of Antioch) constitutes the first valid evidence of the Christian presence in India. It dates from the sixth century (ca 520-526) and concerns the India of the Guptas, known for their policy of religious tolerance : "In Taprobane (Ceylon), in the interior of India, there is a Christian church, priests and faithful people; equally, in Male, where pepper grows[24]. In the town called Kalliana, there is a bishop who was elected in Persia. Similarly, on the island of Dioscorides (Socotora), where the inhabitants speak Greek, there are priests chosen in Persia and sent among them, and crowds of Christians".

Nevertheless, in their Memoirs on Eastern Countries, the Chinese pilgrims, particularly Fa-hsien (402-410), Sung Yün (518-522) and above all Hsüan-tsang (627-645), who practically drafted a religious map of India, nowhere mention the presence of Christians. Possibly they confused them with the "followers of the devas".

To return to Gondophares, his name enabled him to be included among those Magi who came from the East to Jerusalem in order to worship the king of the Jews. Since the Middle Ages the Western tradition, which counts three Magi, has called them Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar. These names appear, for the first time it seems, in the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* of the sixth century[25]. In the first, Gathaspar or Gathaspa, A. von Gutschmid has recognized the Pahlava Gondophares[26].

THE KING OF TAXILA AND APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. — Shortly before 217 A.D., Philostratus the Athenian devoted to Apollonius of Tyana [4-97 A.D.] a highly romanticised bibliography[27] in which he expatiates at length on the visit which in 44 A.D. the Neopythagorian sage and his
519 companion Damis paid to Phraotes, the king of Taxila. If the account is

[24] Male-where-pepper-grows should be compared to the *Mo la yeh* (Malaya) of Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 932*a* 5). — Kalliana (the Kalliena of the *Periplus* §52, 53; Kaliour of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 91) is the Kalyāṇa of the Brāhmī inscriptions (LÜDERS, Nos 986, 988, 1000, 1001, 1013, 1014, 1024, 1032, 1177, 1179), present-day Kalyāna (19° 14' N., 73° 10' E.) on the eastern shore of the port of Bombay. I do not know why L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde*, p. 249, claims to see Cochin in it.

[25] Published as appendix VI to the Chronicle of Eusebius by A. SCHOENE, Berlin, 1875, vol. I, p. 228.

[26] A. VON GUTSCHMID, *Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Rheinisches Museum für Philol., N.F., XIX, Frankfurt a.M., 1864, pp. 161-83 and 380-401. Also see F. JUSTI, *Miscellen zur iranischen Namenkunde*, ZDMG, XLIX, 1895, p. 688.

[27] Ed. C.L. KAYSER, Leipzig (Teubner), 1870; ed. F.C. CONYBEARE, London (Loeb), 1912.

not entirely fictional, this Phraotes (whose Parthian name must have been Frahāta or Frawarti) must be one of the many satraps of Gondophares who, at that time, was the Great King of Kings of Indo-Scythia.

Setting out from Babylon, Apollonius and Damis travelled towards the Iranian desert, passed through the Indian Caucasus (Hindūkush), forded the Kophēn (river in Kābul) and reached the Indus. There, an Indian satrap put a galley at their disposal and provided them with a letter of recommendation addressed to Phraotes, king of Taxila. After crossing the Indus, the travellers reached the walls of Taxila : "In front of the ramparts there was a temple one hundred feet high, made of stone covered with stucco; inside the temple there was a kind of altar which was small-sized in comparison to the towering temple, flanked by a peristyle, but nonetheless worthy of admiration. Indeed, on each wall were fixed bronze panels representing the exploits of Porus and Alexander" (Philostr., II, 20). The town of Taxila aroused the admiration of the visitors : "Its grandeur equals that of Nineveh. It is constructed symmetrically like Greek cities. The royal palace of the man who governed at the time the kingdom of Porus stood there" (Id., II, 20). "The houses were built in such a manner that, seen from the outside, they appeared to have only one storey but, when one entered them, one discovered rooms underground equalling in depth the height of the rooms situated at ground level" (Id., II, 66).

The details supplied by Philostratus apply exactly to the Graeco-Parthian city of Taxila-Sirkap, just as excavations have revealed it. According to Sir John Marshall, the hundred-foot high temple built at the gates of the town is none other than the Iranian temple of Jaṇḍiāl[28]. Instead of providing, as in the Greek temple, a room between the opisthodome (back porch) and the sanctuary, the monument is characterized by a solid mass of masonry obviously meant to support a high tower, and the foundations of which descended to a depth of twenty feet below ground level. An outside stairway going from the opisthodome to the back of the temple led to that tower. The two columns in Ionic style decorating the sanctuary are sufficient to rank among the oldest specimens of Hellenic art in India; it is known, in fact, that the Ionic order was the first to be introduced there and that, later, the Graeco-Buddhist school substituted the Corinthian order for it.

Excavations have unearthed this town of Taxila and its royal palace referred to by Philostratus. Built according to a symmetrical plan, the
520 city was crossed from north to south by a central artery which was cut at right angles by transversal roads[29]. Located in the south-east quarter, the royal palace formed a corner between the central artery and the

[28] J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 222-9; III, pl. 44.
[29] Id., *Taxila*, I, p. 40; III, pl. 10.

thirteenth road. It consisted of numerous apartments : an *andreion*, a *gunaikeion*, a court of the guard, and assembly hall for private or public audiences[30].

Archaeologists are of the opinion that, shortly before Apollonius' visit, the region was ravaged by an earthquake which had the effect of ruining the great Iranian temple, destroying the Dharmarājika stūpa as well as the small monuments that flanked it and, finally, of demolishing most of the houses[31]. The city, or to be precise Sirkap, the second site of Taxila, was then rebuilt but on the basis of new methods. Succeeding the roughly cut quarry-stones, assembled with mud and covered with a layer of plaster, a masonry of the diaper type with carefully quarried cubical stones gave the buildings a solidity they had never known before[32]. The foundations were dug deeper into the ground, and the dwelling houses were limited to two storeys, the lower storey being partly underground. This explains that "seen from outside, they appear to have only one storey".

Obviously, among the sources used by Philostratus, one of them was familiar, in depth and in detail, with the Taxila-Sirkap of the Scytho-Parthians. However, the historicity of Apollonius' journey to India is not guaranteed for all that. The precise references to the geography of ancient Greece which are found in the legend of Heracles do not prove the historicity of the Twelve Labours. It was at the request of the empress Julia Domna, the second wife of Septimius Severus who died in 217, that Philostratus compiled his Life of Apollonius of Tyana. By that date, legend had already transformed the Neopythagorean sage into a pagan god. Caracalla (211-217), the son of Julia Domna, erected a chapel or a monument to him[33]; Alexander Severus (222-235), included him in his
521 *lararium* alongside Christ, Abraham and Orpheus[34]; Aurelian (270-275), gratified by an appearance of the sage, erected a temple to him at Tyana[35].

In his *Discursus Philalethes*, Hierocles, a proconsul of Bithynia under Diocletian (284-305), contrasts Apollonius with Christ and his miracles with those of the Gospel. He was at first opposed by Christian apolo-

[30] Id., *Taxila*, I, pp. 171-80; III, pl. 33.

[31] Id., *Taxila*, I, pp. 63, 118, 137, 237.

[32] On these successive types of masonry, see J. Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, Delhi, 1936, pl. V.

[33] Dion Cassius, *Hist.*, LXXVII, 18.

[34] Lampridius, *Severus Alexander*, XXIX (*Scriptores Hist. Augustae*, ed. D. Magie, II, p. 234).

[35] Vopiscus, *Aurelianus*, XXIV.

gists such as Eusebius of Caesaraea (260-340) and Lactantius (ca 315), preceptor of Constantine the Great. Later, however, Christian writers such as Jerome (348-420), Augustinus (354-430) and Sidonius Apollinaris (430-488) joined the pagan authors, Ammianus Marcellinus and Eunapius, in celebrating the merits of the sage, qualified as *homo sanctus, venerabilis et divinus*[36].

It is asserted that Philostratus made use in his biography, without the slightest attempt at criticism, of first- and second-hand sources : the *Memoirs of the Assyrian Damis*, the *Lives of Apollonius* compiled earlier by Maximus of Aegea and Maeregenes, the *Correspondence and the Inspired Words* attributed to the thaumaturge by apocryphal sources.

PACORES (50-60 A.D.). — In approximately the year 50 of the Christian era, the Pahlava Pacores succeeded Gondophares as the Suren of Eastern Iran. During this period, the Parthians were prey to discord and divided over the question of power (Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI, 8-10; XII, 10-14). Throughout the five years which followed the death of Artaban III, his two sons, Vardanes and Gotarzes, quarrelled over the crown (41-45 A.D.). After the assassination of Vardanes during a hunting party, Gotarzes wielded power alone until 51 A.D. It was in vain that, at the request of the nobility who were tired of his cruelty and prodigality, the emperor Claudius had sent to Parthia to replace him Prince Meherdates, the grandson of Phraates IV and son of Vonones I. Meherdates, who was betrayed into the hands of Gotarzes, was maimed so that, in accordance with Persian custom, he was unable to occupy the throne. Vonones II, who succeeded Gotarzes in 51, ruled only for a few months and does not seem to have struck any coins. He was replaced by his son Vologeses I (51-78). A nationalist and anti-Hellenistic movement is
522 taking form : on the king's coins appear semitic characters, and the Greek legends gradually disappear; the prince had fragments of the *Avesta* collected. The question of Armenia brought Vologeses into conflict with the Romans. Domitius Corbulo, the proconsul of Asia, legate of Cappadocia and Galatia, seized and destroyed Artaxata, and took Tigranocerta without a struggle (51). Armenia thus once again became Roman, but only for a short time since Vologeses, through his victory at Arsamosata, re-established Tiridates on the vassal throne of the Parthians (53). Between the years 58 and 63, Corbulo attempted to reconquer Armenia and, despite the reverses of the general Caesannius Paetus, was successful in reaching an agreement with the Parthians over

[36] M.A. CANNEY, *Apollonius of Tyana*, ERE, I, p. 611.

the Armenian question (63). During his long reign, Vologeses also had to repulse an invasion of Alani who ravaged Armenia and Media, to fight his own son Vardanes II who, in the year 55, rebelled against him, and finally, to quell, in 58, a revolt in Hyrcania.

The difficulties encountered by the central power left the field free for Pacores, the Suren of Eastern Iran. Doubtless established in Seistān, he struck coins of the "Bust of the King : Nike" type with the imperial title ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑC ΠΑΚΟΡΗC, *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa*. Beneath him or beside him, can be seen a certain Sanabares who, on his coins, bears the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

However, the authority of the Suren was no firmer than that of the Parthian emperors. It was exercised in only a nominal way over the Pahlava chiefs, Sasan, Sapedanes and Satavastra, who continued to govern the Sindh, without ever agreeing among themselves. Their port was Barbaricon (perhaps the present-day Bahardipur) on the Indus delta, but the capital of Scythia, or to be more precise of Indo-Scythia, was named Minnagara, to be identified with the Patala of Alexander's expedition. According to the contemporary evidence of the *Periplus* (§ 38), "it was governed by the Parthians, who were continually pursuing one another".

On the evidence of Jaina writers[37], it is believed that the region of Taxila was devastated, in about 57 A.D., by an infectious disease. The community of Naḍḍulapura (Nodol in Rājputāna) put the holy Mānadevi Sūri in charge of fighting the plague. Shortly afterwards, the Yüeh
523 chih seized Gandhāra and expelled the Śaka-Pahlavas once and for all from North-West India : "Three years after the plague, the great city (Taxila) was destroyed by the Turuṣkas, and brazen and stone images are still to be found in the subterranean houses [of the old city]".

The conquest of North-West India by the Turuṣkas, otherwise called Kuṣāṇas, occurred between the year 103 of the era of Azes (45 A.D., the last attested date of Gondophares) and the year 122 of the same era (64 A.D.), the date of the Kuṣāṇa inscription of Panjtār in the Mahāban massif (Konow, p. 70). The silver scroll of Taxila (Konow, p. 77) from the year 136 of Azes (78 A.D.) proves that at that date Taxila was in the hands of the Kuṣāṇa Devaputras and, the conquest was later confirmed by the Chinese annalists. Ruined by the invasion, the city of Taxila, in approximately the year 80 A.D., was transferred from Sirkap to Sirsukh.

[37] Hīrasaubhāgya of Devavimalagani, pp. 163-4; Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra Sūri. Cf. ARArchSurv., 1914-15, pp. 36-41; *Taxila*, I, p. 65.

2. — THE FIRST ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

Śātavāhana andhrajātīya[38]. — At the time of Aśoka, the Maurya empire extended over most of the Deccan, with the exception of the Kerala, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya territories situated to the extreme south of the peninsula. The last Mauryas still exerted sovereignty over certain districts of the Deccanese North, particularly Vidarbha or Berār where, in about 187 B.C., a certain Yajñasena, related to the Mauryan court, ruled. He nevertheless had to recognize the sovereignty of the first Śuṅgas, Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra, and share his states with Vīrasena, Agnimitra's brother-in-law.

As we saw in the preceding chapter, the Indian empire as taken over
524 by the Śuṅgas, who were weak and divided, was never able to maintain its unity and, in the first century B.C., two powerful houses asserted their independence : in Northern Deccan, that of the Śātavāhanas and, in Kaliṅga, that of the Cedis.

The Śātavāhanas (var. Śālivāhanas) belonged to the Śātavāhana family (*Śātavāhanakula*) and the Andhra tribe (*Andhrajāti*). Several sovereigns bore the name of Śātakarṇi (in Prākrit, Sātakani, Sadakani, or again Sāta, Sada and Sati), or again the title of Vilivāyakura.

J. Przyluski[39] has explained these terms by the Munda words *sada* or *sāda* "horse", *han* or *hapan* "son", *kon* or *koni* "son", *kura* "town". According to him, the Śātavāhanas or Śātakarṇis were Sâdahanas (Sâdapahanas) or Sâdakons "son of the horse", and one of their capitals was *Sādakura "town of the horse". Hence the name of Hippokoura "town of the horse" assigned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 6), to a city of Ariake of the Sadenoi, and the title Vilivāyakura "king of the town of the mare" (Skt.-Pāli, *vaḍavā*, *vaḷavā* "mare") or Beleokouros (Ptolemy, VII,

[38] The reader will find an early bibliography in L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 203; add V.S. Suktankar, *On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings*, ABORI, I, p. 21; S.A. Joglekar, *Śâtavâhana and Śātakarṇi*, ABORI, XXVII, pp. 237-87; R.C. Majumdar, *The Chronology of the Śâtavâhana*, Asutosh Memorial Vol., II, Patna, 1926, pp. 107-17; R. Dikshitar, *The Satiyaputras, Sâtakarnis, Sâtvatas and Nâsatyas*, IC, 1936, pp. 549 sq.; G. Bose, *Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology*, JASB, V, 1939, pp. 1-131; K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras, 1941; B.V. Krishna, *History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, Madras, 1942; V. Ramesam, *Andhra Chronology (90-1800 A.D.)*, Mylapore, 1946; P.L. Bhargava, *The Śâtavâhana Dynasty of Dakṣiṇâpatha*, IHQ, XXVI, 1950, pp. 325-9; S.L. Katare, *Simuka, Sātakarṇi, Sâtavâhana*, IHQ, XXVIII, 1952, pp. 68-78; S.B. Deo, *A Śâtavāhana Legend*, IHQ, XXX, 1954, pp. 276-81.

[39] J. Przyluski, *Noms de villes indiennes dans la Géographie de Ptolémée*, Bull. de la Société de Linguistique, XXVII, 1927, pp. 218-29: *Hippokoura et Śātakarṇi*, *JRAS*, 1929, pp. 273-9.

1, 83), borne by certain kings of Ariake. In fact, several Śātavāhana coins bear the image of a horse.

Other etymologies have been proposed : the Śātavāhanas or Śātakarṇis were Śāta sailors, *vāhana* meaning "means of propulsion (oar or sail)" and *karṇin* "helmsman"[40]. In fact, certain Śātavāhana coins bear the image of a ship.

For the *Purāṇa*, Simuka or Sindhuka, the first Śātavāhana sovereign, belonged to the Andhra tribe (*andhrajātīya*, P., p. 38), and the Śātavāhanas are Andhras (P., pp. 35, 38, 43) or Āndhrabhṛtyas "Servants of the Andhras" (P., p. 45). Andhra is the Telugu land situated between the lower Godāvarī and the lower Kṛṣṇā, corresponding to the former Nizāmate of Hyderābād, but although the region formed part of the Śātavāhana possessions from the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (130-159 A.D.) onwards, it was not the birthplace of the Śātavāhanas, which should be sought further west.

Originally, the Andhras inhabited the region of Vindhya and the neighbouring Deccanese territories. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18, 2)
525 locates them, along with other non-Āryan tribes, to the south of Āryāvarta. The thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka (BLOCH, pp. 130-1) gives them as neighbours of the Bhojas and Pitinikas occupying the north of the Deccan, including Vidarbha or Berār. Pliny (VI, 67) presents them as a powerful nation, possessing a large number of market-towns, thirty towns fortified with walls and towers, supplying its king with 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. Ptolemy (VII, I, 84) attributes to the *Andres Peiratai* (Andhra pirates) the cities of Koṅkan and the ports of the west coast. In the Buddhist texts, the village of Setakaṇṇika[41] marked the southern limit of Madhyadeśa (*Vin.*, I, p. 197; *Sumaṅgala*, I, p. 173; *Jātaka*, I, p. 49), and Andhapura, the capital of the Andhras, was to be found on the river Telavāha, a tributary of the Mahānadī, in the eastern Deccan (*Jātaka*, I, p. 111). Finally and above all, the very first inscriptions which mention the Śātavāhanas come from the caves of Nānāghāṭ (LÜDERS, 1113, 1114) and Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1144) in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, or again from Sāñcī (LÜDERS, 346) in Eastern Mālwā. They are not in Telugu, but in Prākrit. Also in Prākrit are the

[40] T.G. ARAVAMUTHAN, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, Univ. of Madras, 1925, p. 51 n.

[41] However, to judge from the parallel texts already noted above, p. 9, n. 3. The village of Setakaṇṇika has doubtless nothing to do with the Śātakarṇis. The Sarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1435, ch. 25, p. 181*c* 29) and that of the Dharmaguptas (T 1428, ch. 29, p. 846*a* 6) translate «Village of the White Tree» (*Pai mu* = Śvetakhaṇḍaka?). Other sources speak of the land and river Śarāvati or Sarāvatī, in Tib. *Ḥdam bu can*.

first coins to be struck in the names of *Siri-Sāta* or *Ramño Siri Sādavāha(nasa)*.

Certain readings in the *Purāṇa* (P., p. 38, n. 2) call the founder of the dynasty *Vṛṣala* "man of low caste", and according to the *Dvātriṃśatputtalikā*, the Śālivāhanas were of mixed origin, Brāhmaṇa and Nāga. The Śātavāhanas perhaps belonged to a social class which had been degraded by practising a military profession, forbidden to brahmins, and by intermarriages with vṛṣalīs of Dravidian or Scythian origin. However, in the *praśasti* of Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1123), King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (106-130 A.D.) is qualified as *eka-bamhana* "unique brāhmaṇa", and *kṣatriya-darpa-māna-madana* "destroyer of the pride and self-conceit of the Kṣatriyas".

In the Purāṇic tradition (P., p. 36), there are divergences over the number of princes and the duration of the dynasty. According to a first calculation, there were 17, 18 or 19 Andhras who ruled for approxima-
526 tely 300 years; according to the second, 30 Andhras who reigned for 411, 412, 456 or 460 years. It is generally believed, with R.G. Bhandarkar, that the first calculation refers only to the main branch of the family, while the second added to the list the reigns of the collateral princes. We would add that only half the Andhras catalogued in the *Purāṇa* are attested by inscriptions or coins and mentioned in literature.

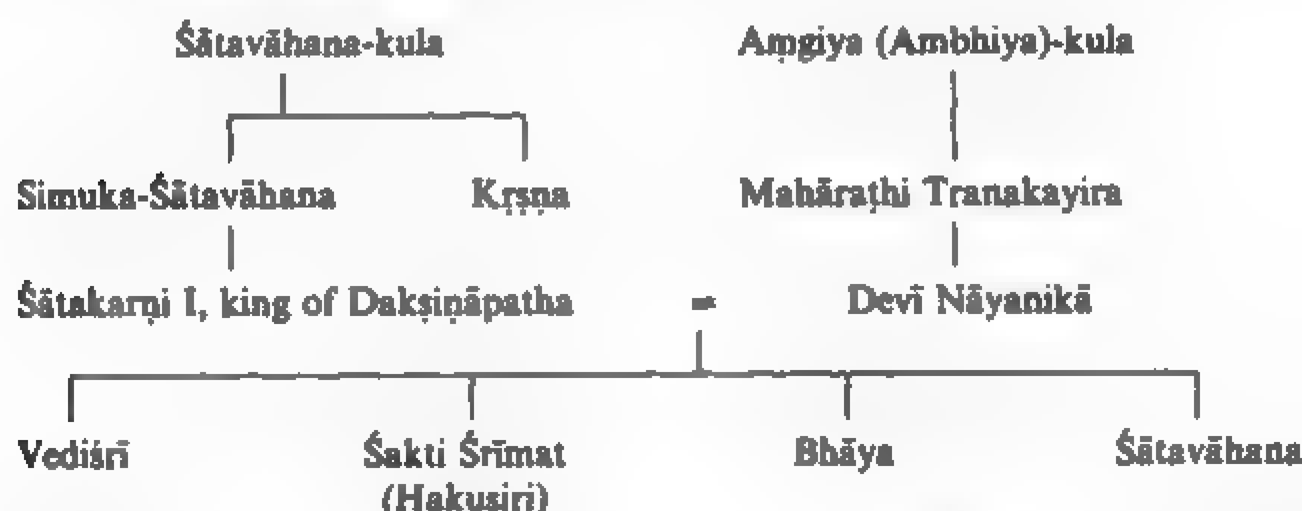
The date of the start of the dynasty is still much debated, E.J. Rapson (CHI, p. 530) and J. Allan (CSHI, p. 58) traditionally place Simuka, the founder of the kingdom, at about 200 B.C.[42]. L. de La Vallée Poussin (*L'Inde aux temps des Maurya*, pp. 209, 215) expressed reservations over this chronological construction and brought Simuka nearer 100 B.C., in agreement with the common tradition of the *Purāṇa*. This shorter chronology was adopted by R. Grousset (*Asie Orientale*, p. 53), J. Filliozat (*Inde Classique*, I, pp. 240-68), A.L. Basham (*Wonder that Was India*, p. 61) and D.C. Sircar (HCIP, II, p. 195). Nevertheless, the long chronology still has its supporters, especially among Indian historians.

As testified by the *Purāṇa* (P., p. 38), "the Andhra Simuka and his followers, the servants of Suśarman [the last Kāṇva], attacked the Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, destroyed the remains of Śuṅga power and took possession of the earth". This event occurred 294 years after the

[42] Formerly, historians dated in about the year 200 B.C. the inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ on which the first Śātavāhanas are mentioned. Nowadays, epigraphists place the inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ among the palaeographic group 2 A, and assign them the date of 100-75 B.C. Cf. N.G. MAJUMDAR, *Monuments of Sāñchi*, I, pp. 264, n.1., and 277.

accession of the Maurya Candragupta (137 years for the duration of the Mauryas, 112 for that of the Śuṅgas, 45 for that of the Kāṇvas), i.e. according to the calculation adopted here, in 324-294 = 30 A.D. It is possible this date is too late, since it is not certain that the Kāṇvas remained in power for 45 years. If, as certain Purāṇic readings would have it, Vasudeva ruled for 5 years (instead of 9) and Suśarman for 4 (instead of 10), the total duration of the dynasty would be reduced to 35 years, and its disappearance would have taken place in 40 B.C..

THE FIRST THREE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS (ca 60-17 B.C.). — The duration of their reigns has again been supplied to us by the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 38-9) : Simuka ruled for 23 years (ca 60-37), his young brother Kṛṣṇa for 10 (or
527 18) years (ca 37 to 27), and his son Śrī Śātakarṇi for 10 years (ca 27-17 B.C.). The inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ (LÜDERS, 1112-18) enable us to establish their genealogy[43] :



At the beginning of the reign of Simuka Śātavāhana (60-37 B.C.), some Scythian Sāhis, who had broken away from Maues, their supreme chief, crossed the Indus, reached the western coast of Surāṣṭra by boat and advanced as far as Ujjayinī in Eastern Mālwā. Having imprisoned King Gardabhilla, they established a "King of Kings" in Ujjayinī, who ruled only for a short while. In 58 B.C., Vikramāditya, the king of Mālwā and doubtless a vassal of Simuka Śātavāhana, overthrew the Scythian dynasty and marked his victory by inaugurating a new era, the Vikrama era. For 135 years, until 78 A.D., Mālwā was to remain in the hands of the Indian dynasts from the Deccan. It was by using it as his base of operations that, in about 40 B.C., Simuka Śātavāhana, in the words of the *Purāṇa* (P., p. 38), "attacked Suśarman, the last Kāṇva, destroyed the remainder of Śuṅga power and possessed the earth". It is

[43] Compare the genealogical tables drawn up by H. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History*, p. 418, and S.L. KATARE, IHQ, XXVIII, 1952, p. 76.

doubtful whether he pushed his conquests as far as the Ganges Basin and Pāṭaliputra, capital of Magadha; but he probably seized Eastern Mālwā and Vidiśā which, at the time of the Śuṅgas, had been the main centre of the Indian empire.

While lords of Mālwā, the Śātavāhanas sought outlets on the western coast of India, and their presence is recorded in the region of Bombay :
528 the name of Simuka Śātavāhana appears on an epigraph at Nānāghāṭ (Lüders, 1113), and that of his brother and successor Kṛṣṇa (37-27 B.C.) on an inscription at Nāsik (Lüders, 1144). The Andhra thrust repulsed the Śaka invaders to the region of Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt).

The successor of Kṛṣṇa was Śātakarni I (ca 27-17 B.C.), the son or nephew of Simuka Śātavāhana. At the beginning of his reign, he seems to have been subjected to an incursion by his powerful neighbour from the east, the Cedi Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga. According to the Hāthigumphā inscription (§ 3), "in the second year of his reign, without any consideration for Śātakarṇi, Khāravela sent to the region of the West a great army of horses, elephants, infantry and chariots, and with that army, he reached the river Kṛṣṇaveṇā [doubtless the Wain-Gaṅgā, which has its source in Vindhya] and struck terror into the town of Asika [Ṛṣika]".

That lightning, short-lived raid in no way prevented Śātakarṇi I from building for himself a potent empire in Trans-Vindhya. His power extended from Eastern Mālwā to the district of Aurangābād (Hyderābād), passing through Maratha country.

An inscription from Nānāghāṭ (Lüders, 1112) which styles him the "Lord of the Deccan" (*Dakṣiṇāpathapati*) informs us that he married the princess Nāyanikā (Nāganikā), the daughter of the mahāraṭhi Tranakayira Kallāya "glory of the Aṃgiya (Ambhiya) family", that he celebrated great Vedic sacrifices, particularly a Rājasūya and two Aśvamedhas, and that he distributed as fees to priests tens of thousands of cows, thousands of horses, numerous elephants, entire villages and tens of coins. In any case, Mahārāṣṭra knew great prosperity under his rule since, according to the evidence of the *Periplus* (§ 52), the ports of Souppara (Śūrpāraka) and Kalliena (Kalyāṇa) constituted "in the period of Saraganus the Elder" (in Prākrit, Sāḍaganna, i.e. Śātakarṇi I) a veritable "lawful market" (εμπόριον ἔνθεσμον), wide open to navigation from the high seas. The *Periplus* adds that the situation changed later on when the ports passed into the hands of Sandanes, whom we have compared above with the Pahlava Sapedanes, a feudatory of Gondophares during the first half of the first century of the Christian era.

Some indications, though rather feeble, enable us to attribute to Śātakarṇi I the possession of Eastern Avanti. It is to him that are generally attributed the coins of "Mālwā fabric" struck in the name of
529 Siri Sāta[44]. On the other hand, an inscription on the south gate of the great stūpa at Sāñcī (LÜDERS, 346) indicates that the upper architrave of the said gate is a "gift from Ananda, the son of Vāsiṭhī, and head of the artisans of the Rāja Siri Sātakaṇi"[45].

Finally, Indian literature[46] often mentions a Śātakarṇi (Śātavāhana or Sālivāhana) whose capital was at Pratiṣṭhāna (present-day Paithan, on the upper Godâvarī) and whose son was the prince Śaktikumāra. This could be Śātakarṇi I to whom the inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ attribute several sons, one of whom was named Hakusiri or Śaktiśrī (LÜDERS, 1117). In any case, Pratiṣṭhāna long remained one of the capitals of the Śātavāhana empire, since in the second century, the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 82) again records "Baithana, the royal town of Siriptolemaius", the Ptolemaius in question being none other than the Śātavāhana Śrī Pulumāvi, who ruled from about 130 to 159 A.D.

After the death of Śātakarṇi I, his widow, the Mahārathī princess Nāganikā, held the regency for some time as tutor of the crown princes. To judge from the epigraphs of Nānāghāṭ (LÜDERS, 1112, 1115, 1117, 1118), those kumāras were four in number : Vedisiri (Vediśrī), Bhāya, Śātavāhana and Hakusiri (Śaktiśrī), the last probably identical to the "Śaktikumāra, son of Śālavāhana", mentioned in a Jaina work, the *Vīracaritra*[47].

TEMPORARY ECLIPSE OF ŚĀTAVAHĀNA POWER (17 B.C.-106 A.D.). — The longest Purāṇic list (P., pp. 39-40) counts 19 Andhra sovereigns between the death of Śātakarṇi I (No. 3) which occurred in about 17
530 B.C. and the accession of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (No. 23) which took place in 106 A.D. Several of these princes, belonging to collateral lineages, ruled simultaneously. Only a few of them, such as Āpīlaka (No.

[44] The *Sāta* coins known as «Mālwā fabric» are generally attributed to Śātakarṇi I. Certain coins of «West India fabric» originate from «the king Sātakarṇi». Finally, the name of Sātavāhana has been discovered on certain coins probably struck by Simuka Sātavāhana. Cf. S.L. KATARE, *King Śātavāhana of the Coins*, IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 210-14; *The Śātavāhana Kings Hāla and Sāti*, IHQ, XXX, 1954, pp. 286-90.

[45] However, the Sāñcī inscription is not definite proof of the occupation of Mālwā by the Śātavāhanas. Ānanda, the head of the artisans of Śātakarṇi I, might very well have simply gone on a pilgrimage to Sāñcī. Cf. D.C. SIRCAR, *King Śātakarṇi of the Sañchi Inscription*, Thomas Comm. Vol., Bombay, 1939, pp. 291-3.

[46] References in H. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History*, p. 417, n.3.

[47] Cf. Indian Antiquary, VIII, p. 201; Arch. Survey of Western India, V, p. 62 n.

8), Kuntala Svātikarṇa (No. 13) and Hāla (No. 17), are known from other sources. In the literary tradition, Hāla appears to be a typical Śātavāhana, a great conqueror and distinguished poet.

According to the *Prabandhakośa* by Rājaśekhera (ed. Jinavijaya, pp. 72-3), Hāla, of the Śātavāhana family, ordered his general Kharamukha to seize Mathurā and the officer, not knowing exactly which town was meant, seized both of the two Mathurās known in his time, the Mathurā of the Pāṇḍavas in the extreme south of India and the Pūrvamathurā of the North associated with Kṛṣṇa. At the announcement of victory, the king was overtaken by a fit of madness and gave orders for the victorious general to be beheaded, but the latter was saved by his colleagues and the king, having regained his senses, rejoiced that his order had not been carried out. According to the *Līlāvai*, Hāla, having fallen in love with a Sinhalese princess, sent his general Vijayānanda and his minister Poṭṭisa to conquer Ceylon. In Southern India, the Śātavāhana army was victorious over the king of the Pāṇḍyas, Malayācalādhipa, and, consequent on this success, the projected marriage could be celebrated. It is pointless to add that these accounts are not corroborated by anything we know of the history of India.

Tradition also attributes to Hāla an anthology of lyrical poems in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit, the *Sattasaī*, or "Seven hundred strophes"[48]. This is in reality a compilation of verses from different dates and signed by several authors. The work exists in six separate versions, and only 430 verses are common to all of them. Through the successive expansions of the anthology an early nucleus of remarkable uniformity can be surmised : short poems taken from the lips of the people and systematically classified by one or several authors. They describe the various aspects of the life and aspirations of the Marāthi population.

It was probably also the minister of a Śātavāhana, named Guṇāḍhya, who purportedly composed, at an indeterminate time, the amorous and marvellous epic of the *Bṛhatkathā*[49]. Originally written in Paiśācī prose,
531 the work is now only available through three versions recast in Sanskrit verse : two Kaśmīrian versions and one in Nepalese. It deals with the amorous adventures of the Vatsa king Udayana and his son Naravāhanadatta.

Finally, it was at the request of a Śātavāhana that the minister Śarvavarman supposedly compiled an elementary Sanskrit grammar, the *Kātantra*. The king did not know Sanskrit and this failing provoked

[48] On this work, see L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, II, pp. 227-9.
[49] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 243-5.

humiliating laughter from his womenfolk. It was then that he asked the minister to compose a grammar, less complicated than that of Pāṇini.

In all these stories there is a concerted tradition which tends to present the Śātavāhanas as favourers of Prākrit, even official patrons of Prākrit literature[50]. In fact, unlike their neighbours in the north, the satraps of Ujjayinī, who adopted the use of Sanskrit in their chancellery from the first half of the second century, the Śātavāhanas remained faithful to the use of Middle Indian until the end.

The exploits attributed to Hāla, without any concern for chronology or verisimilitude, should not side-track us. During the first century of the Christian era, the Deccanese kingdom was eclipsed by the repeated blows of the Śaka invaders. Between the years 19 and 45 A.D., Sandanes or Sapedana, a vassal of Gondophares, wrested from the successors of Saraganus (Śātakarṇi I) the trading places of the west coast, in particular Śūrpāraka and Kalyāṇa in Aparānta and, according to the *Periplus* (§ 52), severely restricted trading at the ports. In 78 A.D., the year which marked the beginning of the Śaka era in Central India, a Scythian incursion led to the creation of two new Śaka kingdoms : that of the western Satraps or Kṣaharātas which, under the princes Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, spread from Kāthiāwār to Northern Koṅkan and was destroyed in 125 A.D. by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi; that of the Kārdamakas or great Satraps of Ujjayinī which resisted all the Śātavāhana attacks, to disappear only between the years 388 and 409 A.D., under the impact of the Indian emperor Candragupta II.

532
3. — THE CEDIS OF KALIṄGA

A second kingdom which disputed the hegemony of India with the Śakas at the beginning of the Christian era was that of the Cedis of Kaliṅga. Its territory extended from the districts of Puri and Ganjām, across that of Cuttack in Orissa, to the Telugu-speaking lands in the south. Kaliṅga had been part of the kingdom of Magadha under the Nandas and, after a bloody war, Aśoka had attached it to the Indian empire of the Mauryas. The kingdom was then divided into two political and administrative constituencies : that of Tosalī (present-day Dhauli near Bhuvaneśvar) and that of Samāpā near modern Jaugaḍa. In the first century A.D., Pliny the Elder (VI, 65-6) noted the existence of

[50] On the traditions which claim that the Śātavāhanas favoured Prākrit, GAIROLA, ZDMG, CVI, p. 155; *La Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, tr. L. RENOU, Paris, 1946, p. 148, n. 31. However, there is little to be derived from these traditions which could have been invented after the event : L. RENOU, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Paris, 1956, p. 99, n. 2.

Gangarides Kalingae near the mouths of the Ganges : "Their capital is named Pertalis (corruption of Tosalī?); the king has 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 elephants, all ready to take to the field".

We do not know at what moment or in what circumstances Kaliṅga regained its independence. The fact is that during the last century of the ancient era it constituted a powerful state under the family of the Mahā-Meghavāhanas of the Cedi clan. Mahā-Meghavāhana, founder of the Kaliṅgarājavaṃśa, and a certain Vakradeva mentioned on an epigraph from Udayagiri (LÜDERS, 1347), were succeeded by Khāravela, whose fame endures in a long inscription from the Hāthigumphā cave on Mount Udayagiri, near Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa[51]. This is a much damaged panegyric (*praśasti*) which is very difficult to date : it informs us that in the fifth year of his reign, Khāravela extended as far as his capital a canal which had been dug by a King Nanda 300 (or 103?)
533 years earlier (*nandarājatrivarṣaśadodghāṭita*). If it was indeed Nanda, the king of Magadha, whose reign ended in 324 B.C., the fifth year of Khāravela is placed in 24 B.C. at the latest.

Born in approximately the year 52 B.C., the prince devoted the first fifteen years of his life (52-37) to the games and exercises of his age. Promoted to the rank of heir apparent (*yuvarāja*), he concentrated for nine years (37-28) on study and in particular learnt writing, calculation and jurisprudence. In 28 B.C., when he was twenty-four years old, he was crowned Great King of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṅga-mahārāja, -adhipati, -cakravartin*). He married the daughter of a prince named Lālaka, a descendant of Hathisiṃha. Khāravela was a restless monarch and his numerous raids, complacently detailed by the inscription, earned him the epithet of Great Victor (*mahāvijaya*). However, he was also a peaceful king (*kṣemarāja*) and a righteous king (*dharmarāja*), whose piety towards Jaina monks never faltered. Styled by the latter as Mendicant King (*bhikṣurāja*), he nevertheless refrained from any partiality and protected all sects (*sarvapāsaṇḍapūjaka*) without discrimination.

[51] On this long inscription which is extremely difficult [redacted] read and interpret, B. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 3-47; *Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela (Revised Edition)*, IHQ, 1938, pp. 459-85*.

The inscription was long considered as dating from the first half of the second century B.C. Epigraphists class it today in the palaeographic group No. 3 and date it from 50 to 25 B.C. (cf. N.G. MAJUMDAR, *Mon. of Sāñchī*, I, pp. 264, n.1, and 277). — The *Cambridge History* (pp. 314-15, 534, 602) and the *Cambridge Shorter History* (p. 57) also place Khāravela in around the year 169 B.C. Nowadays, the *Political History* of H. RAYCHAUDHURI (p. 419) and the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (II, pp. 215-16) locate his accession in about [redacted] B.C.; J. FILLIOZAT in *Inde Classique*, I, p. 268, opted for the first century B.C.

In the first year of his reign (28 B.C.), he repaired the ramparts of the capital of Kaliṅga. — In the second year (27), without concern for his neighbour, King Śātakarṇi [I], he sent a great army to the west, reached the river Kṛṣṇaveṇā and spread terror among the inhabitants of Asika. — The third year (26) was devoted to artistic performances of great variety. — In the fourth year (25), he occupied the capital of a prince named Vidyādhara, and subjugated the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas of Berār. — In the fifth year (24), he extended to his capital the canal inaugurated three hundred years earlier by King Nanda. — In the sixth year (23), he allowed his subjects large reductions in taxes. — In the seventh year (22), he paid a visit of great pomp to the holy place on Mount Samataka or Sameta, present-day Pareshnāth. — In the eighth year (21), he destroyed the Gorathagiri fortress in the Barābar hills and attacked Rājagṛha, present-day Rājgir in Bihār. Learning of this, a Greek king (whose name is partly effaced on the inscription, perhaps Dimita or Damita) fled to Mathurā. — In the ninth year (20), he built at great cost, on both banks of the Prācī, the Great Palace of Victory (*Mahāvijayaprāsāda*). — In the tenth year (19), he set out on a conquest of Bhāratavarṣa. — In the eleventh year (18), he razed the city of Pithuḍa, the Pitoura of the Maisōloi recorded by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 93),
534 the residence of the king of Masulipatam, in the State of Madras. — In the twelfth year (17), allied with the Śivis, he caused consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha (North India) and panic among the people of Magadha, made his elephants and horses drink water from the Ganges, compelled the king of Magadha, Bahasatimita (Bṛhatsvātimitra) to prostrate himself at his feet, pillaged Aṅga and Magadha, meanwhile recovering Jaina statues which had been carried off from Kaliṅga by an early Nanda king. The same year, he overthrew King Pāṇḍya of the Extreme South.

The panegyric does not inform us of the death of Khāravela, and even less so of the end of his house. The kumāra Vaḍukha mentioned in the Mañchapurī cave in Udayagiri (LÜDERS, 1348) was possibly one of his successors. However, the Cedi kingdom of Kaliṅga was of only ephemeral success : among the geographers of antiquity, Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) was the only one to mention it; neither is it referred to in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (end of the first century) nor in Ptolemy who was active between 121 and 151 of the Christian era.

4. — CEYLON FROM 20 B.C. TO 75 A.D.

THE SUCCESSION OF KINGS. — While Śakas, Śātavāhanas and Cedis were disputing the hegemony on the sub-continent, the island of Ceylon

lived through troubled times under the eventful reigns of the successors of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The Sinhalese chronicle (*Dīpavaṃsa*, XX, 22-35; XXI, 1-33; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXIV) devotes a chapter entitled "The eleven kings" to this period :

Sovereigns	Length of reign	Era of Nirv.	Christian era
25. Mahācūḷī-mahātissa	14 years	466-480	20-6 B.C.
26. Coranāga	12 years	480-492	6 B.C.-6 A.D.
27. Tissa	3 years	492-495	6-9
28. Siva	1 year 2 months	495-496	9-10
29. Vaṭuka	1 year 2 months	496-497	10-11
30. Dārubhatikatissa	1 year 1 month	497-498	11-12
31. Niliya	3 months	498	12
32. Anulā	4 months	499	13
33. Kuṭakaṇṇatissa	22 years	499-521	13-35
34. Bhātikābhaya	28 years	521-549	35-63
35. Mahādāṭhika-mahānāga	12 years	549-561	63-75

535 Some of these kings are mentioned on inscriptions : Mahācūḷī Mahātissa, in Sinhalese Mahasiḷu Mahatis or Mahadeḷiyā Tissa (EZ. I, p. 61; III, pp. 154-7; JCBRAS, XXXVI, p. 66; CJS, II, p. 150, n. 1); Tissa, on the inscription of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī (CJS, II, p. 179); Kuṭakaṇṇatissa, also called Makalan Tissa or Kāḷakaṇṇi Tissa, and Bhātikābhaya or simply Abhaya, on the inscription of Molāhiṭiyavelegala (EZ, III, p. 154).

MAHĀCŪḶĪ MAHĀTISSA (20-6 B.C.). — Son of Khallāṭanāga, he had been adopted after the latter's death by his uncle Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Having mounted the throne, he distinguished himself by his extreme piety and ardent devotion to the Thera Mahāsumma. Not content with founding monasteries, he made a point of working at tillage and handed all his wages over to the Thera.

CORANĀGA MAHĀNĀGA (6 B.C.-A.D.). — Son of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, he rebelled during the reign of his adoptive brother, and had to take refuge in concealment; however, the Buddhist monks refused to give him shelter. Once mounted on the throne, he avenged himself by persecuting the monks and destroying their monasteries. He was poisoned by his wife Anulā.

ANULĀ (6-13 A.D.). She was a true Messalina, her excesses knew no bounds. Having assassinated her first husband, Coranāga, in order to join her lover Tissa, the son of Mahācūḷī, she married in turn five kings whom she treated as playthings and got rid of with poison : her nephew

Tissa, Siva the palace-guard, the Tamil carpenter Vaṭuka, the woodcutter Dārubhatika Tissa, finally the Damiḷa priest Niliya. Free at last of all conjugal bonds, she gave herself indiscriminatingly to thirty-two of her palace-guards.

Kuṭakaṇṇatissa (13-35 A.D.). — Second son of Mahācūḷī, he had entered the Order through fear of the infamous Anulā but, seeing the misery of the people defenceless against the extravagances of a hysterical woman, he led a revolt and killed Anulā. Having mounted the throne, he was noteworthy for his piety towards the theras and therīs and for works of public welfare : he surrounded Anurādhapura with a wall seven cubits high and dug the Vaṇṇaka canal.

Bhātikābhaya (35-63 A.D.). — Son of the latter, he reigned for 28 years, and his whole life was devoted to paying homage to the Mahāthūpa of the Mahāvihāra. He had it covered, from top to bottom, with the most precious materials : sandalwood paste, scented flowers which
536 were sprinkled mechanically with water from Lake Abhayavāpi, covered with plaster mixed with cart-loads of precious stones, and a net of coral into the mesh of which were inserted gold lotus flowers as big as cartwheels. The king gave many festivals, arranged for offerings to the Bodhi tree and displayed the greatest hospitality to monks whatever their origin. He exempted his subjects from taxes due to him.

In his palace and residences, he gave hospitality to monks engaged in the «burden of books» (*ganthadhura*) and made sure that they lacked nothing (*Mhv.*, XXXIV, 65-6). This was the first time, it seems, that an intellectual vocation was officially recognized for the bhikkhus.

Another initiative of Bhātikābhaya was to have endowed certain communities with reservoirs and irrigation canals which brought in a considerable income for the religious. Inscription No. 1 of Molāhiṭiyavelegala (EZ. III, 1930, p. 154) is a testimony to this : «Greetings! King Abaya, the eldest son of King Kuṭakaṇa and grandson of the great King Devanapiya Tisa, has dedicated with the golden vessel [vessel used to pour water on to the hands of beneficiaries] the canal (*aḍi*) of Gaṇa..ṭaka, in the region of Ataragaga, to the monks residing in the Pilipavata monastery».

The king was happy to hand over to the religious or to ministers his duties as chief justice. Having heard of a skillful judgement passed by the Thera Ābhidhammika-Godha, he decided that all disputes would henceforth be settled by him (*Samantapāsādikā*, II, p. 307). On another occasion, an argument broke out between the Abhayagiri and the Mahāvihāra concerning accusations made by the nun Mettiyā against

the monk Dabba Mallaputta, so he entrusted his minister, the brahmin Dīghakārāyaṇa, with settling the difference. The monks of the Mahāvihāra won the case (*Samantapāsādikā*, III, p. 583).

Mahādāṭhika mahānāga (63-75 A.D.). — Brother of the above, he went so far in his generosity as to offer as a gift to the community his own person, his wife (a Damiḷā princess), his two sons, and the court elephant and horse. He had the road round and approaching the Mahāthūpa tiled, established pulpits in all the monasteries, and levelled the approaches to the Cetiyagiri, that most famous of all mountains where Mahinda and his companions had set foot in Ceylon.

537 On the summit of that steep mountain, he risked his life to build the Mahāthūpa of Mihintaḷē[52]. He flanked it with four arches studded with precious stones and covered it with red cloth, with golden balls and festoons of pearls. This reliquary, which is still in a good state of preservation, is smaller in size than the great stūpa of Anurādhapura and without much artistic value. Nonetheless, its diameter at the base is 40 metres, and transporting the materials to the top of Mount Missaka represents an enormous task.

Once the construction was completed, Mahādāṭhika organized a festival which has remained famous in the annals of Ceylon : the *Giribhaṇḍapūjā* or «offering of goods on the mountain» (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXIV, 75-81; *Manoratha*, I, p. 22; *Visuddhimagga*, ed. Warren, p. 316). A spiral track was laid out round the Cetiyagiri, and it was adorned with flags, banners and triumphal arches. On both sides of the track, booths provided food for the pilgrims. From the river Kadamba to the summit of the mountain, the track, lit by thousands of lamps, was covered with carpeting which enabled the faithful, after their ablutions, to keep their feet clean while ascending. An uninterrupted chain of lamps criss-crossed the entire island and continued out to sea to the distance of a *yojana*.

II. — THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVAS AND BUDDHISM

Characteristics of the Śakas. — The Śakas and Pahlavas, that is

[52] The *Dīpa* (XXI, 31) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXXIV, 71) attribute to Mahādāṭhika the founding of the Ambatthala-mahāthūpa. However, according to Sinhalese tradition, the erection of the Ambasthala Dāgaba, which has been mentioned earlier (p. 271), should be attributed to King Uttiya, the successor of Devānampiyatissa (cf. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 5). The monument built by Mahādāṭhika on the summit of Mount Missaka would therefore be the Mahāthūpa of Mihintalē, a reproduction of which is to be found in Paranavitana, *o.l.*, pl. III a.

the Scythians and Parthians, who invaded North-West India near the beginning of the Christian era are given by Indian sources as two closely related peoples. Both were of Scythian origin and spoke a variety of Eastern Iranian.

Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the North-West and certain Indian inscriptions from Eastern Turkestan ranging up to the third century A.D.
538 provide the oldest traces of the Śaka dialect : proper names and some borrowed words such as the title *hinajha* «army chief» borne by a king of Khotan. However, the most important material is supplied by Khotanese manuscripts discovered at the beginning of this century. They are written in a variety of Indian alphabet, Brāhmī, augmented by some additional characters; they contain documents of varying natures : Buddhist and medical works, fables and accounts translated or adapted from Indian originals. The Śaka language, or Khotanese Śaka as it is called nowadays, already appears to be dialectally differentiated and shows strong affinities with the language of Maralbaši (Barčuq), to the east of Kašgar, known by some documents deposited in Berlin and Paris[53].

[53] This language, which was quite unknown at the beginning of this century, is well-known today thanks to the assiduous efforts of some researchers : F.W. Bailey, O. Hansen, R. Hoernle, S. Konow, E. Leumann, H. Lüders, P. Pelliot, H. Reichelt, Helmer Smith, P. Tedesco and F.W. Thomas. The first publications are listed in S. Konow, *Khotansakische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 73-5. Since then works published at an accelerating rate by F.W. Bailey have resulted in the creation of a comparative grammar and lexicography of Eastern Iranian : *Hvatanika*, I-IV, BSOAS, VIII, pp. 923-36; IX, pp. 69-78, 521-43; X, pp. 886-924; *Irano-Indica*, I-IV, BSOAS, XII, pp. 319-32; XIII, pp. 121-39, 389-409, 920-38; *Indo-Iranian Studies*, I-III, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1953, pp. 21-42; 1954, pp. 129-56; 1955, pp. 55-82; *Indo-Turcica*, BSOAS, IX, pp. 289-302; *Armeno-Indoiranica*, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1956, pp. 88-126; *Kanaiska*, JRAS, 1942, pp. 14-28, 250; *References to Turks in Khotanese manuscripts*, JRAS, 1939, pp. 85-91; *The Jātakastava of Jñānayaśas*, BSOAS, IX, pp. 85-9; *The Khotan Dharmapada*, BSOAS, XI, pp. 488-512; *Gandhārī*, BSOAS, XI, pp. 764-97; *Khotanese Texts*, 6 vol. Cambridge, 1945-67; *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, Cambridge, 1951; *A Khotanese Text concerning the Turks in Kanṭṣou*, Asia Major, I, 1949, pp. 28-52; *The Seven Princes*, BSOAS, XII, pp. 616-24; *The present State of Khotanese Studies*, Actes du XXI[e] C. des Or., pp. 166-7; *Candra and Caṇḍa*, JRAS. 1949, pp. 2-4; *The Staël-Holstein Miscellany*, Asia Major, II, pp. 1-45; *Kāñcanasāra*, B.C. Law Volume, Poona, 1946, II, pp. 11-13; *The Tumshuq Karmavācanā*, BSOAS, XIII, pp. 649-70, 809-10; *A Title of Kaniṣka*, Adyar Library Bull., XX, pp. 229-33; *Iranian Miṣṣa, Indian Bīja*, BSOAS, XVIII, pp. 32-42; *Dvārā Matīnām*, BSOAS, XX, pp. 41-59; *Adversaria Indoiranica*, BSOAS, XIX, pp. 49-57; *Veda and Avesta*, University of Ceylon Review, 1957, pp. 23-35; *A Problem of the Indo-Iranian Vocabulary*, Rocznik Orient., XXI, 1957, pp. 59-69. — M.J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava, or Praise of the Buddha's Former Births, Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) Text...*, Philadelphia, 1955. — On the Maralbaši language, closely related to Śaka, S. Konow, *Ein neuer Saka-dialekt*, SPAW, 1935, pp. 772-

539 Herodotus (IV, 59-82) and Strabo (VII, 3, 9) devoted several interesting pages to the Scythians, but they are more concerned with the nomads of the Don and the Black Sea than with the eastern tribes between the Caspian and the Pamirs. The idyllic picture which the epic poet Choerilus (420-400) and the historian Ephorus (363-300) painted of the «virtuous and just» Scythians, pushing communism to its furthest extremes, should not side-track us : Scythian ferocity, culminating in characteristic acts of cannibalism, is deservedly legendary.

Atrocities of the Śakas. — It was while fighting the Parthian kings Phraates II, Artaban II and Mithridates II, that the Śaka hordes cleared way through Eastern Iran as far as Sakastene. Contact with the Parthians enabled them to organize themselves on the model of Arsacid institutions : they had a King of Kings (*sāhānu sāhi*) commanding as suzerain (*mahādhipati*) a quantity of vassals (*sāmanta*), who also assumed the title of king (*sāhi*). However, they had lost nothing of their ferocity when, under the leadership of Maues in about the year 90 B.C., they proceeded northwards up the Indus, entered Gandhāra and took possession of the Greek kingdom of Taxila. Equally fearsome was that second wave of invaders who, a few years later, proceeded to the South-East, successively occupied Kacchā (the peninsula of Kutch), Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt) and finally reached Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti. That the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular had to suffer from the first contact with the Śaka is not the least surprising. Towns were razed, stūpas violated, relics stolen and monasteries burnt. The *Yugapurāṇa* (vv. 124-30) describes the king of the Śakas as a person «avid for riches, violent, of a wicked nature, evil and with a destructive mind»; it foresees his defeat in the course of time, but notes that «when the Śaka kingdom is destroyed, the earth will be deserted». Indian sources, such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kāmasūtra* are in agreement with the
540 Greek sources, such as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, in condemning the immorality of the Scythians and deploring the corruption of morality introduced into the Punjab, Mathurā and Surāṣṭra by the Śaka customs authorizing prostitution and incestuous unions[54].

The Scythian invasion was regarded by the Buddhists as one of the precursory signs of the disappearance of the Good Law. It was then perhaps that the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 6, p. 126c), taking over the

823; *The Oldest Dialect of Khotanese Saka*, Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, XIV, 1947, pp. 156-90.*

[54] S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Śakas in India*, pp. 84-5; *Periplus*, §49. Cf. Herodotus, IV, 78.

ancient prophecy regarding this event (above, pp. 197-202), attributed Greek, Scythian and Parthian nationalities to the barbarian kings (*dasyu mleccha*) who came from the West to pillage India, destroy stūpas, ravage monasteries and kill the religious :

In times to come, three cruel kings will appear : the first named Śaka, the second Yavana, the third Pahlava. They will persecute the people, destroy the Doctrine of the Buddha, the uṣṇīṣa of the Tathāgata, as well as the teeth of the Buddha. They will invade eastern India. The Śaka will be in the region of the South, the Pahlava in that of the West, the Yavana in that of the North. Each at the head of a hundred thousand vassals, they will destroy stūpas and monasteries and massacre the religious. At that time, demons without human form will also persecute men. There will be many pillagers and brigands. The cruel kings will in every way molest, chastise and terrify people.

THE HELLENIZATION OF THE ŚAKAS. — The fears of the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular turned out to be vain. Having dominated India by sword and fire, the Śakas quickly became civilized, taking their inspiration as best they could from the Greek political and cultural institutions which had been implanted in the country. They took over as their own the administrative system started by the Indo-Greek kings and retained the satraps, strategoi and meridarchs in their posts. They copied the Greek coinage and continued to use the dual Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legend. They adopted the Seleucid calendar introduced by Demetrius, but changed its initial date, going so far as to retain the Macedonian names of the months. At the beginning, they had no other artistic ideas than those which they had inherited from the Greeks[55].

In Taxila, the second city of Sirkap founded by the Bactrians in the
541 second century B.C., was rebuilt by the Scytho-Parthians on the typical Greek chequer-board model, with streets at right angles and the housing sections evenly aligned. Probably under Azes I, there was added to the old clay rampart a defensive wall of stone, six kilometres long, supported at regular intervals by rectangular bastions. The new enclosure thus included the Hathiāl spur to the south, and for the first time Taxila took on the appearance of a Graeco-Asiatic city, with an acropolis or upper town, serving as a defensive centre, and a lower town, where the civilians lived and traded[56].

Half a mile from the gate of Sirkap, the temple of Jaṇḍiāl, also built at the time of Azes I, is very similar to a Greek temple, both in its

[55] Cf. J. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, I, pp. 55-7.
[56] ID., *ibid.*, pp. 113-14; 140.

general plan, with pronaos (front porch), naos (sanctuary) and episthodomos (back porch), as well as in the two pairs of columns *in antis* (between pilasters) of the Ionic order located at the entrances to the temple. Nevertheless, the monument differs in two points from a Western model : the peristyle or colonnade is replaced by a solid wall broken at regular intervals by wide windows : a large mass of masonry, the foundations of which go down twenty feet below ground level, separates the naos from the episthodomos. It can be supposed that it supported a lofty tower which was reached by an external stairway. From these particular characteristics and the fact that no image has been rediscovered inside, it ensues that it was an Iranian or Zoroastrian temple, sheltering the fire altar in the naos[57].

Other monuments of the Scytho-Parthian period also bear witness to the exclusive influence of Greece in the matter of ornamentation : the decoration of a small stūpa discovered in Block [illegible] of Sirkap consists entirely of acanthus leaves depicted in profusion, with more enthusiasm than sobriety[58].

As time passed, the imitation of Greek models, both numismatic and sculptural, became more and more clumsy. The Parthian barrier which separated India from the Western world prevented the art from being renewed, and the Greeks who formerly peopled the workrooms of the metal-casters and sculptors were not replaced by compatriots, but by
542 vague local artisans. While the first coins struck by Maues are scarcely inferior to those of the last Indo-Greeks, those of Azes are no more than pale imitations of them. In the matter of decoration, alongside the painstakingly reproduced Yavana motifs, under the influence of Mathurā, Indian motifs are introduced, particularly that of the lotus. The Stūpa known as that of the double-headed eagle discovered in Block F in Sirkap is of mixed inspiration, half Greek and half Indian : in the interspaces between the eight Corinthian pillars which adorn the west face of the pediment are reproduced, two by two, the facade of a Greek temple, the arch called 'Bengali' and the ancient Indian toraṇa[59].

THE ŚAKAS AND BUDDHISM. — Not content with acquiring the Yavana heritage, the Śakas, continuing the policy of the Indo-Greek kings in the matter of religion, showed themselves to be tolerant towards indigenous beliefs and even benevolent with regard to the most powerful of them, Buddhism. The presence of the Iranian temple of Jaṇḍiāl proves that

[57] ID., *ibid.*, p. 225 sq.
[58] ID., *ibid.*, I, p. 158; III, pl. 27 a.
[59] ID., *ibid.*, p. 163, III, pl. 20 and 30 a.

they did not renounce their own personal beliefs on that account, but did not attempt to impose them on the Indians. Brahmins, Jainas and Buddhists were quite free to rebuild the ruins caused by the first days of the invasion. Furthermore, the Śaka satraps personally assisted them in this task of restoration.

According to the Taxila plaque engraved in 78, in the reign of Maues (77 B.C.), Pātika, the son of Liaka Kusūlaka, the Scythian satrap of Chukhsa, restored a relic of the Buddha Śākyamuni which had been «dislodged» (*apratiṭhavita*), and alongside built a monastery, in homage to all the Buddhas, in honour of his mother and father and for the increase of the life and «power of the satrap» (*Konow*, pp. 28-9). In Bīmarān, a certain Śivarakṣita, the son of Mūjavat, during some work of restoration (*niryātana*), replaced with a steatite vase the ancient container which originally held the famous golden reliquary, preserved today in the British Museum (Konow, p. 52). In Mathurā, Ayasia Kamuïa, the wife of the great satrap Rājuvula, established a relic, a stūpa and a saṃghārāma for the Sarvāstivādin community; her son Śoḍāsa gave a series of plots of land «in homage from the whole Śaka country» to some Sarvāstivādin religious, among whom are mentioned, the Ārya Buddhadeva and the Bhikṣu Budhila «charged with teaching
543 the truth to the Mahāsāmghikas» (Inscription on the Lion Capital at Mathurā, Konow, p. 48). S. Lévi compared the Ārya Buddhadeva of the Mathurā Lion with the scholar Buddhadeva, mentioned in the *Vibhāṣā* and *Kośa* (Index, p. 124), and identified Budhila with the Fo t'i lo of Hsüan tsang, the author of a *Chi chen lun* (*Tattvasamuccayaśāstra*) of the Mahāsāṃghika school (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 888*a* 8).

Under the Śaka occupation, the Buddhists, whatever their origin, Indian or foreign, were able to devote themselves at leisure to their charitable deeds, such as digging wells «for the welfare and happiness of all beings»; this was the case for the Indian Saṃghamitra, son of Ānanda (Konow, p. 65) and the Yavana Thaidora, son of Datia (Id., p. 66).

As we saw earlier, Śoḍāsa, the great satrap at Mathurā during the time of Azes II, left his name attached to Buddhist, Jaina and Viṣṇuite foudations.

Many are the Buddhist establishments, in Taxila and its neighbourhood, which date back to the Śaka period. Sir John Marshall[60] notes in Sirkap stūpas situated in Blocks E, F, G, C¹ and E¹; around the Aśokan foundation of the Great Dharmarājika, a series of thirteen small

[60] Id., *ibid.*, I, p. 58.

stūpas one of which, S 8, has yielded coins of Maues and Azes; to the north of the Jaṇḍiāl temple, two stūpas (A and B) and a monastery; to the east of the same temple, at Bajrān, a stūpa with a gold plate dedicated to the name of a certain Sira (KONOW, p. 86); at the entrance to the village of Shāhpur, stūpa No. 13, erected by the brothers Sihila and Siharakṣita (KONOW, p. 87), and stūpa No. 14, built by a meridarch of Taxila whose name is effaced (KONOW, p. 5).

THE PAHLAVAS[61]. — The establishment of Pahlava suzerainty over Indo-Scythia in the reign of Gondophares (19-45 A.D.) had no repercussions on the destinies of Buddhism. Descendants of the Parni tribe which was part of the Dahae people, the Parthians, like the Śakas, were of Scythian origin. Rulers of Iran since 247 B.C., they considered themselves inheritors of the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Achaemenid Persia and the Asia of the Seleucids. In the reign of Mithridates I
544 (171-137), Parthia had become a powerful feudality divided into satrapies and including no less than eighteen vassal states. The directing influence was in the hands of seven great families, one of which was that of the Arsacids. Power was wielded by the Great King of Kings, assisted and supervised by a «senate» and an «assembly of wise men and magi». As enclaves within the empire, a great many Greek cities, such as Seleuceia on the Tigris or Seleuceia on the Euleus (Susa), and some Jewish colonies enjoyed privileges and immunities which rendered them practically independent. In principle, kingship was hereditary and if a king died childless, his successor had to be chosen from among the nobles or Megistanes and designated by them. The prestige which surrounded the sovereign was quasi-divine : the king wore the tiara, introduced into the protocol by Mithridates, took the title of Theos or Theopator, and after his death became the object of a cult with temples and statues. The court was surrounded with the most sumptuous luxury, moving its residence, at the whim of the seasons or of fancy, to one of the four capitals of the empire : Arsak, Hecatompylos, Ecbatana and Ctesiphon.

If we lack Parthian texts for the beginning of the Arsacid period, this is because Greek was the official language of the empire until about 50 B.C. The legends on Arsacid coins in which, since the time of Mithridates, the kings regularly called themselves «Philhellenes» remained Greek for several centuries[62], and the monuments built in memory of the

[61] On the organization and administration of the Parthians, see R. GHIRSHMAN, *L'Iran des Origines à l'Islam*, Paris, 1951, pp. 234-7.

[62] Cf. J. DE MORGAN, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, Paris, 1923-36, pp. 152-69.

Shahs at Bīsutūn bore Greek inscriptions[63]. Greek was currently used on legal and notarized deeds; for example, in a text on the law of succession from the Arsacid period discovered at Dura (Sālihīyeh)[64], as well as two bills of sale found at Avromān, in Zagros, dating back respectively to the years [redacted] and 22 B.C.[65]. The ruling class read and spoke Greek, and we know from Plutarch (*Life of Crassus*, 33) that at the moment the fate of the Roman legions was sealed at Carrhae (53
545 B.C.), King Orodes attended a performance of the *Bacchae* by Euripides. Such snobbery provoked the astonished amusement of the Graeco-Roman world : «What does it mean», cries Seneca in the *Consolatio ad Helviam* (VII, 1), «those Greek towns in the midst of barbarian territories, and Greek being spoken between Indians and Persians?» In the opinion of Strabo (XI, 9, 2), the Parthians, through the number of people over whom they had command and the immensity of resources at their disposal, were, around the new era, veritable rivals of the Romans : «The cause of such an expansion should be sought», he said, «in the life-style led by the Parthians and in their institutions which, although still sullied by the influence of barbarian peoples, particularly the savagery of the Scythians, nevertheless seem to contain that indescribable something which serves to establish political hegemony and military supremacy».

We have little information on the religion of the Parthians[66]. According to Scythian custom, they doubtless continued to worship natural phenomena and to pay homage to the Sun and Moon. During his stay in Rome, at the court of Nero, Tiridates of Armenia, the brother of Vologeses I, still performed bloody sacrifices (Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 29). However, under Parthian domination, the Iranian people remained faithful to the Mazdaean triad represented by Ahuramazda, Mithra and Anahita, the last also being honoured under the name of Nanaia or Artemis. The cult of the goddess became wide-spread, as is proved by the numerous temples dedicated to her name at Arsak, Ecbatana, Kengavar, in Elymaide, Susa, Istakar and Šiz. The exposure of the dead as recommended by the Zoroastrian reformation does not seem to have been practised regularly. Archaeological excavations made at Nippur,

[63] E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien : Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit*, Berlin, 1920, pl. XXI-XXIII.

[64] B. Haussoulier, *Une loi grecque inédite sur les successions «ab intestat»*, Revue historique du droit français et étranger, II, 1923, pp. 515-53.

[65] E.H. Minns, *Parchments of the Parthian Period from Avroman in Kurdistan*, Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXXV, 1915, pp. 22-65.

[66] R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des Origines à l'Islam*, pp. 239-43.

Kakze, Dura-Europos and Susa have revealed the existence of Parthian necropoli in which the dead were buried, with their funerary furnishings, in terra-cotta sarcophagi. This continued until the end of the ancient era. Unconcerned with proselytizing, the Parthians, far from attempting to convert the conquered peoples to their own beliefs, displayed perfect tolerance, both in their relations with the Greek colonies as well as the small Jewish states established in the empire. The liberal spirit which Gondophares evinced regarding his Indian subjects possibly earned him the title of «Saviour» (*trātā*) which appears on his coins. In the
546 Christian and pagan legend, he appears as an enlightened prince, open to any foreign propaganda and welcoming at his court, with equally good grace, the apostle Saint Thomas and the sage Apollonius. The inscription of Takht-ī-Bahī (KONOW, p. 62), on which his name appears in connection with the building of a chapel, proves that the Buddhists had no complaints about the foreign ruler. In the second and third centuries of the Christian era, among the first Buddhist missionaries in China, were to appear monks from An hsi, that is Arsacid Persia : An Chih kao, who was to give up the throne to enter the religious life, is credited with having been the first great translator of Buddhist texts into Chinese versions. He worked in Lo yang between 148 and 170 A.D.; however, of the 176 translations attributed to him by the catalogues, only a small number — four, according to P. Demiéville — can be held to be authentic. Among other translators of Iranian origin, there was also the layman An Hsüan (168-189) and the śramaṇa An Fa ch'in (281-306) who also worked in Lo yang. Nonetheless, for the vast majority, the Śaka-Pahlavas attracted to Buddhism were ill-prepared to receive and understand the message of Śākyamuni.

NEW FORMS OF DISSEMINATING THE WORD. — In order to reach those simple minds, the Buddhist propagandists had to act like Scythians with the Śakas and like Parthians with the Pahlavas. The time had passed when Śākyamuni could teach the mysteries of the dependent origination of phenomena directly to his young contemporaries, «to the noble young people who gave up family life to adopt life without a family», when the missionaries of the Mauryan period carried out massive conversions in India by propounding to the laity the gradual teaching (*anupūrvī kathā*), a veritable compendium of the Buddhist doctrine, finally when Nāgasena and other wise scholars, whether real or purported, debated as equals with the Yavana kings who were experienced in the quibbles of sophistry. There could be no question of teaching fire-worshippers and the devotees of the goddess Anahita the immense *Tripiṭaka*. They could merely be inculcated with the spirit and initiated

into the essential truths by very simple means : a few suggestive stanzas or alphabetical exercises to be learnt by heart.

It had always been accepted that the slightest Word of the Buddha was of value, and the *Aṅguttara* (II, p. 178) already averred that
547 «through knowledge of the letter and meaning of the Law — be it only a simple stanza of four feet — and through conduct in accordance with the Law, one deserves to be called learned and a good memorizer of the Dharma». However, during the period with which we are concerned, the documentary worth of a stanza took on a magical power, and Buddhist texts from both extremes of the two Vehicles, such as the *Vajracchedikā* (ed. CONZE, p. 37), continually repeat that «every son or daughter who takes from a text of the Law be it only one stanza of four feet in order to teach and explain it to someone else gains through that very deed an enormous, immense and incalculable mass of merit».

Hence the famous stanza, formerly told to Śāriputra by Aśvajit and which summarizes the four noble truths so well, was raised to the level of a Buddhist tenet :

All dharmas arise from a cause;
Of them all the Tathāgata told the cause;
He also told of their cessation :
Such is the doctrine of the great Śramaṇa[67].

It is repeated endlessly on Buddhist monuments and images, in India, Serindia, and China where it is found on the inscribed bricks of Yunnan[68]. Enclosed in stūpas by way of a talisman, it protects and preserves them from destruction[69]. In texts it is often followed by a famous couplet :

Avoid all sins, practise the good,
Purify the thought : such is the teaching of the Buddhas[70].

The description of the law of twelve causes, or *pratītyasamutpāda*, discovered by Śākyamuni during the night of Enlightenment, also

[67] Pāli Vinaya, I, p. 40; Mahāvastu, III, p. 62 :
ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha
tesañ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo.

[68] Cf. W. LIEBENTHAL, *Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan*, I, Monumenta Serica, XII, 1947, pp. 1-40; II, Sino-Indian Studies, V, 1955, pp. 1-23.

[69] Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka, ed. U. WOGIHARA, p. 207.

[70] Dīgha, II, p. 49; Dhammapada, v. 183; Nettipakaraṇa, p. 43, etc.
sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā
sacittapariyodapanaṃ etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ.

appears on a large number of monuments. In the year 20 of Kaniṣka, a recension in Prākrit of the North-West was engraved by a certain
548 Maniphatia on the base of a copper reliquary destined for a Sarvāstivādin monastery (KONOW, p. 155).

In the North-West, the Sarvāstivādins conceived for foreigners a veritable religious propaganda of the stanza, supported by a mass of edifying literature, in which are celebrated the heroic efforts of such-and-such a king or brahmin to acquire the complete text of a *gāthā*[71]. Among those that found most favour, we can cite :

Transitory indeed are all formations,
They are characterized by rise and fall:
Having arisen, they cease;
Their appeasement is happiness[72].

or,

All accumulations end in destruction;
All elevations in falling;
Unions end in separation;
Life ends in death[73].

or again,

From a pleasant thing springs sorrow;
From a pleasant thing springs fear;
Relinquish the pleasant thing, and sorrow is no more;
From whence could come fear[74]?

finally,

Practise the Law of good conduct,
Avoid that of wrong conduct;

[71] On this type of literature, references can be found in the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, Louvain, 1949, p. 689, note.

[72] Dīgha, II, p. 157; Saṃyutta, I, pp. 6, 158, 200; II, p. 193, etc.
anityā bata saṃskāra utpādavyayadharmiṇaḥ
utpadya hi nirudhyante teṣāṃ vyupaśamaḥ sukham.

[73] Udānavarga, I, 22 (ed. CHAKRAVARTI, p. 4); Nettipakaraṇa, p. 146; Mahāvastu, III, pp. 152, 183; Divyāvadāna, pp. 27, 100, 486 :
sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ
saṃyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ ca jīvitam

[74] Dhammapada, v.212; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 191 :
priyebhyo jāyate śokaḥ priyebhyo jāyate bhayam
priyebhyo vipramuktānāṃ nāsti śokaḥ kuto bhayam.

549 *The Dharma practitioner lives in peace*
In this world and the one beyond[75].

The Mahāyānists were to turn to their own account his rudimentary form of message, not failing to complete the *gāthā* with a *dhāraṇī*, a magical formula in which significant but disconnected words are lost among a crowd of unintelligible syllables.

Already, the Hīnayānist school of the Dharmaguptas which, before playing the leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in China, was active in western India, particularly in Uḍḍiyāna and Surāṣṭra, added two new baskets to the traditional Tripiṭaka : those of the *dhāraṇī* and of the *bodhisattva*[76]. It was perhaps the first to make use of mnemotechnical means (*dhāraṇīmukha*) to facilitate the study of the Good Law. The teaching contained as many articles as the alphabet contained letters, and each letter or syllable of the alphabet constituted the beginning of a word or phrase explaining an article of faith in a condensed form. Strangely, this teaching was addressed above all to foreign barbarians, Scythians or Parthians, since the alphabet on which it was based is not the Indian alphabet but a Śaka or Khotanese one. Copied from the Brāhmī syllabary, it differed from it by certain special graphisms serving to note sounds peculiar to Iranian, such as the letter *ysa* rendering the voiced sibilant *z*[77]. The characters, only forty-two in number, were arranged according to a proper order : *a, ra, pa, ca, na,* etc.; hence the name of Arapacana given to this alphabet. The *Dharmagupta Vinaya* notes joint recitations performed by the religious and laity. Sometimes, it explains, the two men would recite together *A lo po chih na* without one being before the other; at other times, one of them would hardly have uttered *a* than the second repeated the first's word : *a*[78].

The Mahāyānists exploited the mnemotechnic of the Arapacana on a
550 wide scale. They made use of it in particular to inculcate in their adepts their fundamental thesis of the emptiness of all dharmas : «The letter *a*», they say, «because all dharmas are originally unarisen (*anutpanna*); the letter *ra*, because they are free of stains (*rajas*); the letter *pa*, because they indicate the absolute (*paramārtha*); the letter *ca*, because they are

[75] Dhammapada, v.169; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 220 :
dharmaṃ caret sucaritaṃ nainaṃ duścaritaṃ caret
dharmacārī sukhaṃ śete asmiṃl loke paratra ca.

[76] P. Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 60-1.

[77] On the Arapacana alphabet, cf. S. Lévi, *Ysa*, in *Mémoires S. Lévi*, Paris, 1937, pp. 355-63; S. Konow, *The Arapacana Alphabet and the Śakas*, Acta Orientalia, XII, 1934, pp. 13-24.*

[78] T 1428, ch. 11, p. 639*a* 14.

free from death (*cyavana*) and birth; the letter *na*, because they have no name (*nāman*), etc.»[79].

The Prajñāpāramitā texts are full of these alphabetical teachings, samples of which are found in the *Śatasāhasrikā*, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*[80]. In turn the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a section of the *Avataṃsaka*, resorts to the same procedure in order to illustrate the prerogatives of the bodhisattva[81]. Finally, in Nepalese, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism, the first five letters of the Arapacana occur in the esoteric homage paid to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī[82].

With the Śaka-Pahlavas, we reach a period in which Buddhism, wide open to every external influence, was moving rapidly towards the Mahāyāna. It is clear that the action of those foreigners was not limited
551 to the few facts revealed here[83]. The blossoming outside India of a powerful messianic movement was necessary in order to transform Maitreya and Ajita, two obscure disciples of Śākyamuni, into a Buddha of the future, a Saviour appearing as a Messiah, a Saoshiant. It is suspected that Amitābha, the most notable of the Mahāyāna Buddhas, the god of light, of brilliance and of infinite life, ruling over the Western Paradise, is none other than a Buddhist or Hindu replica of an Iranian solar god. Finally, there are curious analogies between the bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna and the Ameshaspentas of Mazdaism : in both cases,

[79] Pañcaviṃśati, ed. N. Dutt, p. 212.

[80] Śatasāhasrikā, ed. R. Mitra, pp. 1450-1; T 220, ch. 53, p. 302*b-c*; Pañcaviṃsatī, ed. N. Dutt, pp. 212-13; T 220, ch. 415, pp. 81*c*-82*b*; T 221, ch. 4, p. 26*b-c*; T 222, ch. 7, pp. 195*c*-196*b*; T 223, ch. 5, p. 256*b-c*; T 1509, ch. 48, pp. 407*c*-409*a*; Aṣṭadaśa, T 220, ch. 490, pp. 489*a*-490*a*.

[81] Gaṇḍavyūha, ed. D.T. Suzuki, pp. 448-50; T 278, ch. 57, p. 765*c*; T 279, ch. 76, p. 418*a*; T 293, ch. 31, p. 804*a*; T 295, p. 887*a*; T 1019, p. 707*c*.

[82] T 1171-1174. — Cf. Hōbōgirin, *'Arahashana'*, p. 34.

[83] On Buddhism and Iranism, see P. Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, JA, 1911, pp. 565-87; *Les influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient*, Inaugural address at the Collège de France, 4 Dec. 1911; J. Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, Paris, 1923, pp. 14, 15, 145, 158, 179; *Les Udumbara*, JA, 1926, pp. 1-59; *La ville du Cakravartin*, RO, V, 1927, pp. 165-85; *La croyance au Messie dans l'Inde et dans l'Iran*, RHR, C, 1929, pp. 1-12; *Un dieu iranien dans l'Inde*, RO, VII, 1931, pp. 1-9; *Deva et Asura*, RO, VIII, 1932, pp. 25-9; *L'influence iranienne en Grèce et dans l'Inde*, RUB, III, 1932, pp. 283-94; *Les sept puissances divines dans l'Inde et l'Iran*, Revue d'Hist. et de Phil. rel., n.d.; *Les rapports entre l'Inde et l'Iran depuis l'époque védique*, RHR, CXXII, 1940, pp. 5-24; *Une cosmogonie commune à l'Iran et à l'Inde*, *JA*, 1937, pp. 481-93; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dogme et philosophie du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930, p. 193; *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 243; *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde*, p. 352; A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 566; *Vieille route de l'Inde*, II, pp. 285-9; E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, Leipzig, 1928; É. Benveniste, *La civilisation iranienne*, Paris, 1952.*

they are benevolent spirits whose names alone are known, but whose histories and endlessly repeated accomplishments remain vague. It has sufficed to emphasize, in the light of precise and easily verifiable data, the far from negligible part played by the Greek, Scythian and soon Kuṣāṇa strangers in the history of Buddhism.

III. — THE BEGINNINGS OF ROCK-CUT ARCHITECTURE[84]

Mention has been made in Chapter Three (pp. 311-313) of the Buddhist temples (*caityagṛha*) and monasteries (*vihāra*). The bas-reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñcī give an idea of those ancient constructions, the foundations of which were made of stone or bricks, and the superstructure of wood. The excavations carried out at Sāñcī have brought to light, in the southern part of the esplanade, the ruins of the famous
552 temple No. 40 pertaining to three successive periods[85]. The original construction, dating back to the Maurya period like the main core of Stūpa No. 1 and the Aśokan pillar, had the form of an apsidal hall resting on a rectangular terrace 3 m. 30 high by 26 long and 14 wide, access to which was made by two flights of steps built respectively on the east and west sides of the monument. The superstructure, which was made of wood, was probably destroyed during Puṣyamitra's persecution, at the same time as the Aśokan stupa. The open air temples, constructed according to the same plan, have not resisted the ravages of time, and the few specimens that remain today, such as those at Ter (Tagara) in Hyderābād State, at Chezārla in Kistna District, are no earlier than the fourth century A.D.[86].

However, alongside open air architecture, the Buddhists had for a long time turned to rock-cut architecture and, wherever the nature of the

[84] On the beginnings of rock-cut architecture, see J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave-Temples of India*, London, 1880; J. Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, London, 1883; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd edn, revised by J. Burgess, 2 vol., London, 1910; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, 2 vol., Paris, 1914; John Marshall, *Cambridge History of India*, I, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 634-42; R.S. Wauchope, *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*, Calcutta, 1933; J.P. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 57-64; H. Marchal, *L'architecture comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1944; S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vol., Calcutta, 1946; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, 3rd edn, Bombay, 1956; B. Rowlands, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1953.[**]

[85] *Monuments of Sāñchī*, I, pp. 64-8; III, pl. 109, 110. Conjectural reconstruction, IABH, pl. 16, fig. 4.

[86] Caitya of Ter, HIEA, I, p. 126, figs. 48, 49; AAI, p. 124, fig. 16; IABH, pl. 16, fig. 1. — Caitya of Chezārla, HIEA, I, p. 127, figs. 50-52; GIIK, pl. 35, fig. 147.

terrain permitted it, they carved caityagṛhas and vihāras in the living rock, ingeniously reproducing in stone the forms and style of the old wooden constructions.

The Buddhists were not alone in practising this new form of architecture. The Bihār caves, excavated during the Aśokan era, belonged, at least in the majority of cases, to the Ājīvika order; those in Orissa, probably started in the last century of the ancient era, were mainly occupied by the Jainas.

THE ĀJĪVIKA CAVES OF BIHĀR[87]. — In Bihār, the best known caves are those at Barābar (25 km. north of Gayā), Nāgārjunī (1 km. N.E. of Barābar) and Śitāmarhi (20 km. south of Rājaghṛa).

a. The Barābar caves were presented to the Ājīvikas by the *lāja Piyadassi* Aśoka in the years 12 and 19 of his reign, that is, in 256 and 249 B.C. (BLOCH, p. 156). The cave of Karna Chaupār is a plain rectangular hall; those of Sudāma (or Nyagrodha) and Lomaśa Ṛṣi
553 consist of a rectangular hall communicating, by means of a narrow passageway, with a circular room, in all likelihood destined to house an altar. The façade of the Lomaśa Ṛṣi is particularly well-preserved; under the porch, its doorway is adorned with a convex lintel — an aberrant form of the early wooden roof-ribs — decorated with strings of elephants and *makara*[88].

b. At Nāgārjunī, the caves known as Vahiyakā, Gopikā and Vaḍathikā were presented, still to the Ājīvikas, by a Devāṇampiya Daṣalatha (LÜDERS, 954-6) who has been identified as Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka.

c. The oldest cave of Bihār is perhaps that of Śitāmarhi, rectangular in plan and oval in section.

THE JAINA CAVES OF ORISSA[89]. — In Orissa, near Bhuvaneśvar, the contiguous hills of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri are excavated with some thirty caves which mostly belonged to Jaina monks. This is what emerges both from the formal evidence of the inscriptions (LÜDERS,

[87] On the Bihār caves, HIEA, I, pp. 130-3; IABH, pp. 13-15.

[88] Façade of the Lomas Rishi, CHI, pl. 11, fig. 25; HCIP, II, pl. 7, fig. 13; GHK, pl. 9, fig. 28; AAI, pl. 7, fig. b; IABH, pl. 9, fig. 1. — Interior of the Sudāma, IABH, pl. 9, figs. 2 and 3. — Conjectural reconstruction of the caves in Bihār, of the Guṇṭupalle temple (Madras) and the Pitalkhorā vihāra, IABH, pl. 8.

[89] On the caves in Orissa, HIEA, II, pp. 9-19; IABH, pp. 36-8. — Plan and reconstruction of Rānī Gumphā, IABH, pl. 32. — Photographs of Mañchapurī, Ananta Gumphā, Rānī Gumphā and Alakāpurī, CHI, pl. 27-28, figs. 73-80; Rānī Gumphā, AAI, pl. 20, fig. b; IABH, pl. 31, figs. 1-2. — The inscriptions have been published in full by B. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929.

1342-53) and the particular nature of the architecture, which is completely free of caityagṛhas.

The two caves which are seemingly the oldest are those of Hāthigumphā and Mañchapurī on Mount Udayagiri. Hāthigumphā is a natural cavern, artificially enlarged; it encloses the famous inscription of Khāravela the king of Kaliṅga (LÜDERS, 1345) who ruled, as we saw on p. 482, during the last decades of the ancient era. Mañchapurī is a cave on two floors containing, on the upper one, the inscription of the chief wife of Khāravela (BARUA, p. 55), and on the lower, the inscriptions of King Vakadepasiri (Śrī Vakradeva), Khāravela's predecessor, and of Prince Vaḍukha (LÜDERS, 1347-8). The veranda is decorated with a frieze in high-relief, of poor and clumsy workmanship, but of a more advanced technique than that at Bhārhut.

554 The Ananta Gumphā, on Mount Khaṇḍagiri, has only one floor, but the arches and the frieze of the doorway are interesting for their sculptures : the goddess Lakṣmī standing on a lotus and surrounded by elephants; the quadriga of the Sun-God, with a crescent moon and stars in the ground.

The Rānī Gumphā is the most spacious and decorated of the Udayagiri caves. Its two floors are each provided with a veranda, with cells to the rear and on the sides. The lower veranda is 13 m. long, the upper only 6 m. They are both decorated with friezes showing evidence of a quite different technique and work, the upper frieze being the better through the coherence of its composition, the plastic workmanship, the movement and naturalness of the persons.

The bas-reliefs which adorn the verandas of the Ganesh Gumphā and the Jayavijaya on the Udayagiri bear witness to the rapid decadence of an art which could not be renewed.

ROCK-CUT BUDDHIST ESTABLISHMENTS. — With the Buddhists, rock-cut architecture reached a development and perfection which it had never attained with the rival orders. It is on the western coast of India and in the neighbouring Ghāts that the Buddhist caves are most numerous, the terrain lending itself admirably to their renovation and successive enlargements.

Early archaeologists dated the first caves at the beginning of the second century B.C.[90]. However, more careful examination has shown that they cannot be monuments contemporary with Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā or Sāñcī which were constructed in the Śuṅga period, but esta-

[90] Also see the chronological classification of Indian monuments in H. MARCHAL, *L'architecture comparée*, pp. 87-90.

blishments commenced near the beginning of the Christian era, under the Śaka-Pahlavas and the first Śātavāhanas.

«The composition of the sculptures [noted in the caves] is strangely bizarre and fanciful, and their style, generally is not of a high order; but it is easy to perceive from the technique of the relief work, from the freedom of the composition and of the individual poses, as well as from the treatment of the ornaments, that they are to be classed among the later efforts of the Early School, not among its primitive productions.
555 Their date certainly cannot be much earlier than the middle of the last century before the Christian era[91]».

The examination of the inscriptions surveyed in the caves leads to identical conclusions. With the exception of those at Nānāghāṭ which, incidentally, are not Buddhist, they can be classed palaeographically in the last group of ancient Brāhmī inscriptions.

N.G. Majumdar[92] distinguishes five palaeographic groups :

1. Group 1, represented by the Aśokan edicts at Sāñcī, Girnār, Rummindei and the inscription on the reliquary of Piprāhwā.

2. Group 2, including the balustrade at ground-level of Stūpa I at Sāñcī, the pillar of Heliodorus in Besnagar, the pillar of Ghasundī, the Bhīlsa pillar engraved in the year 12 of the Mahārāja Bhāgavata, the balustrade at ground-level of Stūpa 2 at Sāñcī, the reliquaries of the same Stūpa and, finally, the balustrade of the Stūpa at Bhārhut.

3. Group 2 A, in which are classed the Dhanabhūti inscription of the gateway of the Stūpa at Bhārhut, the inscription of Queen Nāyanikā at Nānāghāṭ, as well as those on the palisade at Bodh-Gayā and the first inscriptions at Mathurā (Yakṣa of Parkham, epigraphs of Brahasvātimitra, Viṣṇumitra and Utaradāsaka).

4. Group 3, consisting of the inscriptions on the four gateways of Stūpa I at Sañcī, that of King Khāravela in Orissa and those of the kings Bahasatimitra and Āṣāḍhasena at Pabhosa.

5. Group 3 A, including the epigraphs of King Dhanadeva in Ayodhyā, of Gotīputa at Kosam, of the satrap Śoḍāsa in Amohinī and, finally, of the satrap Nahapāna at Nāsik.

The first rock-cut Buddhist establishments do not apparently go any further back into the past than the last decades of the ancient era, but the type of architecture continued for centuries. Not only were the ancient sites regularly enlarged, but also new establishments were founded in various places on the western coast and the Deccan. The Buddhists excavated caves for more than seven centuries : from the year 50 before to the year 700 after the Christian era[93].

91 J. Marshall in *CHI*, I, p. 638.

92 *Monuments of Sāñchī*, I, p. 264, n.1; III, pl. CXLI.

93 These two extremes in date are accepted by J.P. Vogel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 57.

Every establishment had necessarily to consist of two separate caves : the temple (Skt. *caityagṛha*; Pā. *cetiyaghara*) and the monastery (*vihāra*).
556 The caityagṛha, or simply caitya, has many analogies with a Gothic cathedral. The screen or façade, closing the entrance to the cave, is pierced by a doorway surmounted by a horseshoe arch allowing air and light to pass. The caitya is a rectangular hall terminating in an apse and divided internally, into a central nave and two side-aisles, by two rows of columns which meet behind the apse. The rear of the nave is occupied by a reliquary, or dāgaba, the shape of which reproduces that of a stūpa. The nave is covered by a barrel-vault formed by a series of arched beams the lower ends of which rest on the two rows of columns. The side naves, which are lower, have half barrel-vaults.

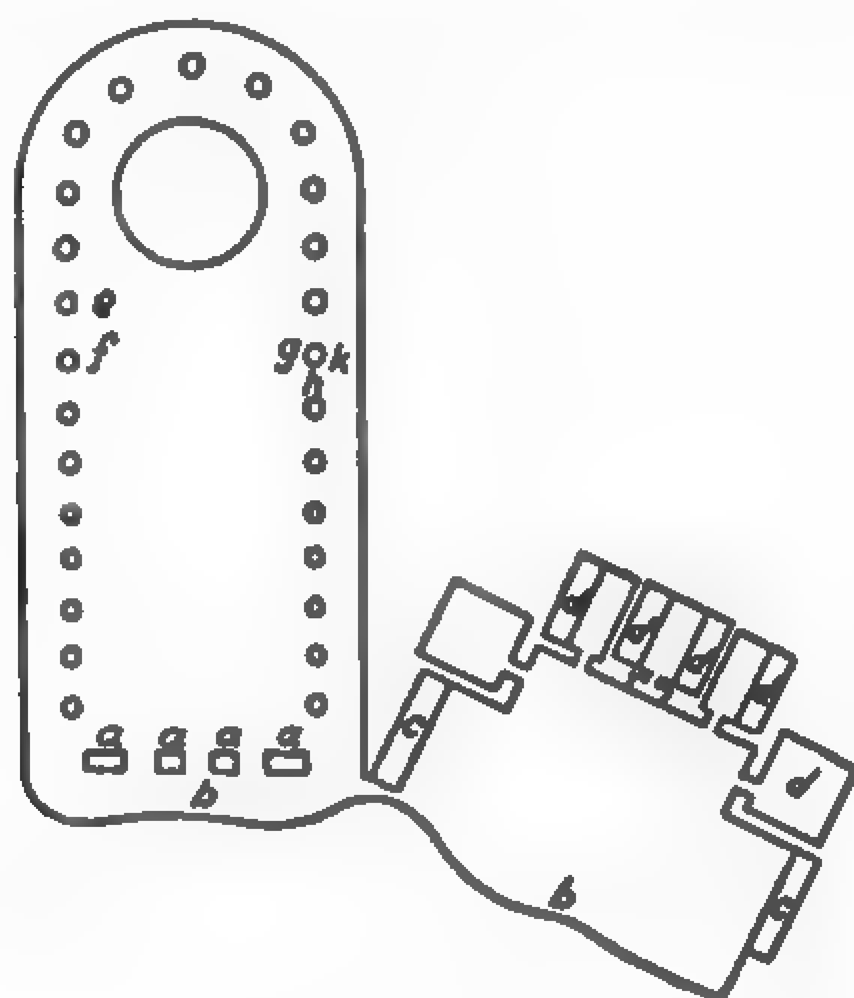
The vihāra serving as a dwelling for the monks is split into three parts : 1. A veranda excavated in the rock and placed at the entrance to the cave. Its ceiling is usually supported by a row of sculpted pillars. — 2. A central flat-roofed hall serving as the entrance-hall to a large number of cells the doorways of which, adorned with the «horseshoe» and linked by balustrades, constitute the usual ornament. — 3. Cells surrounding this hallway on three sides : small and dark, they contain one or two stone beds, at least in the early vihāras.

The old caves are still very close to the wooden constructions, the form and style of which they strove to reproduce. The decoration is distinguished by its simplicity and sobriety and resorts to no other motifs than traditional horseshoe and balustrade. The image of the Buddha is absent from them or, if it is found, it is obviously a later addition. The columns of the caitya are plain shafts, without capitals or bases; they slope sharply inwards as in the wooden constructions. In the first vihāras, the ceiling of the central hall is hardly ever supported by pillars.

The old caves make a striking contrast with the more recent caves of the Gupta period, which are filled with sculptures and an increasing number of images of the Buddha. In the caityas, the entrance is flanked by a large porch, and the interior colonnade is provided with richly sculptured bases and capitals. The vihāras likewise increase in comfort and beauty; the veranda is adorned with sculptures of various motifs; the ceiling of the central hall is supported by pillars, the number of
557 which tends to increase incessantly; finally, the rear wall generally opens onto a chapel, a small-sized caitya, containing a statue of the Buddha.

Here, we will deal only with the oldest rock-cut establishments, the foundation of which may date back, on the evidence of the inscriptions, to the end of the ancient era or the beginning of the new.

Bhājā. — The eighteen caves at Bhājā, in the western Ghāts, are situated between Bombay and Poona, near the village of Malavli, on the G.I.P. Railway. They are pronouncedly archaic, but the few inscriptions they contain (Lüders, 1078-85) do not enable them to be dated precisely.



(After J. Burgess)

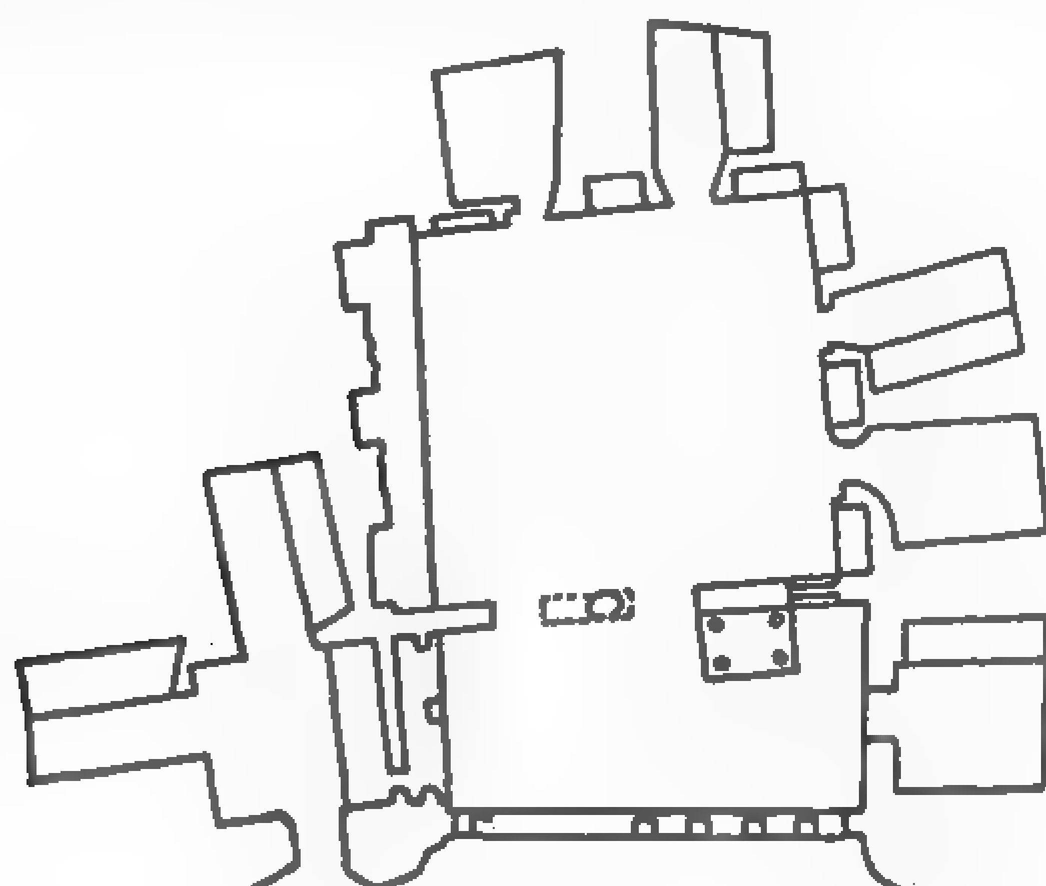
Bhājā. Caitya n°12.

Entirely devoid of sculptures, caitya No. 12 is 18 metres long. The vault, which scrupulously reproduces a series of barrel-arched beams, rests on 27 octagonal pillars, which have neither capital nor base, sloping sharply inwards. Of the wooden screen which once blocked the opening of the cave only the supports remain. On both sides of the caitya there are vihāras of little importance.

558 A few paces to the right, are to be found a group of curious dāgabas, nine in the open air and five inside a cave[94]. They are monolithic stūpas of a diameter varying between one and two metres. They were erected to

[94] Caitya No. 12 at Bhājā : Section and plan, HIEA, I, p. 134, fig. 58; AAI, p. 64, fig. 6; IABH, pl. 20. — Photograph, HIEA, I, p. 135, fig. 60; GIIK, pl. 9, fig. 29; AAI, pl. 28; IABH, pl. 22, fig. 1. — Photograph of two nearby stūpas, ASI, pl. 2, fig. b.

the memory of Bhañaṃta theras named Dhammagiri, Ampikiṇaka, Saṃghadinna, etc. (LÜDERS, 1080-82).



(After H. Cousens)

Bhājā. Vihāra.

Further to the south is a very interesting vihāra called «Cave of the Sun». Its veranda, in ruins today, was supported by pillars of alternate square and octagonal sections[95]. The central hall is an irregular square approximately 5 m. by 5 m. 25. It contains eight cells each equipped with a stone bed; four of them open onto the central hall; a fifth
559 communicates with the veranda; the other three are provided with a separate entrance. The walls are adorned with interesting bas-reliefs : one of them, sculpted at the extreme west of the veranda, represents a four-horse chariot in which three persons are riding, a prince flanked by two women; the chariot is surrounded by military guards and, in front of the wheels, stands an amalgam of monstrous demonical forms[96]. It was long believed that this bas-relief was a representation of the chariot of Sūrya, the Sun-God.

[95] Vihāra at Bhājā : Plan, HIEA, I, p. 177, fig. 96. — Photographs of the veranda and the interior, ASI, pl. 2, fig. a; pl. 3, fig. a. Conjectural reconstruction, IABH, pl. 30.

[96] Photographs of this bas-relief : CHI, I, pl. 26, fig. 70; HCIP, II, pl. 20, fig. 49; GIIK, pl. 7, fig. 24; ASI, I, pl. 8, fig. b; AAI, pl. 18, fig. b.

KONDĀNE. — The caverns at Kondāne, some fifteen kilometres to the north-west of Kārli, are more or less contemporary with the preceding ones. The caitya, 20 m. long, 8 high and 8 m. 50 wide, contains thirty undecorated pillars which still have the same inward slope[97]. Its dāgaba, 2 m. 70 in diameter, is surmounted by an unusually high capital. The façade makes use of the palisade and horseshoe as its only decorative motifs.

As for the vihāra, it affords — with that of Pitalkhorā — the remarkable innovation of having introduced the colonnade into the central hall[98].

PITALKHORĀ. — The Pitalkhorā ravine in the Indhyādri hills, in Kāndesh, has given shelter to Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain communities. The Buddhist caitya, in ruins today, has yielded a few inscriptions (LÜDERS, 1187-93) commemorating gifts made to the shrine by a certain Magila Vachīputa, the physician of a king (*rājaveja*) not otherwise specified, and various families from Pratiṣṭhāna.

THE FIRST CAVES AT AJAṆṬĀ. — The caves at Ajaṇṭā, in the north-west of the State of the Nizām of Hyderābād, are twenty-nine in number. They were excavated at various dates, from the end of the ancient era until the sixth century A.D., in the vertical rock-face of a high mountain, at the foot of which flows a river. The group known as Hīnayānist, comprising caves Nos. 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13, occupies the centre of the complex and, whether they are caityas or vihāras, are in no way distinguishable from the earlier type.

560 Caityas Nos. 9 and 10 remain faithful to the ancient formulae : a screen of wood or brick — of which nothing is left —, plain pillars without bases or capitals, wooden beams fitting the curve of the vault.

Caitya No. 10 measures 29 metres in length by 12 in width and 11 in height. Its 39 columns support a triforium of abnormal height. The vault of the central nave was formerly lined with wooden roof-ribs, but the roofing of the two side-aisles is grooved with beams carved directly from the rock[99].

Caitya No. 9 measures 13 m. 50 long by 7 wide and 7 high; its

[97] Caitya at Kondāne, HIEA, I, p. 137; IABH, p. 28. — Section and plan, IABH, pl. 20. — Photograph, CHI, I, pl. 26, fig. 69; HCIP, II, pl. 8, fig. 15; IABH, pl. 22, fig. 2; pl. 27.

[98] Cf. HCIP, II, p. 505, n.2.

[99] Caitya No. 10 at Ajaṇṭā : Section and plan, IABH, pl. 21. — Drawings, HIEA, I, p. 149, figs. 71-2.

columns are 39 in number. The vault was formerly provided with wooden beams[100]. The main interest of this cave is concentrated on the rear wall, which is rectilinear and no longer apsidal, and the roofing of the side-aisles which is flat and no longer half barrel-vaulted[101].

The same simplicity also characterizes caves Nos. 12 and 13, used as vihāras[102] : no internal portico, nor colonnade inside the hall. Vihāra No. 12 is a square, 11 metres on each side. The three interior walls each communicate with four cells, the doors of which are surmounted by a canopy in the shape of a horseshoe. Each cell contains two stone beds. Vihāra No. 13, smaller in dimension, comprises only seven cells, equipped with a stone bed.

A considerable interval in time separates these ancient caves from the group known as Mahāyānist, the caverns of which were excavated in the Gupta or post-Gupta period. The latter are profusely decorated with fine sculptures, and the paintings which cover the walls, the colonnades and ceilings have made the name of Ajaṇṭā famous.*

JUNNAR. — The complex at Junnar, situated north-west of Ahmednagar in the Bombay area, contains no less than one hundred and fifty caves divided into five separate groups[103].

561 Its caverns mark the transition between the first rock-cut architecture (Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā and the first caves at Ajaṇṭā) and the more evolved style which developed in the course of the first centuries of the Christian era[104].

Remarkable for its veranda supported by a row of octagonal pillars with Persepolitan capitals, the vihāra of the Gaṇeśa Leṇa is a vast rectangular hall 15 metres by 17, the ceiling of which is not yet supported by any colonnade[105].

Junnar is distinctive for the simplicity and sobriety of its style. Architectural types not known elsewhere are found there, particularly caityas with rectilinear backs, flat roofs and no colonnades. There is also a small circular caitya, the cupola of which rests on twelve plain pillars, arranged in a circle around the dāgaba[106]. A similar construction is also

[100] Caitya No. 9 at Ajaṇṭā : Section and plan, IABH, pl. 20. — Description, *Murray's Handbook*, p. 70.

[101] Cf. HCIP, II, p. 499.

[102] Vihāras Nos. 12 and 13 at Ajaṇṭā, HIEA, I, pp. 179-80; *Murray's Handbook*, p. 71.

[103] Site of Junnar, HIEA, I, pp. 155-9; IABH, p. 29. — Photograph of the façades of the Mānmoda group, IABH, p. 126, fig. 1.

[104] Cf. HCIP, II, p. 499, n.1.

[105] Veranda of the Gaṇeśa Leṇa, HCIP, II, pl. 12, fig. 24.

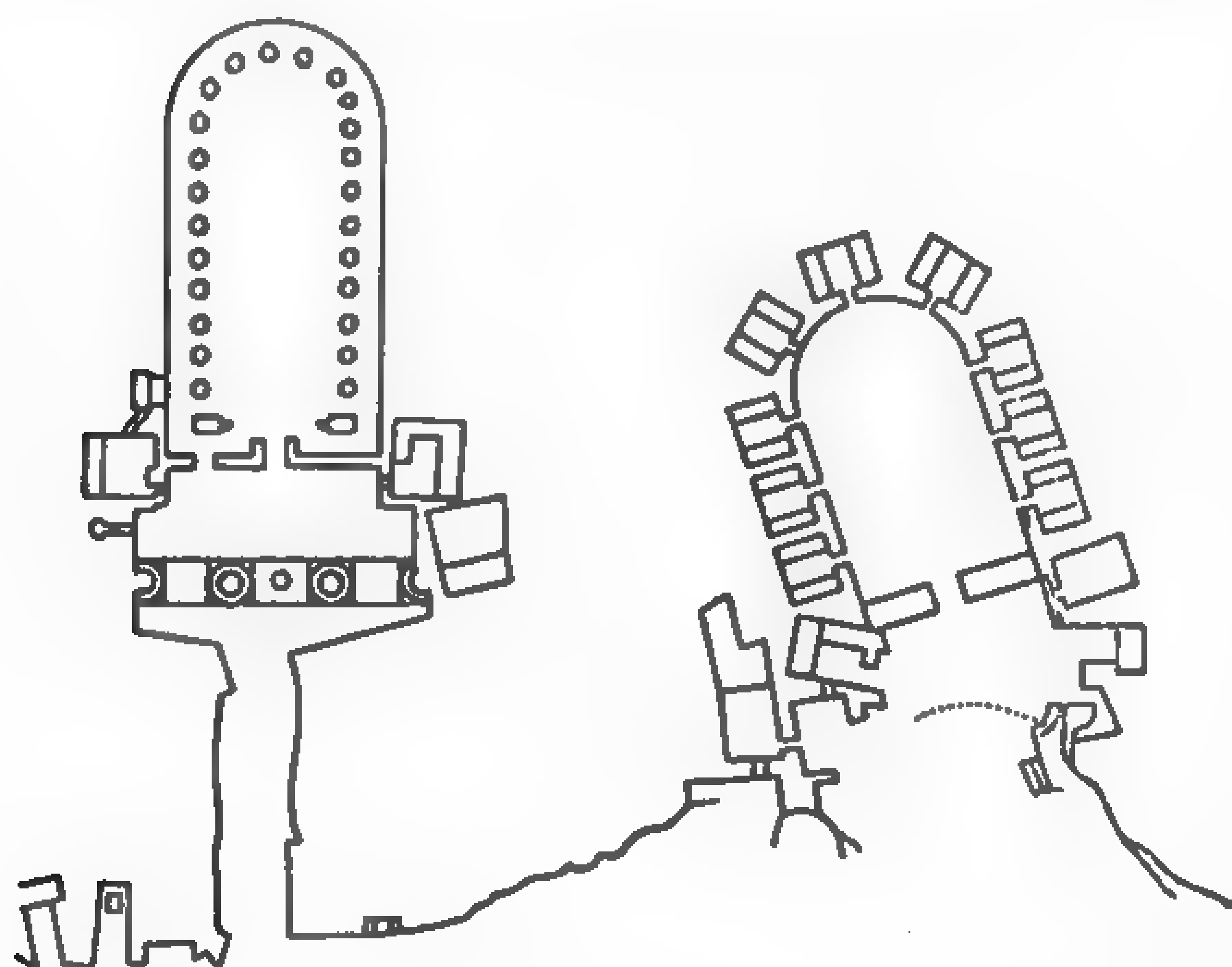
[106] Circular caitya at Junnar : Plan and section, HIEA, I, p. 158, figs. 79-80, HCIP, II, p. 496.

found at Guṇṭupalle in Andhra country, and the bas-reliefs at Bhārhut had already given its shape.

The site has yielded numerous inscriptions (LÜDERS, 1150-83), one of which (1174) is from the year 46, during the reign of the satrap Nahapāna (ca. 124 A.D.). Likewise from the evidence of the inscriptions, many Buddhist sects inhabited the establishment : Dharmottarīyas (LÜDERS, 1152), Caitikas (1171) and Apajītas or Aparājitas (1158, 1163). Among the donors several were of foreign origin, Greek or Scythian : the Yavana Irila of the Gatas (1154), the Yavana Ciṭa of the Gatas (1182), the Yavana Coṃda (1156), the Śaka Āḍuthuma (1162) and the Śaka Ayama, Nahapāna's minister (1174).

BEDSĀ. — This site, a close neighbour of Bhājā, affords some remarkable innovations.

The caitya is covered with a ribbed vault resting on 26 octagonal pillars, 3 metres high. They are still plain shafts, without capitals or bases, but instead of sloping inwards, as in the old wooden construc-



(After J. Burgess)

Bedsā, caves.

tions, they return to the vertical. For the first time, it seems, the caitya is no longer obturated by a simple screen of wood or stone, but preceded by a high portico supported by four sculpted pillars : columns surmount-
562 ed by a capital, of a pronounced Persepolitan type, and supporting groups of animals (horses, buffaloes, elephants) ridden by human couples. The interior wall of the portico is decorated with architectural motifs in which the *kuḍu*, or horseshoe-shaped bay, alternates with the palisade. It is breached by two doors one opening onto the central nave, the other onto the left-hand side-aisle[107].

To the right of the caitya, there is a cave which is unique of its kind. The vaulted ceiling and the apsidal shape might be suggestive of a caitya, but the nine cells which communicate with the central hall clearly prove that it is a vihāra used by monks as living quarters.

563 NĀSIK. — Near Nāsik, a thousand metres above the plain, stands a chain of mountains nowadays called the Trimbak, formerly Tiraṇhu (Skt. Triraśmi). At its eastern end, Hīnayāna Buddhists fitted out thirty-three caves which were known as the Pāṇḍuleṇa. They date from the first two centuries of the Christian era, as is shown by inscriptions going back to the reigns of the Śātavāhana kings and Kṣaharāta satraps : Kṛṣṇa Śātavâhana, ca 37-27 B.C. (LÜDERS, 1144), Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, 106-130 A.D. (ID., 1125-6), Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā, 130-159 A.D. (ID., 1147, 1122, 1123, 1124), Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, 174-203 A.D. (ID., 1146); the satrap Nahapāna, 119-125 A.D. (ID., 1131-5).

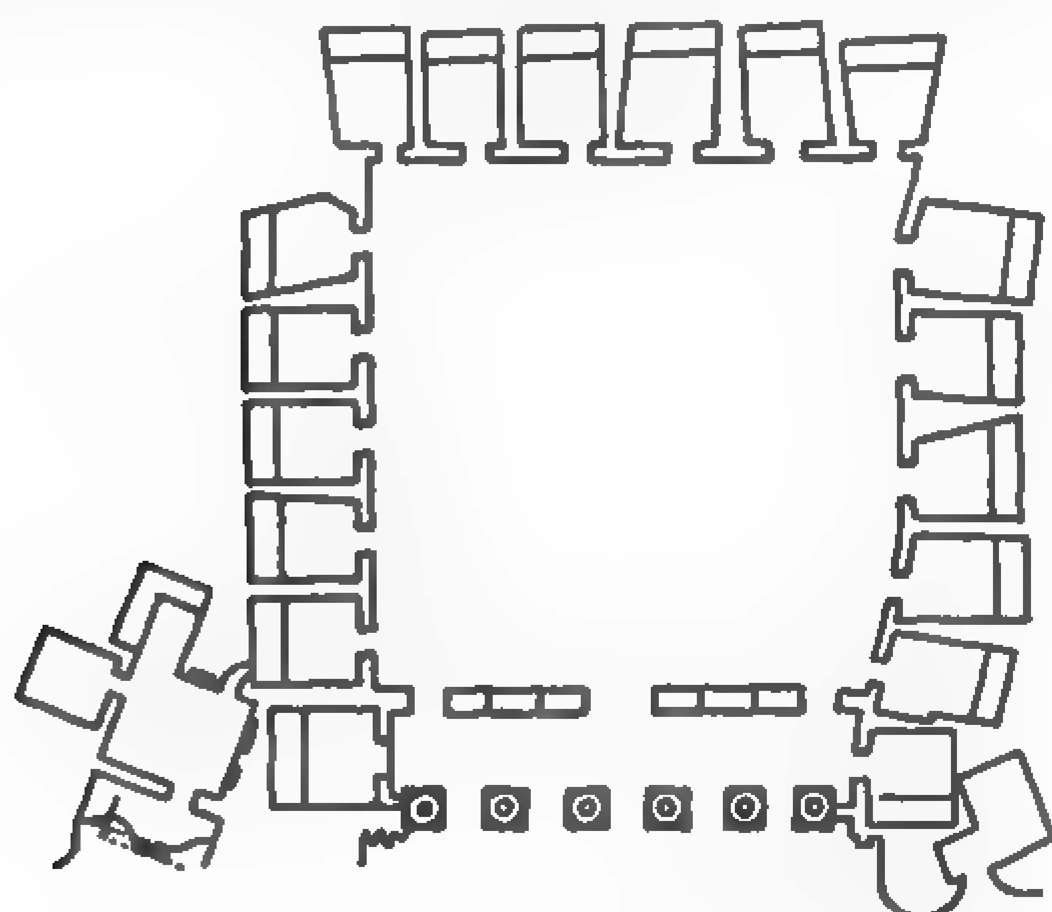
The caves provided accommodation for various Buddhist sects : Pravrajitabhikṣus of the «Community of the Four Regions» (LÜDERS, 1128, 1131, 1133, 1137, 1139, 1140, 1146), Bhadrāyaṇīyas (ID., 1123, 1124) and Caitikas (ID., 1130).

Completed by a certain Bhaṭapālikā, the daughter of a royal official (LÜDERS, 1141), cave No. 18 is a caitya 12 m. long by 6 m. 50 wide and 7 m. high. It is divided into a central nave and two side naves by two rows of five octagonal columns, and the dāgaba which occupies the centre of the apse is in turn surrounded by five pillars. Whereas at Bedsā the entrance was covered by a portico, the caitya at Nāsik still consists only of a plain façade, but remarkably sculpted by villagers from Dhambhika (LÜDERS, 1142), and flanked by a guardian Yakṣa, the gift of a certain Nadāsirī (LÜDERS, 1143). Excavated from the rock, in two

[107] Caitya at Bedsā : description, HIEA, I, pp. 138-40; IABH, pp. 29-30. — Plan of the caitya and vihāra, HIEA, I, p. 138, fig. 63. — Section and plan of the caitya, IABH, pl. 20. — Photographs of the hall and veranda, GIIK, pl. 10, figs. 32 and 33; HCIP, pl. 9, fig. 17. — Reproduction of a pillar and the interior wall of the veranda, HIEA, I, pp. 139-40, figs. 64-5.

storeys, the façade harmoniously combines the traditional ornamental motifs : Buddhist palisade, stūpa, pillar (without base but with capital), a false horseshoe-shaped window. It is breached by two superimposed openings, a narrow rectangular door communicating with the central nave, and a large horseshoe-shaped bay enabling air and light to pass freely[108].

564 Cave No. 8 is known by the name of the vihāra of Nahapāna, that Scythian satrap who ruled over the western coast between the years 119 and 125 A.D. The name of the satrap, like that of his son-in-law



(After J. Burgess)

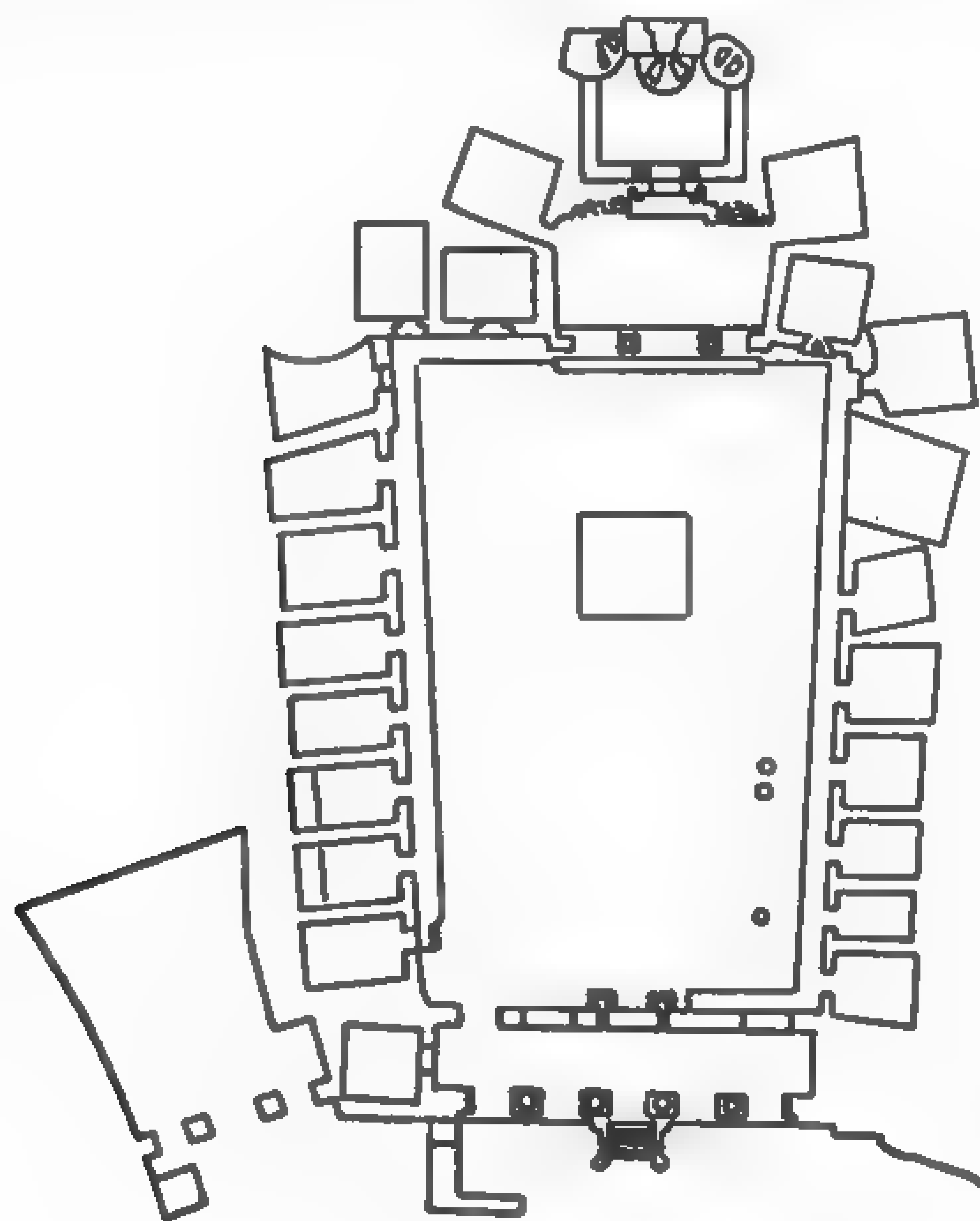
Nāsik. Vihāra n°8.

Uṣavadāta, in fact appears on numerous inscriptions in the cavern (LÜDERS, 1131-5). It is entered beneath a huge veranda supported by six delicately worked pillars and, this time, provided with a base and capital. «The base has the shape of a large bulbous jar (*ghaṭa*) and the capital, bell-shaped like those of the Aśokan period, supports a stepped pyramid bearing two animals lying one in front of the other at an angle,

[108] Caitya No. 18 at Nāsik : description, *Murray's Handbook*, p. 40; IABH, p. 29. — Section and plan, IABH, pl. 20. — Photograph of the façade, HIEA, I, p. 141, fig. 66; CHI, I, pl. 26, fig. 72; GIIK, pl. 9, fig. 31; *IABH*, pl. 36, fig. 1; HCIP, II, pl. 8, fig. 16. — Photograph of the interior hall, ASI, I, pl. 4, fig. b.

mounted by small persons» (after J. Auboyer). Three doors give access to the central hall, a square 12 meters on each side, without an interior colonnade. Sixteen narrow cells open onto the internal sides of the hall[109].

565 Cave No. 3, which is an exact reproduction of the preceding one, is a



(After J. Burgess)

Nāsik. Vihāra n°15.

[109] Vihāra No. 18 at Nāsik (cave of Nahapāna) : description, HIEA, I, pp. 184-6. — Plan, HIEA, I, p. 184, fig. 102. — Photograph of the veranda, ASI, I, pl. 3, fig. b; HCIP, II, pl. 9, fig. 22. — Reproduction of one of the veranda pillars, HIEA, I, p. 185, fig. 103.

vihāra from the era of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who ruled from 106 to 130 A.D. (LÜDERS, 1125-6)[110].

Excavated at an early period by the ascetic Bopaki, vihāra No. 15 was enlarged and finished by the Lady Vāsu, wife of the commander-in-chief
566 of King Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi who ruled, it is believed, from 174 to 203 A.D. (LÜDERS, 1146). The central hall has the shape of an irregular rectangle, 11 m. 25 at the base, 13 m. 20 at the summit and 18 m. 30 on the sides. It is onto these last that the majority of the cells open, eight on each side[111]. At the rear of the vihāra, a hallway, supported by two richly sculpted pillars[112], communicates with a shrine containing a colossal statue of the seated Buddha, surrounded by a retinue of servants and dwarves. Their presence indicates that this is a later enlargement, due to Mahāyānist initiative.

KĀRLI. — Near Malavli Station, on the railway line linking Bombay with Poona, there are some caves called Valūraka Leṇa by the ancient inscriptions (LÜDERS, 1099, 1100, 1105). Inhabited since the first century by Mahāsāṃghika monks (ID., 1105, 1106), they were later enlarged or endowed by a large number of religious and lay people from Dhānyakaṭaka, in Andhra country, where the sect had many adherents. Among those donors from Dhenukāṭaka, we note the names of the perfumer Siṃhadata (ID., 1090), the carpenter Sāmi (1092), the Yavana Sihadhaya (1093), Dhaṃma Yavana (1096) and a certain Mitadevaṇaka (1097). Other sects, however, branches of the Sthaviras, contributed to the renovation of the site : the Dharmottarīyas in the person of the preacher Sātimita (LÜDERS, 1094-5), the Sauvarṣakas in that of a certain Harapharaṇa (1106). Some inscriptions are dated from the reigns of the satrap Nahapāna, 119-125 A.D. (LÜDERS, 1099), of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, 106-130 A.D. (ID., 1105) and of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā, 130-159 A.D. (ID., 1100, 1106).

Among all these caves, the famous caitya of Kārli, justifiably known as the loveliest of all the rock-cut temples (*selaghara*) in Jambudvīpa, was founded by the banker Bhutapāla of Vaijayantī (LÜDERS, 1087)[113].

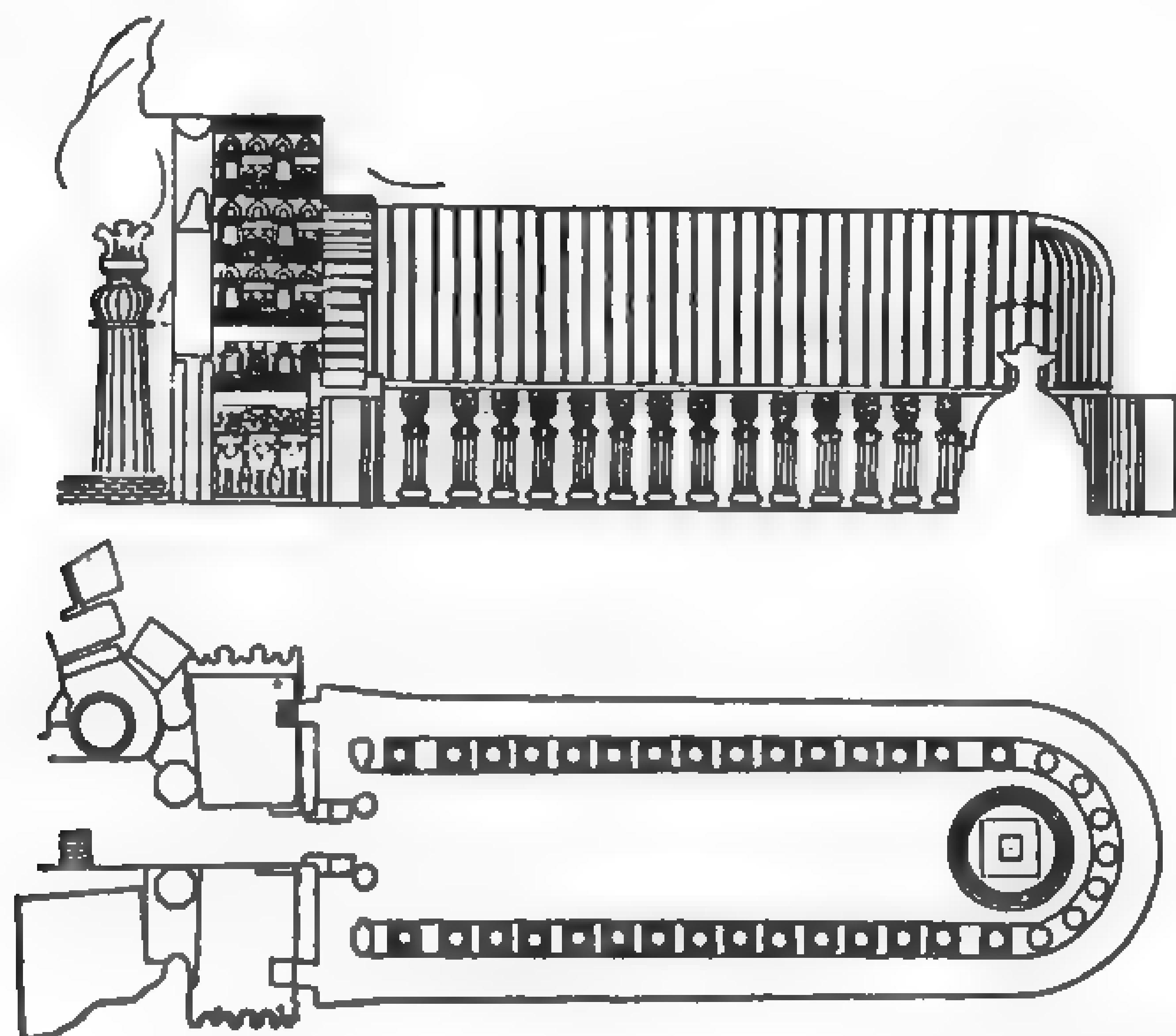
[110] Vihāra No. 3 at Nāsik (cave of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi) : description, HIEA, I, p. 186; IABH, p. 35. — Photograph of the veranda, ASI, I, pl. 9, fig. a; HCIP, II, pl. 12, fig. 23; IABH, pl. 29, fig. 1. — Reproduction of one of the veranda pillars, HIEA, I, p. 185, fig. 104.

[111] Vihāra No. 15 at Nāsik (cave of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi) : description, HIEA, I, pp. 186-7; IABH, p. 35. — Plan, HIEA, I, p. 187, fig. 105.

[112] Reproduction of one of these pillars, HIEA, I, p. 188, fig. 106.

[113] Caitya [redacted] Kārli : description by J. MARSHALL, CHI, I, pp. 635-6; by P. BROWN, IABH, pp. 30-2. — Section and plan, HIEA, I, p. 143, figs 67-8; AAI, p. 66, fig. 7; IABH,

567



(After J. Fergusson)

Caitya of Kārli. Cross-section and plan.

In front of the entrance, there once stood two «lion-pillars» (*sihat-habha*); the right-hand one has been replaced by a Hindu temple; the left-hand one, a «gift by the Mahāraṭhi Agimitraṇaka, son of Goṭi», (Lüders, 1088) is a fluted shaft without a base, but with a capital, supporting four lions back-to-back.

The entrance is flanked by a porch 18 metres high by 4 m. 50 in depth. Its external wall consists of two superimposed rows of octagonal
568 pillars, separated by a screen of living rock, once decorated with wooden

pl. 21. — Reproduction of the lion pillar and the porch, ASI, I, pl. 5, fig. a; CHI, I, pl. 25, fig. 67; HIEA, I, p. 144, fig. 69; AAI, pl. 29, fig. a. — Detail of the porch, ASI, I, pl. 5, fig. b; GIIK, pl. 10, fig. 35; IABH, pl. 23, fig. 2. — Central doorway, ASI, I, pl. 6, fig. a; HCIP, II, pl. 10, fig. 20. — Interior of the caitya and dāgaba, CHI, I, pl. 25, fig. 68; ASI, I, pl. 6, fig. b; J.P. Vogel, *Buddhist Art*, pl. 25; AAI, pl. 29, fig. b; IABH, pl. 24, fig. 1; HCIP, II, pl. 9, fig. 18. — Details of the aisle pillars, ASI, I, pl. 7; IABH, pl. 24, fig. 2; HCIP, II, pl. 10, fig. 19.

sculptures. The internal wall is breached by three doors respectively communicating with the central nave and the side naves. The middle door is surmounted by a vast horseshoe-shaped bay through which air and light penetrate.

The caitya proper has the form of a Gothic basilica : it is 37 m. 50 in length, 13 m. 50 in width and 13 m. 50 in height, from the floor to the top of the vault. It has 37 columns. The seven columns which border the apse are octagonal shafts without capitals or bases, as in the ancient constructions. Conversely, the two rows of fifteen columns which separate the central nave from the side-aisles are provided with jar-shaped bases and fluted bell-shaped capitals supporting kneeling elephants, horses or tigers, accompanied by their drivers. The central nave is 7 m. 50 wide, while the side-aisles are only 3 m.

While the rest of the monument is hidden in shadow, the dāgaba which occupies the centre of the apse attracts all the light from the outside. Remarkable in its simplicity, this dāgaba is of the traditional shape : two superimposed circular drums marked on their upper rims with the balustrade design, a hemispherical dome free of any sculpture, a cube-shaped box (*harmikā*) with an overhanging stepped cornice, and finally the pole supporting a parasol.

KĀNHERI. — On Salsette Island, 25 kilometres north of Bombay and 10 kilometres north-west of Thānā, are the caves of Kānheri, formerly Kanhasala or Kṛṣṇaśaila (LÜDERS, 1013, 1024). Numbering one hundred and nine, they appear to have been excavated and adopted from the second to the ninth centuries A.D., for various Buddhist sects : Bhikṣusaṃgha (LÜDERS, 1021), Caturdiśasaṃgha (ID., 1006, 1016, 1024), Bhadrāyaṇīyas (987, 1018) and Aparaśailas (1020). The devotees who financed the works came, not only from the immediate neighbourhood such as Nāsika (LÜDERS, 985) or Śūrpāraka (995, 1005), but also from distant regions such as Kalyāṇa in Kārṇaṭa (986, 998, 1000, 1001, 1013, 1014, 1024, 1032) or Dhānyakaṭaka (Dhenukāṭaka) in Andhra country (corrected 1020). Among the kings or princes who took part in the
569 donations, we note the names of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā, 130-159 A.D. (LÜDERS, 994), Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, 174-203 A.D. (ID., 987, 1024) and a certain Māḍhariputa Sakasena (ID., 1001, 1002) known from some coins discovered at Tarhala. Even later, the Cuṭukulānanda of inscription 1021, whose name, or that of a homonym, also appears in Vanavasī (LÜDERS, 1186) and Maḷavalli (1195).

Inscription 998 constitutes a veritable *puṇyapustaka*, merit book in which Buddhists noted the list of their meritorious deeds : «An en-

dowment was presented to the monks (*pavayita*); approximately three objects were made in Sopārakāhāra (a district in Śūrpāraka); a sanctuary (*cetiaghara*), a reception-hall (*upathāṇasālā*) and cells (*ovaraka*) were constructed at the Abālikāvihāra (Ambālikāvihāra) in Kāliaṇa (Kalyāṇa); a sanctuary and thirteen cells were constructed and endowed at some vihāra in Patiṭhāna (Pratiṣṭhāna); a temple (*kuṭi*) and a hall (*koḍhi*) were excavated at the Rājatalāka Paiṭhāṇapatha (Pratiṣṭhānapatha); an endowed monastery (*saghārāma*) was built at the Sadasevājū vihāra».

Cave No. 3 is a caitya of considerable size : 26 metres long by 12 wide by 11 high[114]. It was excavated, in the reign of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi (174-203 A.D.), by two merchants, the brothers Gajasena and Gajamita, for the benefit of the Buddhist sect of the Bhadrāyanīyas. Six architects (*navakārmika*), five of whom were monks and one a layman, supervised the works which were carried out by various bodies of craftsmen, under the direction of the Bhadanta Bodhika (LÜDERS, 987).

The thirty-four pillars of the interior colonnade are surmounted by capitals covered with a mass of sculptures employing the most varied of motifs : stūpas, trees and sacred footprints, elephants, etc.[115] At the two extremities of the porch, stand two statues of the Buddha, one of which was a gift from the Śākyabhikṣu Buddhaghosa, Tripiṭaka master charged with the guardianship of the great temple (*mahāgandhakuṭīvārika*) (LÜDERS, 989).

Images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas are frequently found at Kānheri, but those which decorate the oldest monuments are clearly later additions, due to Mahāyānist initiative.

570 It is appropriate to stop here the description devoted to the beginnings of rock-cut architecture. This type of architecture was to reach its apogee during the Gupta and post-Gupta period, with the caves at Bāgh, Ajaṇṭā (second manner), Ellora and Aurangābād, to mention only the most famous.

[114] Caitya No. 3 at Kānheri : description, HIEA, I, pp. 162-4; *Murray's Handbook*, p. 31; IABH, p. 32. — Plan, IABH, pl. 21.

[115] Reproduction of one of these pillars, HIEA, I, p. 164, fig. 85.

571 # CHAPTER SIX

THE BUDDHIST SECTS

I. — ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECTS

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE SECTS[1]. — One of the Buddha's concerns was to ensure the harmony of the community he had founded. In fact, however, centrifugal forces soon appeared and threatened the unity of
572 the Saṃgha. The absence of a hierarchy and leadership made it difficult to protect Buddhism from disjunctive tendencies and actions.

During the Buddha's own lifetime, two schisms occurred : that of Kauśâmbī which was quickly reabsorbed, that of Devadatta which culminated in the creation of a dissident order, traces of which still survived in the seventh century at the time of Hsüan tsang. In the age of

[1] On the Buddhist sects, see S. JULIEN, *Listes diverses des noms des dix-huit sectes schismatiques qui sont sorties du bouddhisme*, JA, Vth series, XIV, 1859, p. 326 sq.; V. VASSILIEV, *Der Buddhismus*, Berlin, 1860, pp. 224 sq.; A. SCHIEFNER, *Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 270-4; T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, *The Sects of the Buddhists*, JRAS, 1891, pp. 409 sq.; *Schools of Buddhist Belief*, JRAS, 1892, pp. 1 sq.; *Buddhist Sects*, ERE, XI, 1920, pp. 307-9; I.P. MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*, Paris, 1894, pp. 187 sq.; H. KERN, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1903, pp. 481-98; W.W. ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, pp. 182 sq.; W. GEIGER, *The Mahâvaṃsa translated*, London, 1934, pp. 276-87; N. DUTT, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, Calcutta, 1925; *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 47-206 (work containing reprints of many articles on the sects which appeared in *IHQ*); R. KIMURA, *Introduction to the History of Early Buddhist Schools*, Calcutta, 1925; J. MASUDA, *Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools*, Asia Major, II, 1925, pp. 1-78; J. PRZYLUSKI, *Le Concile de Râjagṛha*, Paris, 1926, pp. 307-31; *Sautrântika et Dârṣṭântika*, RO, VIII, 1932, pp. 14-24; *Dârṣṭântika, Sautrântika and Sarvâstivâdin*, IHQ, XVI, 1940, pp. 246-54; M. WALLESER, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927; P. DEMIÉVILLE, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques d'après Paramârtha*, MCB, I, 1931-2, pp. 15-64; E. OBERMILLER, *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, II, Heidelberg, 1932, pp. 97-100; E.J. THOMAS, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, 1933, pp. 288-92; TERAMOTO and HIRAMATSU, *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, etc., Kyoto, 1935; M.J. DIKSHIT, *A new Buddhist Sect in Kânheri*, IHQ, XVIII, 1942, pp. 60-3; J.N. BANERJEA, *Schools of Buddhism in Early Indian Inscriptions*, IHQ, 1948, pp. 251-8; A. BAREAU, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule et leurs Abhidharmapiṭaka*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1951, pp. 1-11; *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon, 1955; *Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques attribuées à Vasumitra, Bhavya et Vinītadeva*, JA, CCXLII, 1954, pp. 229-66; CCXLIV, 1956, pp. 167-200.*

Aśoka, the progress made by the order was counteracted by dissensions amongst the religious, and the emperor was compelled, in his edicts at Kosam, Sāñcī and Sārnāth, to threaten the instigators of the schism with excommunication. It was however in his reign that the great Mahāsāṃghika schism was accomplished, resulting in the scission of the original Saṃgha into two main branches : that of the Sthaviras, the traditionalists, and that of the Mahāsāṃghikas, the dissident majority and supporters of the five points of Mahādeva. Ceylon itself was not without dissension and, in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, some monks at the Mahāvihāra separated from their colleagues and founded at the Abhayagiri a rival community which broke off all relations with the original community started by Mahinda.

The Buddhists had a very clear conception of dissidence (*saṃgharāji*) and schism (*saṃghabheda*). According to the Pāli *Vinaya* (II, p. 204), there is a schism when a group of at least nine bhikṣus, possessed of all the religious privileges, belonging to the same persuasion and living in the same district, knowingly and willingly profess a proposition contrary to the Law and discipline and, who after a properly established vote, separate from their colleagues in order to perform the ceremonies of *uposatha, pravāraṇā* and other official functions of the community on their own. If the number of dissenters is less than nine, there is no schism, but only dissidence.

It was subsequent to a properly established vote that, in the Mauryan period, the Mahāsāṃghikas separated from the Sthaviras. The completion of the schism did not interrupt the process of disintegration and, following further divergences, the two sections were in turn subdivided into a series of *nikāya*. The term Nikāya, which is usually translated as sect, designates a «grouping», a school, which professes particular opinions on certain points of the doctrine and discipline.

Nikāyas do not necessarily originate as the result of a schism. The majority of them developed spontaneously at the heart of the Commu-
573 nity of the four quarters (*caturdiśasaṃgha*) widespread throughout the whole of India. They show up the stages of doctrinal evolution undergone by the message of Śākyamuni during its extension in time and space. The Nikāyas could be compared to the religious orders which developed in the bosom of Christianity, or even better, to the Reformed Churches which live side by side without antagonism : a Calvinist does not quite share the opinions and practices of a Lutheran, but nevertheless participates in the same movement.

Generally, there was no violent opposition between the adepts of the various Buddhist sects. They all considered one another as disciples of

the Śākya, enjoying the same rights and prerogatives. They all professed the reality of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa and as one man adhered to the law of the dependent origination of phenomena. They only differed over secondary points of the doctrine and discipline, either because they rejected certain propositions advanced by their neighbours, or because they avoided expressing an opinion on problems which they considered of little urgency or interest. Relations were cordial and easy between members of the different sects[2] : a bhikṣu on his travels had the right to stay at Buddhist establishments he encountered on his journey; he was certain to be welcomed as a guest and treated according to the rules of monastic courtesy, and no one would ask him for his personal opinions[2]. This protocol always remained effective, and the Chinese pilgrims who had occasion to visit India from the fourth to the seventh centuries frequently encountered in one and the same monastery bhikṣus of different sects apparently living in perfect harmony.

The formation of the sects was due mainly to the geographical extension of the community over the entire Indian territory. In the region which it occupied in its own right, each Saṃgha was confronted by particular problems. The presence in its ranks of a famous scholar inevitably led it to be interested in one matter rather than another. The religious of a particular monastery tended to specialize in a specific branch of learning : the memorization of the Sūtras, the Vinaya or the
574 oral instruction; the teaching of the doctrine; the recitation of a particular body of writings; the practice of meditation or textual learning. At the heart of a given monastery, certain practical customs inevitably developed; usages were not the same everywhere : some communities were especially strict in the application of the rules, others tended towards laxity. Relations with lay circles gave each community its particular atmosphere : one could count on the benevolence and protection of a prince, another had to defend itself against his hostility; one opened its doors wide to the outside world, another enclosed itself in isolation. The Saṃgha was marked by the infinite variety of territories which it occupied : Āryan India in the Gangetic Basin, Dravidian in the south, Graeco-Scythian in the north and west. The environment determined the use of language and dialect, the type of clothing and food. Certain particularly rich regions, such as Magadha, Avanti and Gandhāra, could give shelter to numerous monasteries; the jungle could feed

[2] Pāli Vinaya, II, pp. 207-12, 219; Mahīśāsaka Vin., T 1421, ch. 27, pp. 178*c* 5-179*a* 26; Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 19, p. 381*a* 18-*c* 24; Dharmagupta Vin., T 1428, ch. 49, pp. 930*c* 7-931*c* 28; Sarvāstivādin Vin., T 1435, ch. 41, p. 300*a* 11-*b* 15, *c* 7-19.

only a few religious. The great number of ordinands, as at the Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputra, compelled several monasteries to migrate, sometimes to a great distance, and it was natural for the new foundations to preserve the mentality and habits of the mother house.

The majority of the Hīnayānist schools developed during the second and third centuries after the Nirvāṇa, that is, in the short chronology, during the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era. However, the sources which inform us of their history are of a much later date. These are, on the one hand, certain inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī from the Kuṣāṇa period which indicate the presence of this or that school in various places; on the other, disputations compiled in the first centuries of the Christian era in which are formulated and sometimes refuted series of doctrinal propositions pertaining to various sects. Among these disputations, we can point out the Pāli *Kathāvatthu*, the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* by Vasumitra (second century?)[3], the *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅga* by Bhavya (fourth century) and the *Samayabhedoparacanacakranikāyabhedopadarśanasaṃgraha* by Vinītadeva (eight century).

575 As we will see further on, these disputations were to some extent preoccupied with describing the state of the Saṃgha during the very period in which they were compiled. Notwithstanding, they are widely dependent on the pseudo-historical tradition concerning the formation of the sects.

In them we find indications, mostly fanciful, of the origin of the names of the sects. These take their titles from four different origins :

a. A professed doctrine : *Sthaviravādin* «professing the doctrine of the Elders»; *Lokottaravādin* «stating the supramundane dharmas»; *Ekavyavahārika* «maintaining that Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are nothing but fictitious denominations»; *Prajñaptivādin* «separating the real teaching from the fictitious denomination»; *Vibhajyavādin* «making distinctions»; *Saṃkrāntivādin-Sautrāntika* «professing the passage of the five *skandha* through existences and acknowledging no authority except the Sūtras».*

b. The composition of an assembly : *Mahāsāṃghika* «school of the Great Assembly»; *Bahuśrutīya* «school of those who have heard much»; *Dharmottarīya* «school of the elevation of the Law»; *Bhadrāyanīya* «school of the Vehicle of the Sages».

c. The localization of the sect : *Haimavata* «dwelling in the Snowy Mountains»; *Ṣaṇṇagarika* «dwelling in the Six Towns», or again, *Ṣaṇ-*

[3] No less than five Vasumitras are known (cf. WATTERS, I, pp. 273-4; J. MASUDA, *l.c.*, p. 7). The author of the disputation is generally identified with the Vasumitra who lived 400 years after the Nirvāṇa and took part, in the reign of Kaniṣka, in the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā.

ḍagairika «dwelling in the Dense Forest»; *Caityaśaila* or *Caitika, Caityika* «dwelling on Mount Caitya», in Andhra country; *Pūrvaśaila* and *Aparaśaila* Eastern and Western Highlanders, in Andhra country.

d. The founder of the sect, generally a fictitious person invented to supply the etymology : *Mahīśāsaka*, disciples of a brahmin «Governing the land»; *Vātsīputrīya*, disciples of an Arhat named «Son of the Inhabitant» (Vatsyaputra?) or «Son of the Heifer (Vātsīputra); *Saṃmatīya*, whose founder was called «Right Measure» (Saṃmita); *Dharmaguptaka*, founded by a pupil of Maudgalyāyana whose name was Dharmagupta; *Sauvarṣaka-Kāśyapīya*, going back to a person called «Good Year» (Suvarṣaka), of the Kāśyapīya family.

It sometimes happens that the name of a sect is not perfectly established, but the exegeticists were not at a loss on that account. Thus the *Gokulika* «sect of the herd of cows» are also called *Kukkuṭika* «of the posterity of the Cock» because they included a cock (*kukkuṭa*) in
576 their ancestry, and *Kukkulika*, either because they inhabited the Mount of Embers (*kukūla*; Pā. *kukkuḷa*), or because they taught that «all condition (dharmas) are absolutely nothing but a pile of embers».

We cannot avoid the impression that the old authors built history, even philosophy, with popular etymologies, for apart from a few well-known scholars such as Kātyāyanīputra, author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* of the Sarvāstivādins, the supposed founders of the sects are all fictitious persons. Furthermore, the rôle which they might have played is overshadowed by the constant concern of the old writers to have the sects date back to the very time of the Buddha and to give them an immediate disciple of Śākyamuni as their leader : Mahākāśyapa for the Sthaviras; Bāṣpa for the Mahāsāṃghikas; Yajñavalkya (?) for the Bahuśrutīyas; Mahākātyāyana for the Prajñaptivādins; the Kāśyapa-Ānanda-Madhyāntika-Śāṇavāsin-Upagupta-Pūrṇa-Mecaka-Kātyāyanīputra lineage for the Sarvāstivādins; the Śāriputra-Rāhula-Vatsīputra lineage for the Vātsīputrīyas; Suvarṣa, the son of Kāḷodāyi and the nun Guptā, for the Suvarṣakas. Were a modern historian to adopt this point of view, he would have to accept that all the Hīnayānist sects were constituted at the beginning of Buddhism, whereas the old writers themselves acknowledge that they developed in the two and three hundred years which followed the Nirvāṇa.

Alongside this pseudo-historical information, the disputations also countain a list of the various doctrinal propositions adopted by the sects. Thus we have the terms and sometimes, in the *Kathāvatthu*, the refutation of approximately 500 theses distributed among a good twenty schools. A. Bureau has rightly remarked that, as much in the wording of

a proposition as in its attribution to a sect, «the sources very rarely contradict each other, no more than some ten times at the most»[4].

This remarkable agreement shows that the compiler or compilers of the *Kathāvatthu* and the authors of the disputations, Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, represent a common tradition and cultivate the same literary style which could be entitled sectarian dogmatics.

We should consider to what degree the dogmatics as described correspond to historical reality.

It will readily be acknowledged that the disputations provide an exact
577 idea of the doctrinal orientation of the great Buddhist sects. No one can deny the importance which the Sthaviras attach to the prerogatives of the Arhat, the realist viewpoint adopted by the Sarvāstivādins, the supranaturalist tendencies of the Mahāsāṃghikas and their sub-sects, the disguised animism which caused the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas to adopt an indescribable *pudgala*.

However, it is doubtful whether the sects themselves established the list of propositions which the disputations attribute to them and even more doubtful that they imposed adherence to them on all those who, for historical or geographical reasons, belonged to the same creed as themselves or lived in their district. Nowhere does the Buddhist tradition mention restricted synods in which the schools were expected to define their positions.

Throughout all Buddhist literature, there is no systematic attempt to explain or prove, as a whole and in detail, the doctrines professed by a given sect. The great authors display absolute freedom in the choice of theories which they describe, and reveal themselves in general to be eclectic. They are not sectarians working for a school, but scholars giving their personal opinions. Tradition makes Aśvaghoṣa a Sarvāstivādin and pupil of the Vaibhāṣika Pārśva; but Aśvaghoṣa himself asserts, in the *Saundarānanda*, XVII, 18, that «existence succeeds non-existence», a thesis that was formally condemned by the Sarvāstivāda. In his edition of the *Buddhacarita* (p. xxxiii), E.H. Johnston notes points where Aśvaghoṣa seems to come closer to the Bahuśrutīyas, but this is not a reason to conclude, as he does, that «the natural inference is that [our poet] was either a Bahuśrutika or an adherent of the [Kaukulika?] school from which the Bahuśrutikas issued». The great Vasubandhu was, in principle, a Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika, but in his *Abhidharmakośa*, he frequently adopts the Sautrāntika point of view. The *Śāriputrābhidharma* is given by Vasumitra as a basic text of the Vātsīputrīya school;

[4] Tr. from *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 290.

however, in the work that has come down to us with that title (T 1548), the main thesis of the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas concerning the existence of a *pudgala* subject to rebirth is formally denied, and this led A. Bareau to seek elsewhere than the Vātsīputrīyas for the origin of this Abhidharma[5].

578 It ensues from these statements that, working from documents, the authors of the disputations designed an ideal table of the doctrinal position of the sects. Followers were not expected to adhere to these disputations and scarcely took them into account in their own personal works.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECTS. — The presence of the sects in various places on Indian territory is confirmed by inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī which date from 100 before Christ to 200 or 300 after. There is no doubt that the dispersion of the sects is prior to this date and goes back to the last two centuries of the ancient era. It is not anachronistic to give here the list of these inscriptions.*

In the table which follows, the references are taken from *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* by S. Konow (KONOW), from Lüders *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (LÜDERS), from *Epigraphia Indica* (EI) and from *Amarāvatī Sculptures* by Śivarāmamūrti (MŪRTI).

I. — Sarvāstivādins

1. *Sarvastivatra* (KONOW, p. 48) : Mathurā, Lion Capital (1st cent.).
2. *Sarvastivatra* (KONOW, p. 48) : ibidem.
3. *Sarvastivatin* (KONOW, p. 137) : Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī, Reliquary of Kaniṣka, year 1 of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151).
4. *Sa[rvasti]vadati* (KONOW, p. 145) : Stone of Zeda, from the year 11 of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151).
5. *Sarvastivada* (KONOW, p. 155) : copper Stūpa at Kurram, from the year 20 of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151).
6. *Syarvastivadin* (KONOW, p. 176) : Inscribed potsherd from Ḍherai, undated.
7. *Sarvastivādi* (LÜDERS, 12) : Buddhist statue from Kāman, from the year 74 of an unspecified era.
8. *Sarvāstivādin* (LÜDERS, 918-19) : Buddhist statue in Śrāvastī from the reign of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151).
9. *Sarvvāstivādin* (LÜDERS, 929a-929b) : Buddhist balustrade at Sārnāth (Vārāṇasī), undated.
10. *Śavasthidiya* (LÜDERS, 125e) : Buddhist statue at Mathurā, undated.

II. — Haimavatas (of the Sthavira group)

11. *Hemavata* (LÜDERS, 156) : Crystal box from Stūpa 2 at Sonārī, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).

[5] See earlier, p. 190, in the notes.

12. *Hemavata* (LÜDERS, 158) : Soapstone box from Stūpa 2 at Sonārī, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).
13. *Hemavata* (LÜDERS, 655; MAJUMDAR, 3): Soapstone box from Stūpa 2 at Sāñcī, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).

579 III. — Vātsīputrīyas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)

14. *Vātsīputrika* (LÜDERS, 923) : Buddhist pillar at Sārnāth (Vārāṇasī, from the Gupta period (4th cent.).

IV. — Mahīśāsakas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)

15. *Mahī[sā]saka* (EI, XX, p. 24) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 11 of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II of the Ikṣvākus (end of 3rd cent.).
16. *Mahīśāsaku* (EI, I, p. 238) : Kura pillar in the Salt Range (Punjab), from the reign of Toramāṇa Shāha Jaüvla (end of 5th cent.).

V. — Kāśyapīyas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)

17. *Ka...* (KONOW, p. 63) : Inscribed pottery from Takht-ī-Bahī, undated.
18. *Kaśavia* (KONOW, p. 88) : Copper ladle from Taxila, the gift of Iśparaka, probably Aśpavarma, vassal of Azes II, ca 5-19 A.C. (see above p. 460).
19. *Kaṣyaviya* (KONOW, p. 89) : Copper ladle from Bedadi, in the kingdom of Uraśā, undated.
20. *Kaṣ[y]aviya* (KONOW, p. 122) : Pitcher from Pālāṭū Ḍherī, undated.
21. *Kaśśapīya* (LÜDERS, 904) : Buddhist (?) cave at Pabhosā, from the year 10 of Udāka, probably the fifth Śuṅga (see above, p. 358).
22. *Sovasaka* (LÜDERS, 1106) : Cave at Kārli, from the year 24 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).

VI. — Sautrāntikas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)*

23. *Sutaṃtika* (LÜDERS, 797) : Pillar at Bhārhut, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).
24. *Sutātika* (LÜDERS, 635) : Sāñcī, from the Śuṅga period.
25. *Sutātikinī, Sūtātikinī* (LÜDERS, 352, 319) : Sāñcī, Śuṅga period.

VII. — Dharmottarīyas (Vātsīputrīya subsect)

26. *Dhamutariya* (LÜDERS, 1094-5) : Gift, to the caitya at Kārli, of two pillars, by the thera Sātimita belonging to the Dharmottarīya school in Śūrpāraka, undated.
27. *Dhaṃmutariya* (LÜDERS, 1152) : Cave at Junnar, undated.

VIII. — Bhadrāyanīyas (Vātsīputrīya subsect)

28. *[Bhādāya]nīya* (LÜDERS, 987) : Cave at Kānheri, in the reign of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi (ca 174-203).
29. *Bhādrajaṇijja* (LÜDERS, 1018) : Cave at Kānheri, undated.
30. *Bhadāvanīya* (LÜDERS, 1123) : Cave at Nāsik, from the year 19 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).
31. *Bhadāyaniya* (LÜDERS, 1124) : Cave at Nāsik, from the years 19 and 22 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130 -159).

* However, as we will see, it is doubtful whether the term *sautrāntika* used by these inscriptions designates an adherent of the Sautrāntika school.

580 IX. — Saṃmatīyas (Vātsīputrīya subsect)

32. *Sammitiya* (LÜDERS, 923) : Buddhist pillar at Sārnāth (Vārāṇasī), from the Gupta period (4th cent.).

X. — Mahāsāṃghikas

33. *Mahasaghia* (KONOW, p. 48) : Mathurā, Lion Capital (1st cent.).
34. *Mahasaṃghiga* (KONOW, p. 170) : Vessel of Wardak, from the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era (ca 179 A.D.).
35. *Mahāsaghiya* (LÜDERS, 1105) : Cave at Kārli, from the year 18 of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (ca 106-130).
36. *Mahāsaghiya* (LÜDERS, 1106) : Cave at Kārli, from the year 24 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).
37. *Ayirahaṃgha* (EI, XX, p. 17) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 6 of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta of the Ikṣvākus (ca 250-275).
38. *Ayirahagha* (EI, XX, p. 20) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, dated as the preceding one.

XI. — Bahuśrutīyas (Mahāsāṃghika subsect)

39. *Bah[uṣuti]aka* (KONOW, p. 122) : Pitcher from Pālāṭū Ḍherī, undated.
40. *Bahusutīya* (EI, XX, p. 24) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta (ca 250-275).
41. *Bahusutīya* (EI, XXI, p. 62) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 2 of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II of the Ikṣvākus (end of 3rd cent.).

XII. — Caitikas or Śailas (Mahāsāṃgika subsect)

42. *Cetikiya* (LÜDERS, 1248) : Inscribed stone from Amarāvatī, from the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).
43. *Cetika* (MŪRTI, No. 33, p. 278) : Tile from Amarāvatī, n.d.
44. *Cetiyavaṃdaka* (LÜDERS, 1233) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.
45. *Cetiavadaka* (LÜDERS, 1263) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.
46. *Cetika of Rājagiri* (LÜDERS, 1250) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.
47. *Jaḍikiya* (LÜDERS, 1244) : Pillar of Amarāvatī, n.d.
48. *Cetika* (LÜDERS, 1130) : Cave at Nāsik, n.d.
49. *Cetiya* (LÜDERS, 1171) : Cave at Junnar, n.d.
50. *Seliya* (LÜDERS, 1270) : Pillar of Amarāvatī, n.d.
51. *Mahāvanaseliya* (LÜDERS, 1230) : Pillar of Amarāvatī, n.d.
52. *Mahāvanasela* (LÜDERS, 1272) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.

XIII. — Pūrva- and Aparaśailas (subdivisions of the Śailas)

53. *Puvasel[i]ya* (EI, XXIV, p. 259) : Pillar with dharmacakra at Dharanikota, probably dating from Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).
54. *Puvaseliya* (An. Rep. A.S.I., 1923-24, p. 83) : Allūru (Kistna District), n.d.
55. *Aparamahāvinaseliya* (EI, XX, p. 17) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 6 of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta (ca 250-275).
581 56. *Aparamahāvinaseliya* (EI, XX, p. 19) : Pillar at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 6 of the same king.
57. *Aparamahāvinaseliya* (EI, XX, p. 21) : Temple at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 18 of the same king.
58. *[Apa]raseliya* (EI, XXVII, p. 4) : Tile from Ghaṇṭaśālā, formerly Ukhasirivadhamāna, the Bardamana of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 93).

59. *Aparīsela* (LÜDERS, 1020, with the correction in IHQ, XVIII, 1942, p. 60) : Cave at Kānheri, n.d.

XIV. — Andhaka subsects

60. *Rājagirinivāsika* (LÜDERS, 1250) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.
61. *Rājagiri* (toponym) (LÜDERS, 1225) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.
62. *Sidhata* (LÜDERS, 1281; MŪRTI, No. 102, p. 298) : Sculpture at Amarāvatī, n.d.

XV. — Sinhalese Theras

63. *Taṃbapa(ṃ)ṇaka* (EI, XX, p. 22) : Temple at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, from the year 14 of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta of the Ikṣvākus (ca 250-275).

The present list, drawn at random from epigraphical finds, is presumably incomplete, and new discoveries will contribute to its enrichment. We should be careful not to draw hasty conclusions from it, but we can nevertheless try and interpret it in the light of the literary sources.

From the end of the ancient era, the Sarvāstivādins (Nos. 1-10) were firmly established in the North-West and the district of Mathurā, and were also represented in Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī. In the second century B.C., Avanti honoured the remains of the Haimavata saints (Nos. 11-13), also known by the name of Mūlasthaviras.

According to Vasumitra, the Sarvāstivādins gave birth to four daughter schools : 1. the Vātsīputrīyas and their subsects : Dharmottarīyas, Bhadrāyanīyas, Saṃmatīyas and Ṣaṇṇagarikas; 2. the Mahīśāsakas and their Dharmaguptaka sub-sect; 3. the Kāśyapīyas, also called Suvarṣakas; 4. the Sautrāntikas.

From the inscriptions we see, in the Gupta period, the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas (Nos. 14 and 32) replace the Sarvāstivādins in Vārāṇasī. — The Mahīśāsakas (Nos. 15 and 16) are recorded only at Kura in the Salt Range, and at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra country, where they formed an islet in the middle of the Mahāsāṃghikas; furthermore, their Vinaya was discovered in Ceylon by Fa hsien. — The Kāśyapīyas (Nos. 17-21) were fairly numerous in the North-West and were represented at Prab-
582 hosā near Kauśāmbī; a Suvarṣaka (No. 22) with an Iranian name, Harapharaṇa and living in Abulāmā, presented a pavilion with nine cells to the community at Kārli. — As for the Sautrāntikas, they represented a philosophical movement rather than a homogenous sect : up until now the existence of Sautrāntika monasteries has not been attested by any inscriptions. The expressions *sutaṃtika*, *sutātakinī* recorded by Nos. 23-25 seem to be epithets applied to particular people «versed in the Sūtras», rather than names of sects.

Of the four sects which sprang from the Vātsīputrīyas, only three

appear on the inscriptions : the Dharmottarīyas (Nos. 26-27), in Śūrpāraka and Junnar; the Bhadrāyanīyas (Nos. 28-31), at Nāsik and Kānheri; finally, the Saṃmatīyas (No. 32) in Vārāṇasī. We do not know where to localize the Ṣaṇṇagarikas, whose name means «dwelling in the Six Towns», but which can also be interpreted as Ṣaṇḍagairika «dwelling in the Dense Forest».

The same obscurity envelops the Dharmaguptakas, a separate sect from the Mahīśāsakas. No inscription mentions them as a sect, Dharmagupta always being a proper name applied sometimes to the laity (Lüders, Nos. 615, 727, 1185) and sometimes to the religious (Lüders, Nos. 154, 288). At the time of Hsüan tsang and I ching, small groups of Dharmaguptakas were mentioned in Uḍḍiyāna, Central Asia and China. They were especially influential in this last country where their Prātimokṣa was the rule for a long time.

Even while maintaining most of their strength in Magadha until the time of I ching (end of the seventh century), the Mahāsāṃghikas, during their long history, had already migrated to Mathurā, in Śūrasena country (No. 33), Wardak in the North-West, where they possessed the Varamaregra Vihāra (No. 34), and also to Kārli on the west coast (Nos. 35-36), where they were neighbours of the Dharmottarīyas. However, in the first centuries of the Christian era, the Mahāsāṃghikas' main fief was Andhra country, in particular the district of Guntur : there the sect often assumed the title of Ayirahaṃgha «Holy Community» (Nos. 37-38). It split into numerous subschools, in particular the Bahuśrutīyas, Caitikas or Śailas.

The Bahuśrutīya sect had its monastery in Andhra country, at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Nos. 40-41), but also migrated to the North-West, to Pālāṭū Ḍherī (No. 39).

The Caitikas or Caityavandakas (Nos. 42-47) were numerous in Andhra country, where they had built the finest shrines of the period,
583 known by the name of *mahācaitya*. The inscriptions mention the Mahācetiya of Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharanikota, which should doubtless be identified with the famous stūpa at Amarāvāti (Lüders, 1243; Mūrti, No. 45, p. 282), the Mahācetiya of Velagiri-Jaggavyapeṭa (Lüders, 1202), the Mahācetiya of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa-Nibaguṭṭa (EI, XX, p. 22), the Mahācetiya of Rājagiri (Lüders, 1225) and, finally, the Mahācetiya of Kaṇṭakasela (EI, XX, p. 22) in which J.P. Vogel recognized the Kantakossyla emporium mentioned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 15) and located by him near the mouth of the river Maisolos (= Kṛṣṇā). During the era of the great Śātavāhanas, namely in the second century A.D., some

Caitikas shared the caves at Nāsik (No. 48) with the Bhadrāyanīyas, and those at Junnar (No. 49) with the Dharmottarīyas.

Some Mahāsāṃghika religious occupied the wooded mountains near Dhānyakaṭaka and took the name of Śailas (No. 50) or of Mahāvanaśailas (Nos. 51-52). Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 930*c*) relates that, on a mountain situated to the east of Dhānyakaṭaka, there was the monastery of the Pūrvaśaila «Eastern Mountain», while, to the west of the city, stood the monastery of the Aparaśaila «Western Mountain». In fact, the inscriptions carefully distinguish the Purvaśailas of Dharanikota (No. 53) — also represented at Allūru, district of Kistna (No. 54) — from the Aparaśailas known in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa by the name of Aparamahāvinaseliya (Nos. 55-57). The latter also occupied, in the district of Kistna, the site of Ukhasirivadhamāna, at the location of the present-day village of Ghaṇṭaśālā, thirteen miles west of Masulipatam (No. 58). Moreover, they migrated to Kānheri (No. 59) on the western coast, where they were neighbours to the Bhadrāyanīyas; their remoteness did not prevent their compatriots, the laity of Dhenukākata or Dhānyakaṭaka, from continuing to support them financially.

The Amarāvatī inscriptions also mention the Sidhatas (No. 62) and Rājagirinivāsikas (Nos. 60-61), known to the Pāli sources by the names of Siddhatthakas (*Dpv.*, V, 54; *Mhv.*, V, 12) and Rājagiriyas (*ibid.*). They formed part of the Andhaka sect.

The religious donations recorded by the inscriptions came not only from individuals, but also from clans (*kula*), groups (*gaṇa*) and associations (*sahaya*). Among the latter, some could have been Buddhist sects not mentioned in literature : Saphineyakas (= Savinayakas) and Tāpa-
584 siyas from Ujjayinī (Lüders, 198, 229, 219, 220, 228, 307, 409), Aparājitas and Apaguriyas from Junnar (1158, 1163, 1152), Laṃkuḍiyas from Bharukaccha (1169) and aïra (*ārya*) Utayipabhāhis from Amarāvatī (1276). This seems to indicate that the fragmentation of the Saṃgha went much further than the traditional lists lead us to suppose.

The filiation of the sects. — The sects already had a long history behind them when certain chroniclers, both Chinese and Indian, conceived the idea of compiling their genealogical tree, drafting their history, or rather legend, and listing their doctrines. As they had insufficient material to do this, they supplemented the lack of information with treasures of the imagination, ceaselessly returning to the work in order to bring it up to date and adapt it, after a fashion, to the situation of the moment. The compilation continued for centuries, it could even be said that it is still going on if we consider the efforts of modern historians to

draw up a table of the filiation of the sects[7]. Here, we would like, without further complicating a matter which is already sufficiently confused, merely to set out the state of the sources.

«The number of sects», wrote Kern, «is fixed by convention at eighteen; just as in theory, there are eighteen *Purāṇa*, and eighteen castes are sometimes accepted. The facts are, in all three cases, contrary to theory. If we add up the names in the different lists, of which no two agree, the total is higher than the official figure. In one of those lists (*Dpv.*, V, 51), the oldest of all, it is expressly said that there are eighteen sects and, at the same time, it is asserted that there are twenty-four of them»[8].

However, if the chroniclers maintained the figure of eighteen, it is because of its traditional value and because the first official list, or that considered to be such, stopped at that number. Subsequently, new sects were to be added to the old ones.

The interest of the early chroniclers was above all focused on the subdivisions to be established between the sects, whether they were eighteen in number or twenty-four. Thus we see successively appearing, in chronological order, lists with two, three, five, then four subdivisions.
585 They present, roughly, the internal situation of the Saṃgha at different centuries in its history.

I. — LISTS WITH TWO SUBDIVISIONS

1. List by the Sthaviras. — In his *History of Indian Buddhism* (pp. 270-1), which appeared in 1608, the Tibetan compiler Tāranātha reproduces a list of eighteen sects with two subdivisions which he attributes to the Sthaviras or Elders :

I. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Mūlamahāsāṃghikas, 2. Vyavahārikas, 3. Lokottaravādins, 4. Bahuśrutīyas, 5. Prajñaptivādins, 6. Caitikas, 7. Pūrvaśailas, 8. Aparaśailas.

II. Sthaviras : 1. Mūlasthaviras, 2. Sarvāstivādins, 3. Vātsīputrīyas, 4. Dharmottarīyas, 5. Bhadrāyanīyas, 6. Saṃmatīyas, 7. Mahīśāsakas, 8. Dharmaguptakas, 9. Suvarṣakas, 10. Uttarīyas.

Tāranātha does not cite his source, but several early lists adopted the same subdivision.

2. List by Vasumitra. — A certain Vasumitra who lived in the fourth century after the Nirvāṇa (first or second century A.D.?); and

[7] See, in A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 30, a table "which should represent with near certainty the real filiation of the sects".

[8] After H. Kern, *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1903, p. 481.

who, rightly or wrongly, has been identified with the great Sarvāstivādin master of the *Vibhāṣā* and the *Kośa* (V, p. 53), wrote a *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* which was translated three times into Chinese and once into Tibetan :

a. *Shih pa pu lun*, T 2032, p. 17*b-c*; tr. in the fifth cent., attributed to Kumārajīva (cf. P. Demiéville, *Versions chin. du Milinda*, p. 48, n.1.).

b. *Pu chih i lun*, T 2033, p. 20*a-b*, tr. by Paramārtha between 557 and 569. Paramārtha's version and commentary have been translated into French by P. Demiéville, *Origine des sectes*, MCB, I, 1931, pp. 15-64.

c. *I pu chung lun lun*, T 2031, p. 15*a-b*, tr. by Hsüan tsang in 602. This version has been translated into English by J. Masuda, *Origin and Doctrines of Buddhist Schools*, Asia Major, II, 1925, pp. 1-78; into French by A. Bareau, *Trois traités sur les Sectes bouddhiques* JA, 1954, pp. 235-66.

d. *Gźuṅ lugs-kyi bye-brag bkod-paḥi ḥkhor-lo*, Tanjur, *Mdo* XC, 11 (Cordier, III, p. 414; Lalou, p. 117*b*). The colophon gives the author as Vasubandhu or Vasumitra, the translator as Dharmākara. This version has been translated into German by M. Vassiliev, *Der Buddhismus*, Berlin, 1860, p. 224 sq.

586 e. *I pu chung lun shi chi*, TKS, A, LXXXII, 3, 217*a* sq. : Chinese commentary by K'uei chi on Hsüan tsang's version «according to instructions received from the latter, as the translation proceeded».

According to the version by Hsüan tsang, which differs only a little from those by Kumārajīva and Paramārtha, Vasumitra divided the sects in the following way :

I. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Ekavyavahārikas, 2. Lokottaravādins, 3. Kaukkuṭikas (or Kaukūlikas), 4. Bahuśrutīyas, 5. Prajñaptivādins, 6. Caityaśailas, 7. Aparaśailas, 8. Uttaraśailas.

II. Sthaviravāda :

- 1. Sarvāstivāda or Hetuvāda
  - 2. Vātsīputrīyas
    - 3. Dharmottarīyas
    - 4. Bhadrāyanīyas
    - 5. Saṃmatīyas
    - 6. Channagirikas (or Ṣaṇṇagarikas)
  - 7. Mahīśāsakas : 8. Dharmaguptakas
  - 9. Kāśyapīyas or Sauvarṣakas
  - 10. Sautrāntikas or Saṃkrāntivādins
- 11. Mūlasarvāstivāda or Haimavatas

Still according to Vasumitra, it was the heresy provoked by Mahādeva I, in the year 116 of the Nirvāṇa, which led to the final scission of the Saṃgha into Mahāsāṃghikas and Sthaviras[9].

[9] See above, pp. 275-276, 288.

In the second century after the Nirvāṇa, the Mahāsāṃghikas, who had withdrawn north of Rājagṛha, split into four schools : Ekavyavahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Kaukkuṭikas and Bahuśrutīyas, the latter having as their master a certain Yajñavalkya, who was versed in the profound meaning of the writings. — In the third century after the Nirvāṇa, the controversies aroused over the subject of ordination by Mahādeva II led to further dissension : the partisans of the heresiarch made for the mountainous regions (of Andhra country?) where they formed the Caityaśaila sect which soon divided into Easterners (Pūrvaśailas) and Westerners (Uttaraśailas).

During the two centuries which followed the Nirvāṇa, the Sthavira
587 school preserved its homogeneity under the authority of famous masters who transmitted the holy word : Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śāṇavāsin, Upagupta, Pūrṇa, Mecaka and Kātyāyanīputra. After the death of the latter, at the beginning of the third century after the Nirvāṇa, the Sthaviravāda split into two : 1. the traditionalist Sthaviras, who remained faithful to the teaching of the sūtras and who, having withdrawn to the Snowy Mountains, took the name of Haimavatas; 2. the Sarvāstivādins, adherents of Kātyāyanīputra whose research in the field of Abhidharma appeared as ominous innovations.

During the third century after the Nirvāṇa, and at the beginning of the fourth, the Sarvāstivādins engendered four schools : Vātsīputrīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas and Sautrāntikas.

The founder of the Vātsīputrīyas was the brahmin Vātsīputra whose master Rāhula had taught him the *Śāriputrābhidharma* in nine parts, or *Dharmalakṣaṇābhidharma*. His disciples attempted to complete its meaning by means of sūtras, and this enrichment of the doctrine caused the blossoming of four new schools : Dharmottarīyas, Bhadrāyanīyas, Saṃmatīyas (founded by the Arhat Saṃmita) and Channagirikas.

The Mahīśāsakas were started by a brahmin who, before taking up the religious life, «rectified the earth» as a district governor; having become an Arhat, he made use of the Vedas and Sanskrit grammar in order to adorn the sūtras of the Buddha. Springing from the Mahīśāsakas, the Dharmaguptakas compiled a «Basket of the Bodhisattvas» and justified this innovation by invoking the authority of Maudgalyāyana.

The Kāśyapīyas or Sauvarṣakas owe their origin to the Arhat Suvarṣaka Kāśyapa, purportedly a contemporary of the Buddha and author of a both apologetic and moralizing collection of texts.

The Sautrāntikas or Saṃkrāntivādins, as their names indicate, acknowledged no authority except that of the sūtras and taught the passage of the *skandha* through existences.

We have already pointed out the factitious nature of the information supplied by Vasumitra.

3. List in the Śāriputrapariprcchā. — The twofold subdivision also appears in a Mahāsāṃghika compilation, a mediocre Chinese translation of which was made by an unknown hand between the years 317 and 420 A.D. : the *Śāriputrapariprcchā*, T 1465, p. 900*c*.

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I. Mahāsāṃghikas	1. Vyavahāras		2nd cent. p. Nirv.
	2. Lokottaras		
	3. Kukkulikas		
	4. Bahuśrutakas		
	5. Prajñaptivādins		
	6. Mahādevas		3rd cent. p. Nirv.
	7. Caitras (Caitikas)		
	8. Mataras (Uttaraśailas)		
II. Sthaviras	1. Sarvāstivādins	2. Mahīśāsakas	3rd cent. p. Nirv.
		3. Dharmaguptakas	
		4. Suvarṣas	
	5. Vātsīputrīyas	6. Dhamottarikas	
		7. Bhadrāyaṇīyas	
		8. Saṃmatiyas	
		9. Ṣaṇṇagarikas	
	10. Kāśyapīyas		
	11. Sūtravādins		
	12. Saṃkrāntikas		4th cent. p. Nirv.

4. Pāli list. — The Pāli and Sinhalese sources, *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 39-54); *Mahāvaṃsa* (V, 1-13), *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* (pp. 2-3, 5 and passim) which date from about the fifth century; the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (pp. 96-97) from the end of the tenth century, the *Nikāyasaṃgraha* (pp. 6-9) from the fourteenth century; finally, the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (pp. 14, 24-5) from the end of the nineteenth century, set out the genealogy of the sects in an identical fashion :

I. Mahāsāṃghikas	1. Gokulikas	2. Paṇṇattis	
		3. Bahussutakas or Bahulikas	
		4. Cetiyas	
	5. Ekavyohārikas		
II. Theravāda	1. Mahiṃsāsakas	2. Sabbatthivāda →	3. Kassapiyas ↓ 4. Saṃkantikas ↓ 5. Suttavādas
		6. Dhammaguttikas	
	7. Vajjiputtakas	8. Dhammuttariyas	
		9. Bhadrayānikas	
		10. Chandāgārikas	
		11. Saṃmitiyas	

589 With regard to the date of the formation of the sects, the chronicle (*Mhv.*, V, 2, 11-13) supplies the following facts :

1. During the first hundred years after the Nirvāṇa (486-386 B.C.), the school of the Theras was «one and united».

2. During the second century, between the second council (100 p. Nirv. = 386 B.C.) and the third (236 p. Nirv. = 250 B.C.), the eighteen (var. seventeen) sects listed above were formed.

3. During the third century p. Nirv. (286-186 B.C.), six new sects developed on the Indian subcontinent : Hemavatas, Rājagiriyas, Siddhatthikas, Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas and Vājiriyas. Some of these, as we saw, are mentioned on the Amarāvatī inscriptions. According to the *Nikāyasaṃgraha* (tr. C.M. FERNANDO, Colombo, 1908, p. 9), these were six Mahāsāṃghika subsects which emerged from the main body in the year 255 p. Nirv. (231 B.C.) and which later led to three further sects : Vetulyas, Andhakas and Anya-Mahāsāṃghikas[10].

4. In 236 p. Nirv. (250 B.C.), the Theravāda migrated to Ceylon, under the leadership of Mahinda. It was represented on the island by monks from the Mahāvihāra who occupied, to the south of Anurādhapura, the Mahāmeghavana which had been placed at their disposal by King Devānampiyatissa. The holy enclosure contained the Thūpārāma Dāgaba built by Devānampiyatissa (cf. p. 269), the Bodhi tree, a branch of which had been brought from Gayā by Saṃghamittā (cf. pp. 269-270), the uposatha hall of the Lohapāsāda constructed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and the greatly renowned Mahāthūpa, or Ruvanveli Dāgaba, erected by the same sovereign (pp. 363-364). Nowadays the monks of the Mahāvihāra still consider themselves to be the most authorized holders of the Buddhist doctrine and discipline. It would be wronging them to confuse them with the other schools : «The Theravāda», they say, «like a giant fig-tree, contains, without omissions or additions, the integral teaching of the Victorious One; the other schools grew (on it) like thorns on a tree» (*Dpv.*, V, 52).

However, internal dissensions destroyed the unity of the Theravāda even in Ceylon.

1. In the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, in the year 454 p. Nirv. (32 B.C.)
590 exactly, in circumstances recorded above (pp. 370-371), some laxist monks separated from their colleagues at the Mahāvihāra and went to occupy, to the north of Anurādhapura, the newly established monastery of the Abhayagiri where they formed the Dhammarucika sect (*Mhv.*, XXXIII, 97).

[10] See above, pp. 288-289.

2. In the reign of Vohārikatissa (746-768 p. Nirv. = 260-282 A.D.), the Mahāyānist heresy, known in Ceylon by the name of Vetullavāda, made its appearance on the island. Contested by the minister Kapila (*Dpv.*, XXII, 43-4; *Mhv.*, XXXVI, 41), it retained some more or less overt adherents among the Dhammarucikas.

3. In the reign of Goṭhakābhaya (785-798 p. Nirv. = 299-312 A.D.), a Dhammarucika faction formed itself into a separate body, at the monastery of the Dakkhiṇavihāra, where it took the name of Sāgaliya (*Mhv.*, V, 13). According to the *Nikāyasaṃgraha*, the scission, provoked by the Thera Sāgala, occurred in the year 795 p. Nirv. (309 A.D.).

4. In the reign of Mahāsena (808-835 p. Nirv. = 322-349 A.D.), these Sāgaliyas went to occupy the new Jetavana monastery founded in Anurādhapura on the instigation of the monk Tissa of the Dakkhiṇārāma (*Mhv.*, XXXVII, 32-3). From then on, they took the name of Jetavanīyas.

5. List in the Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā. — This work (T 468, p. 501*a-c*), translated into Chinese by Saṃghabhara in 518, contains a list of eighteen sects arranged into two groups and presented as each emerging from one another at a century's interval.

I. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Ekavyavahārikas → 2. Lokottaravādins → 3. Kaukullikas → 4. Bahuśrutīyas → 5. Caitikas → 6. Pūrvaśailas → 7. Uttaraśailas.
II. Sthaviras : 1. Sarvāstivādins → 2. Haimavatas → 3. Vātsīputrīyas → 4. Dharmottarīyas → 5. Bhadrāyanīyas → 6. Saṃmatīyas → 7. Ṣaṇḍagairikas → 8. Mahīśāsakas → 9. Dharmaguptakas → 10. Kāśyapīyas → 11. Sautrāntikas.

6. List I of Bhavya. — There exists in the Tanjur, *Mdo* XC, 12 (Cordier, III, p. 414) a *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna*, translated into Tibetan by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna ‹Atīśa› (981-1054 A.D.) with the title of *Sde pa tha dad par ḥbyed pa daṅ rnam par bśad pa*. Its author was a certain Bhavya, possibly the same as the great writer Bhāviveka or Bhāvaviveka, who lived in the second half of the sixth century A.D. and was the founder of the Svātantrika-Sautrāntika branch of the Madhyamaka.

591 The *Nikāyabheda* has been translated by W.W. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, London, 1884, pp. 181-96, by M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927, pp. 78-93 and by A. Bareau, *Trois traités*..., JA, 1956, pp. 167-91. The work contains no less than three lists of sects : the first and third in two subdivisions, the second in three.

List I (Rockhill, p. 182; Walleser, pp. 78-9; Bareau, p. 168), which reproduces the traditional Sthavirian scheme, begins with the following

information : «one hundred and sixty years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Bhagavat Buddha, when King Dharmāśoka was ruling in Kusumapura (= Pāṭaliputra), a great schism broke out in the Saṃgha, consequent to some controversies, and at first the community divided into two schools, the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Sthaviras».

I. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Mūlamahāsāṃghikas, 2. Ekavyavahārikas, 3. Lokottaravādins, 4. Bahuśrutīyas, 5. Prajñaptivādins, 6. Caitikas, 7. Pūrvaśailas, 8. Aparaśailas.

II. Sthaviras : 1. Mūlasthaviras or Haimavatas, 2. Sarvāstivādins or Vibhajyavādins, Hetuvādins, Muruṇṭakas, 3. Vātsīputrīyas, 4. Dharmottarīyas, 5. Bhadrāyanīyas, 6. Sammatīyas also called Avantakas and Kurukullas, 7. Mahīśāsakas, 8. Dharmaguptakas, 9. Suvarṣakas or Kāśyapīyas, 10. Uttarīyas or Saṃkrāntivādins.

7. THE SAMMATĪYA LIST (= List III of Bhavya, list III of Tāranātha). — The Saṃmatīyas' concept of the origin and filiation of the sects is known from the concordant information supplied by Bhavya's list III (ROCKHILL, p. 186; WALLESER, p. 81, BAREAU, *JA*, 1956, pp. 172-3) and Tāranātha's list III (pp. 271-2).

The genealogical tree of the schools is preceded by the famous passage regarding the Mahāsāṃghika schism in 137 after the Nirvāṇa, and which has been examined above (pp. 281-282, 288).

As for the sects this is how the Saṃmatīyas understood their filiation :

I. Mahāsāṃghika trunk
- 1. Ekavyavahārikas
- 2. Gokulikas
  - 3. Bahuśrutīyas
  - 4. Prajñaptivādins
  - 5. Caitikas

592 II. Sthavira trunk
- 1. Mūlasthaviras
  - 2. Sarvāstivādins
    - 3. Vibhajyavādins
      - 4. Mahīśāsakas
      - 5. Dharmaguptakas
      - 6. Tāmraśāṭīyas
      - 7. Kāśyapīyas
    - 8. Saṃkrāntivādins
  - 9. Vātsīputrīyas
    - 10. Mahāgiriyas
      - 11. Dharmottarīyas
      - 12. Bhadrāyanīyas
      - 13. Ṣaṇṇagarikas
    - 14. Saṃmatīyas
- 15. Haimavatas

2. — LISTS WITH THREE SUBDIVISIONS

While the lists with two groupings were still in circulation, a list with

three subdivisions was issued which accepted as the forerunners not only the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas, but also the Vibhajyavādins, supporters of some distinctions introduced by certain schools into the philosophical debate.

1. MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA LIST. — Tāranātha (p. 271) presents a list with three subdivisions as being of Mahāsāṃghika origin.

I. Sthaviras
- 1. Sarvāstivādins
  - 2. Mūlasarvāstivādins
  - 3. Sautrāntikas
- 4. Vātsīputrīyas
  - 5. Saṃmatīyas
  - 6. Dharmottarīyas
  - 7. Bhadrāyanīyas
  - 8. Ṣaṇṇagarikas

II. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Mūlamahāsāṃghikas, 2. Pūrvaśailas, 3. Aparaśailas, 4. Rājagirikas, 5. Haimavatas, 6. Caitikas, 7. Siddhārthikas, 8. Gokulikas.
III. Vibhajyavādins : 1. Mahīśāsakas, 2. Kāśyapīyas, 3. Dharmaguptakas, 4. Tāmraśāṭīyas.

The somewhat late nature of this listing is evident from the mention of the Rājagirikas and Haimavatas recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (V, 13) as sects of the third century after the Nirvāṇa. The Tāmraśāṭīyas, also called Tāmraparṇīyas, are the religious of Taprobane (Ceylon); they
593 included in their ranks famous scholars whose theories were to be discussed by Vasubandhu and Asaṅga.

LIST II OF BHAVYA. — Bhavya's list II (ROCKHILL, p. 186; WALLESER, p. 81; BAREAU, JA, 1956, p. 171) reproduces the foregoing, word for word.

3. — LISTS WITH FIVE SUBDIVISIONS

1. THE FIVE SCHOOLS. — From the fourth century of the Christian era onwards, we find in the Indian and particularly the Chinese texts many allusions to five schools, always the same, as though they were, if not the only ones, at least the most important :

1. T 1470, ch. 2, p. 925c 29 : *Ta pi ch'iu san ch'ien wei i*, a translation of which, attributed to An Shih kao (148-170 A.D.), probably dates from the fourth or fifth century. This passage deals with the colour of the monastic robe : red for the Sarvāstivādins, black for the Dharmaguptakas, magnolia for the Kāśyapīyas, blue for the Mahīśāsakas, yellow for the Mahāsāṃghikas (cf. LIN, *AM*, pp. 80-1).

2. T 1465, p. 900c : *Śāriputraparipṛcchā*, translated into Chinese by an anonymous scholar between 317 and 420. It deals with the same colours : yellow

for the Mahāsāṃghikas, dark red for the Dharmaguptakas, black for the Sarvāstivādins, magnolia for the Kāśyapīyas, blue for the Mahīśāsakas (cf. LIN, *AM*, pp. 81-2).

3. T 397, ch. 22, p. 159 : *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra*, translated into Chinese between 414 and 421. It contains a prediction by the Buddha regarding various classes of disciples : Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Vātsīputrīyas and Mahāsāṃghikas. However, even while differentiating six groups, the passage concludes with a general remark on the five schools (cf. LIN, *AM*, pp. 299-300).

4. T 1425, ch. 40, p. 548*b* : Postscripts by Fa hsien to his translation of the *Mo ho sêng ch'i lü* made, in collaboration with Buddhabhadra, from 416 to 418. The passage lists five schools : Dharmaguptakas, Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas, Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsāṃghikas.

5. T 2145, ch. 3, pp. 20-1 : *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* by Sêng yu (444-518), in which the Chinese scholar compiled the history of five Vinayas : 1. Sarvāstivādin Vin. or *Shih sung lü* (T 1435), 2. Dharmaguptaka Vin. or *Ssŭ fên lü* (T 1428), 3. Mahīśāsaka Vin. or *Wu fên lü* (T 1421), 4. Mahāsāṃghika Vin. or *Mo ho sêng ch'i lü* (T 1425) which he identifies with that of the Vātsīputrīyas, 5. Kāśyapīya Vin. which has not been translated into Chinese (cf. LIN, *AM*, pp. 297-8).

6. T 2059, ch. 11, p. 403*a* : *Kao sêng chüan* by Hui chiao (519-544) who
594 speaks of five Arhats, disciples of Upagupta and founders of five Vinaya schools : Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahīśāsaka and Kāśyapīya.

7. T 190, ch. 60, p. 932*a* 17 : *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* translated into Chinese by Jñānagupta in 597. The colophon lists five parallel but separate biographies of the Buddha, belonging to five different schools : Mahāsāṃghika, Sarvāstivādin, Kāśyapīya, Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka.

8. T 1852, p. 10*a* : *San lun hsüan i* by Chi tsang, a Chinese of Parthian origin who lived from 549 to 623. He speaks of five contemporary Masters who, at the time of Upagupta, separated and founded five schools : Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya and Vātsīputrīya.

9. T 2087, ch. 3, p. 882*b* : *Hsi yü chi*. On his arrival in India in about 630, Hsüang tsang found five versions of the Vinaya in Uḍḍiyāna : Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya, Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṃghika.

10. T 2131, ch. 4, p. 1113 : *Fan i ming i chi*, a kind of *Mahāvyutpatti* compiled by the Chinese Fa yün (1088-1158). It refers to the five disciples of Upagupta who divided a single great Vinayapiṭaka into five classes : Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivādin, Kāśyapīya, Mahīśāsaka and Vātsīputrīya.

This evidence, which could easily be added to, shows the vogue the theory of the Five schools enjoyed in India and especially China.

2. LIST BY SÊNG YU. — The Chinese Sêng yu (444-518), in his *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* (T 2145, ch. 3, p. 20*a*), made use of this tradition which was universally accepted in his time in order to attempt a new classification of the sects by taking the five schools as the forerunners.

I. 1. Sarvâstivādins 2. Vâtsīputrīyas { 3. Dharmottarīyas; 4. Bhadrāyanīyas; 5. Ṣaṇṇagarikas }

II. 6. Mahīśāsakas

III. 7. Kāśyapīyas { 8. Saṃkrāntikas; 9. Saṃmatīyas }

IV. 10. Mahāsāṃghikas { 11. Ekavyavahārikas; 12. Bahuśrutīyas; 13. Prajñaptivādins; 14. Caitikas; 15. Aparaśailas; 16. Uttaraśailas }

V. 17. Dharmaguptakas

595 4. — LISTS WITH FOUR SUBDIVISIONS

1. Disappearance of the Dharmaguptakas. — In the list of the five schools drawn up in China, it was the Dharmaguptakas who most frequently occupied the place of honour. There is nothing surprising in this considering the rôle played by that school in the diffusion of the Vinaya in China. The first formularies (*karmavācanā*) such as the *T'an wu tê lü pu tsa chieh mo* (T 1432), translated in 252 by the foreign monk Saṃghavarman, and the *Chieh mo* (T 1433), translated in 254 by the Parthian Dharmasatya, pertained to that school. According to I ching, China followed mainly the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya and, from the evidence of J. de Groot, the *Prātimokṣa* of that school was considered to be the paramount code of Hīnayānist Buddhism until the final years of the Empire[11].

An apocryphal tradition recorded by Tao shih in his *Fa yüan chu lin* (T 2122, ch. 89, p. 944*c*) which he compiled in 668, claims that, under the Han, in the first *chien ning* year (168 A.D.), five śramaṇas from North India, three Yüeh chih — including Fa ling — and two Indians, had translated the *Prātimokṣa* and *Karmavācanā* of the Dharmaguptakas at Ch'ang an[12]. However, as Fa ling lived at the end of the fourth century, he could not have played the part attributed to him by this tradition[13]; however the legend is true in that the disciplinary works of

[11] J.J.M. de Groot, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 3.

[12] Cf. S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi*, JA, 1916, pp. 40-1 of the off-print.

[13] Cf. P. Pelliot, *Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés*, TP, 1920, No. 5, pp. 344-6. The first authenticated translation of the Prātimokṣa is that made by Dharmakāla in 250 A.D., but the work is lost. We do, however, possess a *Tsa chieh mo* (T 1432) and a *Chieh mo* (T 1433) of the Dharmaguptakas, translated, the former by Saṃghavarman in 252, the latter by T'an ti in 254.

the Dharmaguptakas reached China through the intermediary of monks from the North-West.

With the exception of that last region, the Dharmaguptakas played only an unobtrusive rôle on the Indian subcontinent. Buddhist inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī make no mention of them.

The Hīnayānists who, at the time of Fa hsien (beginning of the fifth cent.), had 500 saṃghārāmas in Uḍḍiyāna, were supplanted during the next two centuries by the Mahāyānists. In approximately 630, Hsüan tsang in his *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 882*b*), notes their disappearance :
596 «On both banks of the Śubhavastu river, there were formerly 1,400 saṃghārāmas, most of which are already deserted. In the past, the monks in that land numbered 18,000; now they have gradually diminished. They all study the Mahāyāna and are engaged in the practice of meditation on quietude. They are skilful at reciting the texts, but do not seek to understand their profound meaning. Their disciplinary conduct is pure, and they are especially versed in magical formulae». The Master of the Law adds that those religious read the five Vinayas, particularly that of the Dharmaguptakas : this is the only allusion to that school in the *Hsi yü chi*.

Half a century later, when I ching arrived in about 671, the situation had not improved : the town of Kučā in Central Asia, Khotan and Uḍḍiyāna contained no more than a few Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka and Kāśyapīya monks, lost in the mass of Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins.

Hence, from the sixth century A.D., the Dharmaguptakas had ceased to count as an Indian sect and, great though their influence had formerly been in China, they could no longer be retained in the lists as leaders. Hsüan tsang and I ching therefore forebore from mentioning them again, and replaced the old list of five groups with a new one which counted no more than four.

2. The fourfold census by Hsüan tsang. — The *Hsi yü chi* contains abundant information on Buddhist India of the seventh century. Without attempting to establish the filiation of the schools, Hsüan tsang merely records, wherever he passed, the number of monasteries and monastics, occasionally indicating the qualities of the latter.

Employing a purely descriptive method, he distinguishes eight categories of religious in India :

1. Mere bhikṣus, not belonging to any definite school and scattered in small groups in lands more or less hostile to the Good Law; they generally had no precise doctrine and observed the precepts of their order only very imperfectly.

2. Hīnayānist bhikṣus whose school is not specified.
3. Mahāsāṃghikas and Lokottaravādins.
4. Sarvāstivādins.
5. Sthaviras proper and Mahāyānasthaviras, the latter influenced to a certain degree by Mahāyanist theories.
597 6. Saṃmatīyas, whose influence proved to be increasing.
7. Mahāyānists en masse occupying certain regions such as Uḍḍiyāna (18,000), the Ghazni area (10,000), Magadha (10,000), Orissa (10,000), and Southern Kośala (10,000).
8. Bhikṣus «studying both the Hīna- and Mahāyāna» : these were probably Mahāyānists living in former Hīnayānist monasteries, whose rules they continued to observe.

According to this census, we note that during Hsüan tsang's time only four Hīnayānist schools were still represented : 1. Sthaviras and Mahāyānasthaviras, 2. Mahāsāṃghikas and Lokottaravādins; 3. Sarvāstivādins; 4. Saṃmatīyas. There were a further several thousand Hīnayānists whose sect or school could not be specified.

This is the record established by Hsüan tsang :

I. Sthaviras

Regions	Number of monasteries	Number of religious	References to T 2087
1. Samaṭata	30+	2,000+	ch. 10, p. 927 c 23
2. Drāviḍa	100+	10,000+	ch. 10, p. 931 c 4
Iᵃ. Mahāyāna-sthaviras			
3. Bodh-Gayā	Mahābodhisaṃghārâma	1,000	ch. 8, p. 918b14
4. Kaliṅga	10+	500+	ch. 10, p. 929a3
5. Ceylon	200+	20,000+	ch. 11, p. 934a14-15
6. Bharukaccha	10+	300+	ch. 11, p. 935c 1-2
7. Surāṣṭra	50+	3,000+	ch. 11, p. 936c15
Total	401+	36,800+	

II. Mahāsāṃghikas

Regions	Number of monasteries	Number of religious	References to T 2087
1. Andar-āb (Hindūkush)	3	some tens	ch. 12, p. 940a2
2. Kaśmīra	1	100+	ch. 4, p. 888a7-8
3. Dhānyakaṭaka	20+	1,000+	ch. 10, p. 930c14
Total	24+	1,100+	
IIa. Lokottaravādins			
4. Bāmyān	several tens	several thousands	ch. 1, p. 873b12

598 III. Sarvāstivādins

Regions	Number of monasteries	Number of religious	References to T 2087
1. Agni (Qarašahr)	10+	2,000+	ch. 1, p. 870a11
2. Kučā	100+	5,000+	ch. 1, p. 870a24
3. Bharuka (Aqsu)	some tens	1,000+	ch. 1, p. 870c18
4. Chieh-chih (Gaz Valley)	10+	300+	ch. 1, p. 873a27-28
5. Kabhanda (Taš Kurgān)	10+	500+	ch. 12, p. 941c9
6. Wu-sa	10+	1,000+	ch. 12, p. 942b16-17
7. Ch'ia-sha (Kašgar)	some hundreds	10,000+	ch. 12, p. 942c19-20
8. Tamasāvana (S. Kaśmīr)	1	300+	ch. 4, p. 889b29
9. Matipur (Bijnōr District)	10+	800+	ch. 4, p. 891b25
10. Navadevakula (S-E of Kanyākubja)	3	500+	ch. 5, p. 896a19-20
11. In Magadha	Kapotavihāra	200+	ch. 9, p. 925b17
12. Īraṇaparvata (Monghyr)	2	2,000	ch. 10, p. 926a18
13. Gūrjarâtra (Gujarāt)	1	100+	ch. 11, p. 936c25
Total	158+	23,700+	

599

IV. Saṃmatīyas

Regions	Number of monasteries	Number of religious	References to T 2087
1. Ahicchatra	10+	1,000+	ch. 4, p. 892c29
2. Kapitha (Sâmkāśya)	4	1,000+	ch. 4, p. 893a19
3. Ayamukha (in Oudh)	5	1,000+	ch. 5, p. 897a10-11
4. Viśoka (in Oudh)	20+	3,000+	ch. 5, p. 898c12-13
5. Śrāvastī	some h. in ruins	very small number	ch. 6, p. 899a9
6. Kapilavastu	1,000 in ruins	3,000 (var., 30)	ch. 6, p. 900c26-28
7. Vārāṇasī[14]	30+	3,000+	ch. 7, p. 905b 4-5
8. Mṛgadāva (Sārnāth)	1	1,500	ch. 7, p. 905b17
9. Vaiśālī	1	very small number	ch. 7, p. 908b5
10. Īraṇaparvata (Monghyr)	10+	4,000+	ch. 10, p. 926a15-16
11. Karṇasuvarṇa	10+	2,000+	ch. 10, p. 928a20-21
12. Mālava (Baroda)	some hundreds	20,000+	ch. 11, p. 935c11
13. Valabhī (in Kāthiāwār)	100+	6,000+	ch. 11, p. 936b19-20
14. Ānandapura	10+	1,000–	ch. 11, p. 936c8
15. Sīndh	some hundreds	10,000+	ch. 11, p. 937a28
16. A-tien-p'o-ch'ih-lo (Indus delta)	80+	5,000+	ch. 11, p. 937c22
17. Pi-to-chih-lo (delta area)	50+	3,000+	ch. 11, p. 938b4
18. A-fan-t'u (Middle Sindh)	20+	2,000+	ch. 11, p. 938b17
Total	1,351+	66,500+	

[14] According to the *Life of Hsüan tsang* (T 2053, ch. 3, p. 235c 3), Vārāṇasī contained more than 30 monasteries inhabited by over 2,000 Sarvāstivādin religious. However, we know from an inscription at Sārnāth (LÜDERS, 923) dating from the Gupta period that in Vārāṇasī the Saṃmatīyas had taken over from the Sarvāstivādins.

600 Hīnayānists (unspecified)

Regions	Number of monasteries	Number of religious	References to T 2087
1. Bactra	100+	3,000+	ch. 1, p. 872c 4-5
2. Puṣkarāvatī	1 (in ruins)	a few religious	ch. 2, p. 881a17-18
3. Po-lu-sha (Sāhbāz-Gaṛhī)	1	50+	ch. 2, p. 881b10-11
4. Śākala	1	100+	ch. 4, p. 889b 4-5
5. Kulūtā		small number	ch. 4, p. 890a3
6. Pāryātra (Bairāṭ)	8 (in ruins)	very small number	ch. 4, p. 890a25-26
7. Sthāneśvara	3	700+	ch. 4, p. 890c14
8. Śrughna	5	1,000+	ch. 4, p. 891a21
10. Matipur	1	200+	ch. 4, p. 891c17-18
11. Goviśana	2	100+	ch. 4, p. 892c19-20
12. Prayāga	2	very small number	ch. 5, p. 897a24-25
13. Kauśāmbī	10+	300+	ch. 5, p. 898a 3-4
14. Chan-chu (Ghāzīpur?)	10+	1,000−	ch. 7, p. 907c1
15. Magadha	1	50+	ch. 9, p. 925c13-14
16. Campā	some tens	200+	ch. 10, p. 926c20-21
Total	145+	6,700+	

It ensues from this that, at the beginning of the seventh century, the adherents of the Hīnayāna were distributed as follows :

Sthaviras	401	monasteries	36,800	religious
Mahāsāṃghikas	24	monasteries	1,100	religious
Sarvāstivādins	158	monasteries	23,700	religious
Sammatīyas	1,351	monasteries	66,500	religious
Unspecified	145	monasteries	6,700	religious
	2,079		134,800	

Incomplete though these statistics are, they nevertheless enable us to draw some interesting conclusions.

1. Of the eighteen-plus traditional schools which are regularly mentioned by the disputations, four played the part of forerunners to such an
601 extent that they overshadowed all the others. The most important one was unquestionably that of the Saṃmatīyas who alone totalled half the Hīnayānist Saṃgha. On the Indian subcontinent, the other three schools were clearly declining. Of the 36,800 Sthaviras, 20,000 were to be found in Ceylon and 10,000 in the Deccan. The Mahāsāṃghikas were in the

process of disappearing, except in the Hindūkush, where the imposing site of Bāmyān still sheltered several thousand Lokottaravādins. The Sarvāstivādins, formerly so powerful in the North-West, held their own there only with difficulty : of the 23,700 of them recorded, 19,800 were scattered in the oases of Central Asia : Kašgar, Taš Kurgān, Aqsu, Kučā and Qarašahr.

2. Of the 134,800 Hīnayānist monks counted, 6,700 did not belong to any definite school. Had it been otherwise Hsüan tsang, with his characteristic concern for exactitude and precision, would not have failed to mention it.

3. Both in India and Central Asia, the respective importance of the Small and Great Vehicle was palpably the same. According to the information supplied by Hsüan tsang (cf. É. LAMOTTE, *Sur la formation du Mahāyāna*, Asiatica, Festschrift Weller, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 394-5), the pure Mahāyānists and the mixed Mahāyānists (studying both the Small and Great Vehicle) together totalled 2,521 monasteries and 119, 430 religious. These figures are quite close to those which could be produced by the Hīnayānists with their 2,079 monasteries and 134,800 religious.

3. THE FOURFOLD CENSUS BY I CHING. — Less than a century after Hsüan tsang, the Chinese pilgrim I ching, who visited India and the South Seas from 671 to 695 of the Christian era, records in his *Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan* (T 2125, ch. 1, p. 205*a-b*) the following precise details :

As for the division into various Nikāyas (schools), according to the Western (Indian) tradition, there are only four great systems. With regard to their appearance and disappearance, and the diversity of their names, there is no agreement on such matters... Thus it is that in the five parts of India and in the islands in the South Seas, four Nikāyas are spoken of everywhere. Nevertheless, the number of their adherents varies according to the locality...

1. The Ārya Mahāsāṃghikanikāya is subdivided into seven sects. Each of the 3 Piṭakas contains 100,000 stanzas [i.e. 3 × 100,000 = 300,000 stanzas], which, in the Chinese tradition, makes nearly a thousand scrolls.

602 2. The Ārya Sthaviranikāya is subdivided into 3 sects, and its Tripiṭaka is the same size as that of the preceding school.

3. The Ārya Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya is subdivided into 4 sects [but on p. 206*c* 1-2, I ching mentions only three : 1. Dharmaguptakas, 2. Mahīśāsakas, 3. Kāśyapīyas]. Its Tripiṭaka is also of the same size.

4. The Ārya Saṃmatīyanikāya is subvided into 4 sects and its Tripiṭaka is subdivided into 200,000 stanzas, 30,000 of which are Vinaya Stanzas.

There are, however, many divergences with regard to the doctrinal traditions of these schools : it is in accordance with the present state of affairs that 18 sects are spoken of. As to the division into five main schools, I have heard nothing of that in the West[15].

[15] Translation after Lin.

In connection with the geographical expansion of the four schools, I ching adds a few precise details : The Mahāsaṃgha is followed in Magadha (Central India), a little in Lāṭa and Sindhu (Western India), a little to the N. and S. of India; it coexists with other schools in eastern India, but is rejected in Ceylon. — The Sthavira predominates in the South, especially in Ceylon; it is followed in Magadha and, to some extent, in Lāṭa and Sindhu; it coexists with other schools in Eastern India. — The Mūlasarvāstivāda flourishes in Magadha and has asserted itself throughout the North; it has a few adherents in Lāṭa and Sindhu and coexists with other schools in Eastern India. — The Saṃmatīya is above all represented in Lāṭa and Sindhu; it is practised in Magadha and, a little, in the South of India; it coexists with other schools in eastern India.

4. The Sarvāstivādin list by Vinītadeva. — The Sarvāstivādins and Vinītadeva in particular recorded the state of affairs noted by Hsüan tsang and I ching by establishing a fourfold division of the Saṃgha in which they inserted the eighteen traditional sects while replacing some of them with other later ones. This list with four groupings appears :

a. in a passage in the *Samayabhedoparacanacakranikāyabhedopadarśanasaṃgraha* by Vinītadeva, an author who lived between the end of the eighth century and the first part of the ninth. The work, the Sanskrit original of which is lost, exists in a Tibetan version in the Tanjur, *Mdo* XC, 13 (Cordier, III, p. 414; Lalou, p. 117*b*). It has been translated, in whole or in part, by Rockhill, *Life*, pp. 181-93; Lin, *AM*, p. 185, note; Bareau, JA, pp. 192-200.

603 b. in the *Mahāvayutpatti* (Nos. 9077-98), from approximately 800 A.D.

c. in the *Histories of Buddhism* by Bu-ston (II, p. 99) and Tāranātha (p. 272), the latter attributing a Sarvāstivādin origin to the list.

I. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Pūrvaśailas, 2. Aparaśailas, 3. Haimavatas, 4. Lokottaravādins, 5. Prajñaptivādins.
II. Sarvāstivādins : 1. Mūlasarvāstivādins, 2. Kāśyapīyas, 3. Mahīśāsakas, 4. Dharmaguptakas, 5. Bahuśrutīyas, 6. Tāmraśāṭīyas, 7. Vibbajyavādins.
III. Sthaviras : 1. Jetavanīyas, 2. Abhayagirivāsins, 3. Mahāvihāravāsins.
IV. Saṃmatīyas : 1. Kaurukullakas, 2. Avantakas, 3. Vātsīputrīyas.

The mention of Jetavanīyas proves that this list postdates the fourth century. In fact, it was only in the reign of Mahāsena (322-349 A.D.) that the Sāgaliyas, who were installed at the monastery of the Jetavanavihāra, took the name of Jetavanīyas.

5. THE LIST IN THE TWO PṚCCHĀS. — A somewhat similar list appears in a passage common to both the *Bhikṣuvarṣāgrapṛcchā* and the *Śrāmaṇeravarṣāgrapṛcchā*, translated into Tibetan between the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh (*Mdo* XC, 21, and *Mdo* XC, 6; cf. CORDIER, III, pp. 416 and 412). This list, to which Bu-ston (II, p. 98) alludes, has been translated into French by LIN, *AM*, pp. 182-3.

I. Sarvāstivādins : 1. Kāśyapīyas, 2. Mahīśāsakas, 3. Dharmaguptakas, 4. Mūlasarvāstivādins.
II. Mahāsāṃghikas : 1. Pūrvaśailas, 2. Aparaśailas, 3. Haimavatas, 4. Vibhajyavādins, 5. Prajñaptivādins, 6. Lokottaravādins.
III. Saṃmatīyas : 1. Tāmraśāṭīyas, 2. Avantakas, 3. Kaurukullakas, 4. Bahuśrutīyas, 5. Vātsīputrīyas.
IV. Sthaviras : 1. Jetavanīyas, 2. Abhayagirivāsins, 3. Mahāvihāravāsins.

This list is shoddy work : the Vibhajyavādins are Sthaviras and not Mahāsāṃghikas; the Bahuśrutīyas, Mahāsāṃghikas and not Saṃmatīyas, and so on. At quite a late date, the only concern of the compilers was to arrange the eighteen sects in four different classes, but the distribution was done at random and seemingly without the slightest criticism. In fact, the eighteen sects no longer existed except in theory.

5. — APOCRYPHAL TRADITIONS

Towards the end of the eighth century, when Indian Buddhism was showing clear signs of disintegration, Indo-Tibetan exegetes conceived
604 the idea of attributing to each of the four great schools a given master, a special language, a particular cloak and characteristic religious names.

These facts appear in some later Indian works, such as the *Bhikṣuvarṣāgrapṛcchā*, referred to above, and the *Prabhāvatī* (*Mdo* LXXXIX, 3; cf. CORDIER, III, p. 410), a commentary by a certain Śākyaprabha from the eighth century on the *Śrāmaṇeratriśatakārikā*. They were taken up and completed by the Tibetan historians Bu-ston (II, pp. 99-100) and Jam-yaṅ bśad-pa (end of eighteenth cent.) in his *Grub-mthaḥ*. The early indologists seem to have taken them seriously : A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS (*Tibetan-English Dictionary*, 1834, p. 276; *Notices on the different Systems of Buddhism*, J.As.Soc. Bengal, VII, p. 142 sq.), V. VASSILIEV (*Bouddhisme*, tr. La Comme, 1865, pp. 270-1), E. BURNOUF (*Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien*, 2nd ed., 1876, p. 397). More recently, the late lamented LIN LI-KOUANG (*AM*, pp. 176-87) still referred to them in the remarkable chapter he devoted to the original language of Buddhism. This is what they amount to :

1. The Sarvāstivādins had as their master the kṣatriya Rāhulabhadra; they

spoke Sanskrit, wore a cloak made from 25 to 29 strips of material, used the lotus as their emblem, and their names in religion ended in *mati, śrī, prabha, kīrti* and *bhadra*. — 2. The Mahāsāṃghikas had the brahmin Mahākāśyapa as their master; they spoke Prākrit, wore a cloak made of 23 to 27 strips, and used a shell as their emblem, their names ended in *mitra, jñāna, gupta* or *garbha*. — 3. The Saṃmatīyas had as their preceptor the śūdra Upāli; they spoke Aprabhraṃśa, wore a cloak made of 21 to 25 strips, and took an areca-leaf as their emblem; their names ended in *dāsa* or *sena*. — 4. The Sthaviras vested their authority in the vaiśya Kātyāyana, spoke Paiśācī; their strips and emblems were like those of the Saṃmatīyas; their religious names ended in *deva, ākara, varman, sena, jīva* or *bala*.

Nothing is worth retaining from these systems of classification.

6. — CONCLUSIONS

In all this mass of pseudo-historical elucubrations, a few true facts are revealed here and there. The inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī show that, in the first two centuries of the Christian era, most of the Hīnayānist sects were disseminated throughout India. Several of them
605 had already split up, and the Mahāsāṃghikas, for example, occupied points on the map as far apart as Wardak, to the west of Kābul, and Kārli in the District of Bombay. Others, after a game of 'general post', ended by merging and living together peacefully in the same establishments : there were Dharmottarīyas and Caitikas in Junnar; Bhadrāyanīyas and Caitikas at Kārli; Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsāṃghikas in Mathurā and Wardak; Sarvāstivādins and Saṃmatīyas at Śrāvastī; Mahāsāṃghikas, Bahuśrutīyas, Aparaśailas, Mahīśāsakas and Tāmraparṇīyas in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. From then on, the interweaving of the sects becomes so complicated that all hope of unravelling it is lost.

However, it was at this time that the Sthavirian list with two subdivisions appeared; it was out of date on publication. Vasubandhu's name was attached to it, but was taken up again, with a few variants, by the anonymous authors of the *Śāriputra-* and *Mañjuśrī-Paripṛcchā*, by the Sinhalese chroniclers and, also in the seventh century, by the compiler Bhavya. It is wholly dominated by the memory of the great schism, which, at the time of Aśoka, divided the community into two sections which were never to come together again : the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas.

The latter soon replaced it with a list with three subdivisions which gave the most important place to the Vibhajyavāda in general and, more particularly, to the Sinhalese Tāmraśāṭīyas with whom they were in regular communication by the direct maritime route linking the Mahāsāṃghika fief in Andhra country to Cape Andrasimoundou on the west coast of Ceylon (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 3).

In the fourth century, the Chinese saw the Saṃgha from another angle; they were in regular contact with the North-West where the five Hīnayānist schools which specialized in the study of the Vinaya and the biography of the Buddha predominated. In their eyes, the most illustrious was that of the Dharmaguptakas whose set of rules (*prātimokṣa*) and rituals (*karmavācanā*) they had adopted in the middle of the third century A.D. Hence, when the learned Sêng yu, in all good faith, undertook to inform his compatriots about the genealogy of the Indian sects, he chose a scheme with five subdivisions in which the five schools of the North-West acted as forerunners, the place of honour being reserved for the Dharmaguptakas.

In the seventh century, during their prolonged stays in India, first
606 Hsüan tsang, and then I ching noted, with great astonishment, that the famous Dharmaguptakas of whom they had heard in China had practically disappeared from the map of India and consisted of no more than a few adherents in Kučā, Khotan and Uḍḍiyāna. The influence over the subcontinent was shared by four great Hīnayānist schools, overshadowing all the others : Sthaviras, Mahāsāṃghikas, Sarvāstivādins and Saṃmatīyas, the last being by far the most numerous. The fact had to be accepted and a new situation recorded. Being objective and realistic, the Chinese masters therefore erased the Dharmaguptakas from their records and only retained the four great schools. Thus, a fourfold classification replaced the list with five subdivisions which had formerly been compiled by Sêng yu.

This new distribution was adapted to Indian traditions and customs by the Sarvāstivādin Vinītadeva (ninth century) and other anonymous chroniclers. To each of the four great schools was reserved the role of head of the list; then, in those four lists were classed somewhat haphazardly — because they were no longer of importance — the eighteen sects, the number of which had been hallowed by tradition.

Finally, this scheme fell into the hands of Indo-Tibetan exegetes who, in a spirit of systematization, but without the least criticism, endeavoured to attribute to each of the four great schools a characteristic robe, their own emblems, special religious names and even a particular dialect.

But, since we are in India where all traditions, however outdated they may be, are piously preserved, the various lists with two, three, five and four subdivisions, instead of being withdrawn one by one as the next was published, were kept side by side and continued to be regularly reproduced. This is what makes the problem of the filiation of the sects so complicated and, it must be admitted, futile.

II. — THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SECTS

The achievements of the sects during the last three centuries of the ancient era can be summarized in a few words : the spiritual conquest of India. The activities undertaken by the disciples of Śākyamuni assumed the most varied forms : organization of missions, instructions, the
607 building of the stūpas and caityas, the founding of monasteries, contacts with all levels of the population, both Indian and foreign in origin, relations with princes, in a word all the undertakings likely to ensure the propagation of the Good Law.

Of all those endeavours, which were crowned with success, we will concentrate on only two : the recourse to vernacular languages and Sanskrit to bring Śākyamuni's message within the reach of all, and the systematic exposition of that message due to an ever more extreme philosophical elaboration. The formation of Buddhist languages and the progress in Abhidharma studies were, to the credit of the religious, two of the most remarkable achievements. They were accomplished in collaboration with lay circles to whom some concessions had to be made.

1. THE FORMATION OF THE BUDDHIST LANGUAGES*

The main achievement of the sects was to have put the word of the Buddha into the vernacular. Open-minded and liberal, free from linguistic prejudices, they did not hesitate to transpose Śākyamuni's teaching into as many languages as necessary in order to ensure its widest dissemination. In the ancient period, when the use of Sanskrit was still reserved for the élite, they preferred to resort to Middle-Indian dialects. Later, when the use of the «polished language» tended to become more generalized, they employed more and more refined varieties of Sanskrit, based on Prākrit prototypes. Finally when Buddhist propaganda, overflowing its Indian borders, set out to conquer the Asiatic world, the missionaries unhesitatingly adopted the use of foreign languages : languages from Central Asia (Śaka or Khotanese, Sogdian, Kuchean, Agnean), Chinese, Tibetan and Turkish, to mention only the main ones.

We will examine here the early traditions concerning the use of languages; then we will inspect the principal Buddhist languages.

a. Traditions concerning the use of languages

THE LANGUAGE OF THE BUDDHA[16]. — Mention is made of it in the

[16] Cf. Hōbōgirin, s.v. *Butsugo* (III, pp. 207-9), *Button* (III, pp. 215-17).

various Vinayas and their commentaries which the different versions of the *Vibhāṣā* have devoted to them. Here is the list :

608 1. *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1435, ch. 26, p. 193*a*).

2. *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 1, pp. 256-9) and its Tibetan version.

3. *Ch'u yao ching* (T 212, ch. 23, p. 734*b*).

4. *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 79, p. 410*a*).

5. *Vibhāṣā* (T 1546, ch. 41, p. 306*c*).

6. *Vibhāṣā* (T 1547, ch. 9, p. 482*c*).

It is quite natural that during his preaching tours in Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Kauśāmbī, etc., the Buddha expounded the noble truths in the dialect(s) in use among the Māgadhans, Kosalas, Kāśīs, Vṛjis, Vatsas, etc., dialects which could be considered as varieties of the «polished language» (*āryā vāc, chêng yü*), or again, the «language of the Middle Region» (*madhyadeśavāc, chung kuo chih yü, dbus paḥi tshig*). This language is none other than Indo-Āryan.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Buddha possessed the gift of tongues and that occasionally, to make himself better understood or to respond to the preferences of his listeners, he used non-Āryan languages. This was particularly the case when, on the shore of Lake Mandākinī, near Udumā, he converted the four Great Heavenly Kings, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpakṣa and Vaiśravaṇa. The theme of his discourse consisted of three stanzas from the *Udānavarga* (Tib. ed. by H. Beckh, XXVI, 16-18, p. 88) : «When the body is worn out, sensation cooled, perception destroyed, volitions appeased, consciousness stilled : such is truly the end of suffering. Limit yourself to seeing what ought to be seen; to hearing, contemplating and knowing what ought to be heard, contemplated and known. — Anything that differs from that is painful, very painful : such is truly the end of suffering. — The absence of contact, the absence of joy, appeasement, universal renunciation : such is truly the end of suffering».

The Buddha began by uttering the first two stanzas in Sanskrit (*āryavāc*, in most of the sources; *madhyadeśavāc* in T 212) :

Jirṇaḥ kāyo vedanā śītībhūtā
saṃjñā niruddhā saṃskārā vyupaśāntā
vijñānam astaṃgatam eṣa evānto duḥkhasya.
Dṛṣṭe dṛṣṭamātraṃ bhavatu
śrute cintite vijñāte vijñātamātram.

609 Two kings, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūḍhaka were able to understand; the

other two, Virūpakṣa and Vaiśravaṇa, could not. For their sake, the Buddha then used a «barbarian language» (*dasyuvāc, ḥkhob paḥi tshig*).

For Virūpakṣa, he spoke the Drāviḍian language (T 1546) or Tamil (T 212), defined by T 1545 as «the common language of the frontierlands in South India» :

Ene mene daṣphe daṇḍaṣphe eṣa evānto duḥkhasya.

Finally, for Vaiśravaṇa, he used one of the kinds of Mleccha languages :

Māṣā tuṣā saṃśāmā sarvarta vīrāṭhi esa evānto duḥkhasya.

Eventually, the four kings understood and were converted. They were given the mission of protecting the Good Law at the four cardinal points.

Commenting upon this episode, the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 79, p. 410*b*) remarks : «It is in order to show that he can express himself clearly in all languages that he expresses himself in various ways so as to dispel the doubts of those who suspect him of being unable to teach except in the holy language... The Tathāgata can express everything he wishes in any language whatever. If he expresses himself in Chinese, it is because that language is best for the inhabitants of China; similarly, if he expresses himself in the Balkh language... Furthermore, the word of the Buddha is light and pointed, the flow is rapid, and even though he speaks all sorts of languages, it can be said that he speaks them all at once : thus, if he expresses himself in turn in Chinese, in the Balkh language, in Śaka language, he pronounces [redacted] those languages uninterruptedly and, as it were, at the same time».

However, the «gift of tongues» is not the only prerogative of the Buddha's utterances. An early stanza, the canonical status of which is doubted by the *Vibhāṣā* (*l.c.*) in fact asserts : «The Buddha makes use of a single sound to declaim the Law; and then beings, each according to his category, grasp its meaning. They all say : the Bhagavat is speaking the same language as myself; it is for me alone that he proclaims such-and-such a meaning». According to Vasumitra (Masuda, *Origin*..., p. 19), a Mahāsāṃghika thesis, disputed however by the Sarvāstivādins, is that «the Buddha makes use of a single sound (*ekavāgudāhāra*) to
610 utter all doctrines». This view was adopted by the Mahāyānasūtras such as the *Avataṃsaka* (T 279, ch. 80, p. 443*c*), the *Vimalakīrti* (T 475, ch. 1, p. 538*a*); and Nāgārjuna, in his *Nirupamastava* (v. 7), taking the

theory to extremes, cries : «Lord, you have not uttered a single syllable, but all the faithful have been nourished by the rain of the Dharma».

Such speculations derive from scholastics and not linguistics, and we must return to history.

THE ADOPTION OF LOCAL DIALECTS BY THE BUDDHISTS[17]. — This question is dealt with in a famous and much-discussed passage, reproduced by the Vinayas.

1. *Pāli Vinaya* (II, p. 139) :

At that time, there were the monks named Yamelutekulā, two brothers of brahmin birth, who had lovely voices (*kalyāṇavacā*) and good pronunciation (*kalyāṇavākkaraṇā*). They went to where the Buddha was to be found and said to him : «There are some monks with different names (*nāman*), from various clans (*gotra*), various origins (*jati*), various families (*kula*); they are corrupting the word of the Buddha by repeating it in their own mode of expression (*te sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ dūsenti*). Let us put the word of the Buddha into *chandas* (*buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropema*)». The Buddha replied : «The word of the Buddha should not be put into *chandas* : whoever does that is guilty of a misdeed (*dukkaṭa*). I command that the word of the Buddha be learned by each one in his own mode of expression (*sakāya niruttiyā pariyāpuṇitum*)».

The two expressions, *chandas* and *sakā nirutti* have been the objects of widely differing interpretations :

Chandas means «the mode of expression of fine language, such as the Veda» (*vedaṃ viya sakkatabhāsāya vācanāmaggo*) : that is the Buddhaghosa's explanation (*Samantapāsādika*, VI, p. 1214). Modern commentators waver : «Sanskrit verse» (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg), «verse» (S. Lévi), «Sanskrit» (L. de La Vallée Poussin), «metre» (E.J. Thomas),
611 «Sanskritization of Buddhist texts» Lin Li-kouang), «versification in the Vedic manner» (J. Filliozat), «Vedic» (F. Edgerton), «not Sanskrit *bhāṣā*, but *chandas*, the only form of speech known at that time apart from the Middle-Indian dialects» (L. Renou). The latter was kind enough to let me know his opinion in a written note : [tr.] «The passage concerning *chandas* has always seemed somewhat enigmatic to me, how could the word of the Buddha be arranged according to Vedic verse? This must probably mean (cf. HELMER SMITH, *Saddanīti*, p. 1131) conforming to the orthoepic rules for recitation, not precisely transpos-

[17] Passage discussed by S. LÉVI, *La récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques*, JA, 1915, pp. 441-7; M. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 602; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Indo-européens*, p. 200; E.J. THOMAS, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 253-4; J. FILLIOZAT, *Inde Classique*, II, p. 326; F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 1-2; L. RENOU, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, p. 84.*

ing into Vedic Sanskrit, which would have been an impossible enterprise. It must allude to intonation».

Sakāya niruttiyā is easier to interpret : «each in his own dialect» (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Edgerton), «each in his own manner of speaking» (S. Lévi), «each with his own pronunciation» (L. de La Vallée Poussin), «in its own grammar» (E.J. Thomas), «each in his own dialect» (Lin Li-kouang), «with his own verbal interpretation» (J. Filliozat), «each with his own mode of expression, i.e. in his own dialect» (L. Renou).

All things considered, it seems that the Buddha forbade the chanting of Buddhist texts with intonations used in the recitation of the Vedas, but ordered each disciple to teach the word of the Buddha in his own dialect.

That the word *nirutti* designates not only pronunciation, but also dialect as a whole, is what can be inferred from a passage in the *Majjhima*, III, pp. 234-5 (also cf. T 26, ch. 43, p. 703*a*), in which the Buddha recommends avoiding all prejudice in relation to local dialects (*janapadaniruttiyā abhiniveso*) and all exaggeration in relation to popular parlance (*samaññāya atisāro*). For example, one and the same utensil is called *pāti, patta, vittha, sarāva, dhāropa, poṇa* or *pisīla*, according to the region. One should not insist on any single term, under the pretext that it is the only right one, but adopt the term in use in the region one is in.

In fact, *nirukti* means language. The *Jñānaprasthāna*, cited in the *Kośavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara, p. 52), when called upon to define the Tathāgata's speech (*vāc*), amasses a whole series of synonyms among which is *nirukti* : *Tathāgatasya yā vāg vacanaṃ, vyāhāro, gīr, niruktir, vākpatho, vāgghoṣo, vākkarma, vāgvijñaptiḥ*.

612 Other Vinayas follow the interpretation given here.

2. *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 26, p. 174*b*) :

It is permissible to read and recite in keeping with the dialectal pronunciation (*kuo yin* = *pradeśasvara*), but taking care not to misinterpret or miss the Buddha's concept. It is forbidden to transform the word of the Buddha into the language of heretical (*bāhyaka*) books.

3. *Dharmaguptaka Vin.* (T 1428, ch. 52, p. 955*a*) :

A brahmin asked the Buddha for authorization to arrange (*hsiu chi*) the Buddhist sūtras in accordance with the fine language of the world (*shih chien hao yen lun*). The Buddha said to him : «To mix the Buddhist sūtras with the language of heretics (*wai tao yen lun* = *tīrthikabhāṣā*) would be to destroy them. However, it is permissible to recite and learn the Buddhist sūtras according to the interpretation (*so chieh*) of vernacular regional languages (*kuo su yen yin* = *pradeśānāṃ prākṛtabhāṣā*).

4. *Vināyamātṛka* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 822*a*) :

Two brahmins asked the Buddha if they could draft and compile (*chuan chi*) the Buddhist sūtras according to the rules governing the lay out of chandas (*ch'an t'o chih ch'ih lun = chando[vi]citiśāstra*), by putting the syllables (*wên = vyañjana* or *akṣara*) and phrases (*chü = pada*) in order, so that the sounds (*yen yin = svara*) would be detached (*pien liao = vivṛta*) and the meaning (*i = artha*) would also [redacted] clear (*hsien = vyakta*). The Buddha answered : «In my religion, there is no concern for fine language (*mei yen*). As long as the meaning and reasoning are not lacking, that is all I wish. You must teach according to the sounds which enable people to understand. That is why it is said one should act according to the country».

5. *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1435, ch. 38, p. 274*a*) :

There were two brahmins who had been converted to Buddhism and given up the household life. Originally, they had recited the texts of the four heretical Vedas; after giving up the household life, they recited the Buddhist sūtras with the same intonations (*yin shêng = svara*). Then one of them died; the other remained alone and could no longer recite fluently the Buddhist sūtras as he had done in the past, because he had forgotten them. He sought for another companion, but could not find one. Sorrowful and wretched, he reported the matter to the Buddha. The Buddha said to him : «Henceforth, whoever recites the Buddhist sūtras with the intonations of heretical books will be committing a misdeed».

6. *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 6, p. 232*b*) :

Two converted sons of brahmins, who had formerly learned, from a brahmin,
613 the rules of intonation for Vedic melodies (*ko yung shêng = Sāmasvaradharma*), by habit now recited (the Buddhist sūtras) in their former style. Then, one of them suddenly died; the grief-stricken survivor forgot most of the sūtras. He asked several of the Buddha's disciples to teach them to him again, but when they were recited to him he showed his displeasure : «The text is entirely wrong, the intonation (*shêng yün = svara*) is not prolonged so something is lacking». Finally, he turned to Śāriputra, who prolonged sounds even more than he did himself, and whom be praised, saying that the others were all making mistakes in the recitation. The Buddha was informed and announced the following regulation : «The bhikṣus should not recite the Dharma of the sūtras with melodies (*ko yung = sāman*) and prolonged intonations (*yin shêng = āyatasvara*). If bhikṣus recite the sūtras with the intonation of the *chan t'o* (*chandas*), they will be guilty of the offence of transgressing the Dharma. However, if a regional pronunciation (*fang kuo yen yin = pradeśasvara*) requires the intonation to be prolonged, it is not wrong to do that». [Note by the translator I ching] : «The *chandas* is the brahminical method of reciting. Intonations are prolonged. Gestures with the fingers in the air mark the beat; the master intones first and the others follow».

There is no doubt that the extracts from the six Vinayas the translation of which we have just summarized all refer to one and the same episode : two brahmins, converted to Buddhism, applied to the recitation of Buddhist sūtras the methods in use in the Vedic schools, namely the *chandas* which consists mainly of a melody (*ko yung* = *sāman*) and prolonged intonations (*ch'ang shêng* = *āyatasvara*).

According to Lin Li-Kouang (*AM*, p. 220 sq.), the first four Vinayas forbid the adaptation of the Buddhist texts to the Sanskrit norm and permit the use of dialects; in the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya*, this proscription and this permission are omitted, and the proscription concerns only intonations in the Vedic manner; finally, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, while abstaining as did the Sarvāstivādins from forbidding Sanskrit, nevertheless retained an echo of the permission to adopt local dialects.

In our opinion, these distinctions were not necessary and we strongly doubt whether Sanskrit was ever forbidden. The Vinayas forbid the bhikṣus to chant the Buddhist sūtras in the manner of the Vedas, in other words, to apply the *chandas* with prolonged melodies and intona-
614 tions. Conversely, they allowed recourse to local dialects, on both matters of pronunciation and vocabulary.

If the faculty of using Middle Indian local dialects is not mentioned further in the *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins*, this is because the latter, as from a certain period — later than is generally believed — made constant use of Sanskrit. — It was therefore no longer necessary to reassure them of the legitimacy of the use of the Prākrits.

In practice, the Buddhist religious enjoyed total freedom in the use of languages, and the choice of dialect basically depended on inveterate habits or mere reasons of opportunity. The Indo-Tibetan sources noted earlier err through systematization claiming that the Sarvāstivādins spoke Sanskrit, the Mahāsāṃghikas Prākrit, the Saṃmatīyas Apabhraṃśa, and the Sthaviras Paiśācī. The facts were certainly more complex, even in the mediaeval period. The Sanskrit manuscript of the *Vimalaprabhā*[16] remarks that the Piṭakas were written in ninety-six different languages and that after the decease of the Buddha the compilers (*saṃgītikāraka*) had set down the doctrine of the three Vehicles in writing, in the form of books; on the Buddha's order, the three Piṭakas were preserved in Magadhabhāṣā, the Sūtrāntas in Sindhubhāṣā, the Pāramitās in Sanskrit, the Mantras and Tantras in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and the barbarian tongue (*mlecchab-*

[16] Quoted by N. Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, London, 1925, pp. 251-2.

hāṣā), Śabara, etc. Exaggerations and anachronisms apart, the *Vimalaprabhā* at least has the merit of drawing attention to the multiplicity of Buddhist languages, and this is confirmed by manuscripts found in Central Asia.

THERAVĀDIN CONCEPTIONS REGARDING THE LANGUAGE OF THE TIPIṬAKA. — The Theravādins of Ceylon deliberately chose to ignore the scriptural work carried out on the Indian mainland by their co-religionists, but they had very firm ideas concerning the history of their own Tipiṭaka.

Interpreting the passage from the Pāli *Vinaya* (II, p. 139) quoted above, in which the Buddha orders the bhikkhus each to learn the word of the Buddha in his own dialect (*sakāya niruttiyā*), the famous Buddhaghosa, in his *Samantapāsādikā* (VI, p. 1214), claims that the Buddha directed the monks to learn the word of the Buddha «in his own language», namely «the vehicular language of Magadha as it was
615 practised by the perfectly Enlightened one» (*sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhikavohāro*).

It ensues from this interpretation that the Māgadhī of the sixth century B.C., as it was spoken by the Buddha, is the original language (*mūlabhāṣā* : cf. *Saddhammasaṃgaha*, pp. 55, 56, 57) in which the Pāli Tipiṭaka was recorded. In fact, Māgadhī would be the language of the *pāli*, i.e. the original sacred text in contrast to the *aṭṭhakathā*, i.e. the commentary (cf. *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 87, 381, etc.). It was in fact only quite late that the word *pāli* came to be accepted as «Pāli language»; for a long time it was synonymous with *paṭha* «text»[19].

The Sinhalese tradition enables us to follow step by step the history of the sacred text, of which these are the main stages.

Three councils (*saṃgīti*) convened in the kingdom of Magadha proceeded one after the other with a compilation of the Law (*dhammasaṃgaha*) always in the Māgadhī language. In the year 1 of the Nirvāṇa (486 B.C.), the council of Rājagaha compiled «the twofold Vinaya and five Nikāyas» (*Vin.*, II, p. 287; *Dpv.*, IV, 32; V, 11), possibly even the Abhidhamma (*Sumaṅgala*, p. 17; *Samanta*, p. 18). In the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa (386 B.C.), the council of Vesālī returned to the same recitation, at least with regard to the Vinaya (*Vin.*, II, p. 307; *Dpv.*, IV, 52; *Mhv.*, IV, 63). In the year 236 of the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), the council of Pāṭaliputta proceeded with another compilation, and it was then that

[19] Cf. R. SIDDHARTHA, *Origin and Development of Pāli Language*, Buddhistic Studies, Calcutta, 1931, p. 641 sq.

Moggaliputta Tissa produced the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa,* an Abhidhamma work (*Dpv.*, VII, 56; *Mhv.*, V, 278).

That same year, after a brief stay in Avanti, Mahinda and his companions arrived in Ceylon, carrying with them those sacred texts (*pāli*) and also authentic commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*). These commentaries had been at least partly incorporated into the canonical collections, such as for example, the *Saṃgītisuttanta* of the Dīgha (III, p. 207), the *Saccavibhaṅga* and *Madhupiṇḍikasutta* of the Majjhima (III, p. 248; I, p. 110), the *Niddesa* of the Khuddaka, etc., the exegetical nature of which is very obvious. However, other commentaries, possibly just as old, had been kept outside the canonical collections.

Mahinda changed nothing in the sacred texts (*pāli*), which were preserved in their original language, Māgadhī. Conversely, he translated
616 the separate commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) into Sinhalese. The commentary on the *Majjhima* (I, p. 1) in fact says : «The *Aṭṭhakathā* brought to Ceylon (*Sīhaḷadīpa*) were put into Sinhalese (*sīhaḷabhāṣā*) by Mahā-Mahinda for the benefit of the inhabitants of the island». This information is confirmed by the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (XXXVII, 228-9) : «The commentaries in Sinhalese are correct. The learned Mahinda, having verified the tradition (*kathāmaggaṃ samekkhiya*) presented before the three councils, taught by the perfectly Enlightened Buddha and recited by Sāriputta, etc., put them into the Sinhalese language, and they are in circulation among the Sinhalese».

We know no more of these commentaries in Sinhalese today than the titles recorded by the *Saddhammasaṃgaha* (JPTS, 1890, p. 55 sq.) and the *Gandhavaṃsa* (JPTS, 1886, pp. 59, 68) : the *Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā*, a commentary upon the Suttapiṭaka, attributed to the «Ancient Masters» (*porāṇācariya*); the *Mahāpaccarī*, a commentary upon the Abhidhamma, and the *Kurundī*, a commentary upon the Vinaya, both attributed to the Ghandhācariyas[20].

Mahinda did not only translate the old commentaries into Sinhalese. The very year of his arrival in Ceylon, he organized a council at the Thūpārāma of Anurādhapura the memory of which has been preserved by the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 103; T 1462, ch. 4, p. 694*a*). On Mahinda's invitation, Mahā-Ariṭṭha, the nephew of King Devānaṃpiyatissa, occupied the Seat of the Law and, in the presence of 68 Arhats and 68,000 bhikkhus, recited the Vinayapiṭaka.

Time passed and, after the tragic years of war and famine which marked the beginning of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign, between the years 451 and

[20] Cf. W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916, pp. 17-18.

454 after the Nirvāṇa (35-32 B.C.), a group of bhikkhus assembled at the Aluvihāra near Mātale and put the text of the Tipiṭaka into writing. This memorable event has been related at length in the preceding pages (pp. 366-369).

From that moment, the text of the Tipiṭaka in Māgadhabhāṣā was drawn up in its final form. The commentaries in Sinhalese compiled by Mahinda and the Porāṇācariyas were transposed into Māgadhī in the fifth century, by the Mahāthera Buddhaghosa* : «The community, declaring him to be identical to Metteyya, gave him the books of the three Piṭakas, with the commentaries. Buddhaghosa withdrew to the isolated monastery of Ganthākara [a branch of the Mahāvihāra of
617 Anurādhapura] and transposed (*parivattesi*) all the Sinhalese commentaries into the dialect of Magadha (*māgadhāya niruttiyā*) which is the fundamental language of all the others (*sabbesaṃ mūlabhāsā*)» (*Cūḷavaṃsa*, XXXVII, 242-4).

The traditions which we have just summarized all have at least the merit of clarity. For the Sinhalese, Pāli means the sacred text of the Tipiṭaka and that text is written in Māgadhabhāsā, the language of the Buddha. Westerners call Pāli the language of the Sinhalese Tipiṭaka and, as we shall see, they have grave doubts as to whether that language is the same as the Māgadhī dialect of the fifth century B.C.

b. The Buddhist languages[21]

In accordance with the Sinhalese tradition, some linguists link Pāli with the Eastern Prākrits of the Middle Ganges. For T.W. Rhys Davids[22], it was based on the Kosala dialect, as it was spoken in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. M. Walleser[23] saw in the term «Pāli» a derivative of Pāṭali, by virtue of which Pāli was none other than the Pāṭalibhāsā in use at Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha. E. Windisch

[21] On Indian languages in general and Buddhist languages in particular, the reader will find all the bibliographical information he may require in L. Renou, *Bibliographie védique*, Paris, 1931, pp. 222-302; *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Paris, 1956; *Introduction générale à l'Altindische Grammatik de J. Wackernagel* (new ed.) Göttingen, 1957.

For general guidance on the Buddhist languages, L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Indo-Européens*..., pp. 200-6; W. Wüst, *Indisch*, Berlin, 1929; J. Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite*, Paris, 1931; J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, Paris, 1934; Lin Li-kouang, *L'Aide-Mémoire de la Vraie Loi*, Paris, 1949, pp. 162-227; L. Renou, *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, pp. 206-22.

[22] T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 153 sq.; *CHI*, I, p. 187; *Pāli Dictionary*, p. V.

[23] M. Walleser, *Sprache und Heimat des Pāli-Kanons*, Heidelberg, 1924.

and W. Geiger[24] saw in Pāli a Māgadhī developed so as to serve as a universal language for the educated élite in the region of the Middle Ganges; freed of the characteristic extremes of Māgadhī, it was closer, they believed, to the Ardhamāgadhī or Ārṣa of the Jaina canon. For J. Filliozat[25] Pāli «could represent a true Māgadhī of the fifth century…
618 but might have been called Māgadhī, even though it originated from a province of the immense Magadhan empire other than Magadha itself».

Before dealing with this question, it is appropriate to examine the Indian languages in which the Buddhist texts have been preserved for us. They are five in number : traces of eastern dialects, North-Western Prākrit, Pālī, hybrid Sanskrit and standard Sanskrit.

Traces of Buddhist texts in Māgadhī.* — We find in the Buddhist texts, both Pāli and Sanskrit, phonetical and morphological processes which are alien to Pāli and Sanskrit, but which have some affinities with the known Māgadhī idioms : the language of the Aśokan administration of the eastern group (Ganges basin and Kaliṅga), the Māgadhī of certain dramas by Aśvaghoṣa discovered in Central Asia[26], the Ardhamāgadhī or Ārṣa of the Jaina canon and, finally, the Māgadhī of the grammarians.

Māgadhisms were long ago noted here and there in the Pāli texts : the vocative plural *bhikkhave* (for *bhikkhavo*), the nominative singular in *-e* in expressions such as *bāle ca paṇḍite ca* (*Dīgha*, I, p. 55) for *bālo ca paṇḍito ca* «the wise man and the fool»[27].

Lüders saw in these aberrant forms traces of an «Old Buddhist Ardhamāgadhī» coinciding on the whole with the language of the Aśokan administration but situated, at least in part, at a more advanced stage of linguistic evolution[28].

For his part, S. Lévi[29], through the examination of Buddhist texts

[24] E. Windisch, *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès intern. des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1906, I, p. 252 sq.; W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916, pp. 3-4.

[25] After J. Filliozat, *Inde Classique*, II, p. 327.

[26] Cf. H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, I, Berlin, 1911; *Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa*, SBAW, 1911, p. 388 sq.

[27] References in L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Indo-Européens*…, p. 202, n.1.

[28] H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 40; SBAW, 1913, pp. 994 sq., 1006 sq.; 1927, p. 123. — Lüders' thesis has been disputed by T. Michelson, Am. J. Phil., XLI, 1920, pp. 264, 272, and J. Bloch, *Aśoka and Ardhamāgadhī*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50 fasc. 1, p. 46, who nevertheless draws up a list of features common to the language of Aśoka and that of the Jainas, but concludes that the facts are too widely separated for the two dialects to be identified.

[29] S. Lévi, *Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme*, JA, 1912, pp. 495-514.

cited by Aśoka in the Bhābrā edict (Bloch, p. 154) and the study of
619 certain technical terms of Buddhist vocabulary, was led to posit a «precanonical language» of Buddhism worded in a more advanced Magadhan dialect than the language of the Aśokan administration and marked by some original features : the appearance of an *l* instead of the Sanskrit *r* in *Lāghula* (for *Rāhula*), the voicing of the intervocalic voiceless occlusive and the retention of the palatal semivowel in a word such as *adhigicya* as against Skt. *adhikṛtya* and Pāli *adhikicca*[30].

These findings enabled S. Lévi to clarify the etymology of several technical terms of obscure formation, such as the categories of misdeeds listed in the Prātimokṣa : the *pārājikā dharmāḥ* of the Sanskrit and Pāli would have been derived from **pārācika* «misdeeds banishing (*parāc-*) from the community»; the *saṅghāvaśeṣa* of the Skt., *saṅghādisesa* of the Pāli, came from **saṅghātiśeṣa* «misdeeds leaving the offender a residual (*avaśeṣa* or *atiśeṣa*) of community life»; the *pācittiya* of the Pāli, *prāyaścittika* or *pāyantika* of the Skt., were derived from **prākcittika* «misdeeds committed prior (*prāc-*) to any reflection».

Continuing the research in this field, Lüders left among his papers important notes which were recently published posthumously by E. Waldschmidt in a work entitled *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* (Berlin, 1954)[31]. It gives a very detailed description of «Old Buddhist Ardhamāgadhī», considered by Lüders as the language of the original canon of writings.

The work begins with a study of two characteristic phenomena of the eastern dialect, but attested sporadically in the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist
620 texts. It is in the first place the retention of *-e* in the vocative plural *bhikkhave* (for *bhikkhavo*); terms such as *seyyathā* (for *tadyathā*), *yebhuyyena* (for *yad-bhūyaḥ*), the very many nominative singulars in *-e* (*ke ca chave sigāle ke pana sīhanāde*, in *Dīgha*, III, p. 25) and nominative plurals in *-āse* (*ye keci buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse*, in *Dīgha*, II, p. 255;

[30] Nevertheless, the equation *adhigicya* = *adhikṛtya* is only a philological hypothesis. "Could one not, relying on AMg *vigiṃc-* and its modern equivalents, understand the phrase in which *adhigicya* appears not as "the discourse to Lāghula expounded by the Blessed Lord Buddha taking falsehood as the point of departure", but "repulsing falsehood?" At the same time as the problem concerning the root of the word was solved, the problem of the suffix *ya* of the word was solved, the problem of the suffix *ya* of the absolutive would be avoided. Nothing exceptional would remain from the phonetic point of view but the *gh* in the name of the person *Lāghula-* included in the title of the *dhammapaliyāya* (after J. Bloch, *Trois notes*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50, fasc. 1, pp. 48-50).

[31] On this work, see the reviews by V. Pisani, OLZ, 1955, pp. 403-4; D.S. Ruegg, JA, 1955, pp. 260-4.

Saṃyutta, I, p. 27). In the second place, it is the retention of the eastern *l* where Sanskrit and Pāli should normally have *r* : *agalu* (for *agaru*), *antalikkha* (for *antarīkṣa*), *Isigili* (for *Ṛṣigiri*), etc.

Then follows a chapter on the phonetics of the language of the original canon. This is characterized by the weakness of intervocalic occlusives. Voiceless occlusives become voiced or are weakened to *yaśruti* : *k* becomes *g* in *eḷamuga* (for *eḍamuka*); *k* becomes *ya* in *dhaniya* (compared to *dhanika*); *t* becomes *d* in *yādeti* (for *yātayati*; *p* becomes *v* in *vyāvaṭa* (for *vyāpṛta*).

In intervocalic position, the voiced occlusives disappear : *g* is dropped in *sārāṇīya* (from **saṃrāgaṇīya*); *j* is dropped in *niya* (for *nija*); *d* is dropped in *sampāyati* (for *sampādayati*).

There is the same weakness with regard to groups of consonants, which are voiced or assimilated : *kkh* becomes *ggh* in *sagghati* (for *sakkhati* from *śakṣyati*); *nd* and *ny* are assimilated into *nn* in *Channa* (for *Chanda*), *sammannati* (for *saṃmanyate*).

Considerations on the nominal inflection in the original canon concludes Lüders' study. In stems in *-a* he notes the ablative singulars in *-am* (instead of *-ā*, normal in Pāli), for example in verse 314 of the *Dhammapada* : *akataṃ dukkataṃ seyyo*, translated as «inaction is better than wrong action»; accusative plurals in *-am* (instead of *-e*, normal in Pāli), for example in verse 87 of the *Dhammapada* : *kaṇhaṃ dhammaṃ vippahāya*, translated by a plural : «having rejected bad dhammas»; locative plurals in *-hi* (instead of *-su*, normal in Pāli), in the stanzas of *Vinaya* II, p. 110, and *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 72 : *Virūpakkhehi me mettaṃ mettaṃ erāpathehi me*, translated : «I have goodwill towards the Virūpakkhas, I have goodwill towards the Erāpathas», etc. In the declension of present participles, alongside the normal forms in *nt*, forms are found without the *nt*, for example in *sampajāno* «the knower», *passo* «the viewer», etc.

621 It does indeed seem, in Lüders' concept, that all the characteristics noted by him belong to one and the same eastern dialect, the Old Ardhamāgadhī of the original canon which is very close to that of the known Māgadhī, but is distinguished from it by the use of *s* instead of *ś*. Nevertheless, it is possible that these characteristics may derive from several eastern dialects.

In the language of the Aśokan administration, as in Pāli, the three Indo-Aryan sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, which remained differentiated in Sanskrit and the Aśokan edicts of the North-West, all become one and the same dental sibilant *s*. However, the existence of *ś* in the eastern dialects is attested both by documents in pure Māgadhī and dramatic Māgadhī,

and by the old Brāhmī inscriptions of the Mauryan period. So, unlike the inscription of the Piprāwā reliquary (Lüders, 931) which replaces *ś* by *s* in *salilanidhane* (for *śarīranidhāne*), an inscription of Rāmgaṛh in Ghota-Nagpur (Lüders, 921) renders the original dental sibilant by *ś* in *devadaśikyī* «temple handmaiden» and *balanaśeya* «inhabitant of Vārāṇasī». The eastern language must therefore have appeared at an early date in at least two different aspects. This does not favour the homogeneity of Lüders' Old Ardhamāgadhī. It is therefore not without reason that Lin envisaged the hypothesis of a multiplicity of the original languages of Buddhism[32].

It is the anomalies encountered in the Pāli and Sanskrit texts which enabled Lüders to reconstruct Old Ardhamāgadhī. The latter — and Lüders is the first to acknowledge it — can therefore in no way represent the *linguistic* substratum of Pāli.

However, according to Lüders, the texts in Ardhamāgadhī formed an original canon (Urkanon), a *literary* substratum of the Pāli and Sanskrit canons which were, at least in part, the translation or adaptation of it. However, such an assertion is not justified. The pages which we have devoted to the assessment of the tradition of the councils (pp. 128-140) and the formation of the early Buddhist writings (pp. 140-191) have shown sufficiently that there was no question of either a canon or a Tripiṭaka before the end of the Mauryan period and that, even with regard to the Pāli canon, the collections were not closed before the time of Buddhaghosa, in the fifth century of the Christian era.

622 While not expecting everyone to agree, we venture to assert that there was no canon, Magadhan or otherwise, before the period of Aśoka. There were Buddhist texts drafted in several eastern dialects which the collators of the Pāli and Sanskrit Tripiṭakas subsequently used in the elaboration of their canons, but those texts, or rather those recitations — for their dissemination was oral not written — bear witness only to the existence of a «precanonical language of Buddhism», as S. Lévi so aptly calls it.

Pāli[33]. — Pālibhāsā is the language of the sacred texts (*pāli*) of

[32] Lin, *AM*, p. 227.

[33] With regard to Pāli, a list of grammars and dictionaries in M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli*, 2 vol., Heidelberg, 1951. — A masterly linguistic description of the dialect in L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, I, pp. 75-8. — On the much discussed question of the cradle of Pāli, bibliography in M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 601-5; since then, R. Siddhartha, *Origin and Development of Pāli language*, Buddhistic Studies, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 641-56; A. B. Keith, *The Home of Pāli*, ibid., pp. 728-48; Id., *Pāli, the Language of the Southern Buddhists*, IHQ, I, 1925, pp. 501-17; S. V. Viswanatha, *Derivation of Pāli*,

southern Buddhism. First used in central India, then confined to and preserved in the island of Ceylon, it spread from there to the various kingdoms which still today share the western two-thirds of the Indochinese peninsula. Pāli is «high Middle Indian», an «old Prākrit» derived from Sanskrit, but closer than the latter to the Vedic language because of a whole series of archaic features. Its use, which may go far back into the past, has continued until the modern period, but in practice is limited to the expression of the religious thought of Buddhism. It therefore does not have the suppleness of Sanskrit which lent itself to the demands of the most varied of literary genres. On the linguistic level, it has hardly kept up to date at all, merely eliminating archaisms and, here and there, betraying influences from eastern dialects («Magadhisms»), Sinhalese, Dravidian, but especially Sanskrit.

Although the oldest Pāli texts, those of the Buddhist canon, have been preserved only in Ceylon, no one would dream of seeking the cradle of Pāli on the island. It is certain that the language originated on the
623 Indian mainland, but its home has not yet been determined with certainty. Arguments have been put forward in favour of Magadha (Buddhaghosa, Windisch, Geiger), of Kaliṅga (Oldenberg), of Taxila (Grierson), of Vindhya (Konow), of the Ujjayinī region (Westergaard, Kuhn, Franke) or of Kauśāmbī (Przyluski).

The multiplicity of the hypotheses can be explained by the composite nature of Pāli, which enables it to be compared in turn with the most distant of local dialects. The dialectical mixture is especially obvious in its phonology. To the Sanskrit vowel *ṛ* correspond, without any fixed rule, the most varied substitutes : *i* in *tiṇa* (for *tṛṇa*), *a* in *kata* (for *kṛta*), *u* in *uju* (for *ṛju*) and sometimes, apart from the vowel which develops, there is also the appearance of a consonantal *r* : *iru* (for *ṛc*). — The Sanskrit group *ry*, when it does not remain as such, is subject to the insertion of an *i* (*ariya* = *ārya*), or assimilation to *yy* (*ayya* = *ārya*), to *ll* (*pallaṅka* = *paryaṅka*), or it undergoes a metathesis which puts the *y* in contact with the preceding vowel with which it contracts (*acchera* = *āścarya*). — In initial position, the group *kṣ* gives *kh* (*khetta* = *kṣetra*); inside a word, *kkh* (*cakkhu* = *cakṣus*), *kk* (*ikka* = *ṛkṣa*) or *cch* (*accha* = *ṛkṣa*). Strangely enough, it is not uncommon for a specific sense to be attached to the choice of treatment : to *mṛga* corresponds *maga* «wild animal» and *miga* «gazelle»; to *vṛddhi*, *vaḍḍhi* «success» and *vuddhi* «increase»; to *kṣaṇa*, *khaṇa* «moment» and *chaṇa* «festival»; to *artha*, *aṭṭa* «lawsuit» and *attha* «thing», etc.

IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 377-9; H.C. Seth, *Note on the Origin of Pāli*, Nagpur Univ. Journal, II, 1936; G.B. Bagchi, *The Origin and Home of Pāli*, IC, III, 1936, pp. 777-80*.

The composite nature of Pāli therefore permits all sorts of comparisons with other Prākrits :

1. As we saw above[34], the Sinhalese tradition accepted by some historians sees the linguistic basis of Pāli in the Māgadhī of the Eastern Gangetic basin. However, this theory is untenable because Pāli does not share, or shares only exceptionally, the characteristic features of Māgadhī : the changing of *r* into *l*, *-aḥ* into *-e*, and with the reservations given above, the development in certain regions of the three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* to *ś*.

2. Arguing both from the frequency of communications between the island of Ceylon and the eastern coast, and from a vague resemblance between the inscription of King Aira Mahāmeghavāhana found in
624 Khaṇḍagiri and the Pāli texts, H. Oldenberg[35] advanced the hypothesis that Pāli is the language of Kaliṅga. B. Barua[36], who edited and studied in detail the old Brāhmī inscriptions in the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Kaliṅga, asserts categorically that their language is Pāli and nothing but Pāli. However, those inscriptions share with Ardhamāgadhī certain characteristics which are alien to the Pāli norm : the retention of the retroflex *ḍ* instead of *ḷ* in *kaḍāra* (= Pā. *kaḷāra*), *taḍāga* (= Pā. *taḷāka*) and *veḍuriya* (= Pā. *veḷuriya*); the voicing of the voiceless occlusive in intervocalic position in *padhame* (= Pā. *paṭhame*), *saṃghāta* (= Pā. *saṃkhāta*) and *taḍāga* (= Pā. *taḷāka*); finally, the use of absolutives in *-tā* (instead of *-tvā*) in *acitayitā*, *ghātāpayitā*, etc.

3. G. Grierson and S. Konow[37] have discerned similarities between Pāli and Paiśācī, a dialect spoken, according to the former, in the region of the North-West; according to the latter, in the area of the Vindhya mountains*. Grierson considers Pāli to be the literary form of the Māgadhī dialect used generally in Kekaya and the scholarly language at the old university of Takṣaśilā; Konow looks to the Vindhyas for the origin of Paiśācī and Pāli. Among the points of contact between the two languages, can be noted the voicing of voiceless occlusives, the retention of intervocalic consonants, the use of epenthesis (*bhāriya*, *sināna*), the changing of *jñ*, *ṇy* and *ny* into *ññ*, the retention of the intervocalic *y*, the nominative in *-o* of stems in *-a*, the preservation of *r*. However, these

[34] Pp. 555-57; 558-559.

[35] H. Oldenberg, in his edition of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, p. L sq.

[36] B. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 157-69.

[37] G. Grierson, *Bhandarkar Comm.* Vol., pp. 117-23; S. Konow, ZDMG, LXIV, 1910, p. 114 sq.; JRAS, 1921, pp. 244 sq., 424 sq.

similarities, being shared with other Prākrits too, are hardly enough to establish a direct connection between Pāli and Paiśācī.

4. R.O. Franke[38] endeavoured to draw up lists of the agreements and divergences between Pāli and the Western Prākrits of the North-West (Gandhāra), Madhyadeśa (Mathurā), the West (Kāthiāwār) and the South-West (Junnar and Nāsik). He concluded from this that the dialect which is at the base of Pāli must be located to the south or south-east of the area of extension of the Kharoṣṭhī script (the home of the North-
625 Western Prākrits), to the south of Mathurā and perhaps Sāñcī and Bhārhut as well, to the west or south-west of the Eastern Prākrits, to the east of Girnār and north of Nāsik. He suggests, as the probable cradle of Pāli, the region extending between Western and Central Vindhya, more precisely Ujjayinī. Returning to the arguments already developed by N.L. Westergaard and E. Kuhn[39], he recalls that, according to the Buddhist tradition, before his accession to the Magadhan throne, Aśoka was viceroy of Ujjayinī, that his wife, the mother of Mahinda, was a native of Cetiyagiri near Sāñcī, and that Mahinda himself lived there in his youth before his departure for Ceylon where he was to introduce Pāli literature.

5. We examined earlier (pp. 309-310) the value of the tradition concerning Mahinda and his wanderings. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that, of all the Aśokan dialects, that of the Girnār edict is the closest to Pāli. Among the isoglosses, more remarkable for their number than their nature, it suffices to point out here the development of *u* into *a* in *garu* (for *guru*) and of *u* into *o* in *kho* (for *khalu*); the replacement of the vowel *ṛ* by *a*, *i*, or *u*; the retention of *ṇ* in the stems at least (Girnār : *gaṇanā*, but *mitrena*); the changing of *bh* into *h* in instrumental cases such as *bahūhi* (for *bahubhiḥ*) and in certain forms of the verb to be, such as *hoti* (for *bhavati*); the development to *s* of the three sibilants : *pasu* (for *paśu*), *dosa* (for *doṣa*); the shortening of long nasalized vowels, particularly in the genitive plural : *bhūtānam* (for *bhūtānām*), *yesam* (for *yeṣām*); in the declension of stems in *-a*, the nominative singular in *-o*, the ablative in *-ā*, the locative in *-e* or *-mhi*, the accusative plural in *-e*; in the declension of stems in *-an*, certain oblique cases in *ñ* (instrumental *raññā* in Pāli, *rāñā* at Girnār; genitive *rañño* in Pāli, *rāño* at Girnār); in the demonstrative *idam*, the nominative *ayam* being able to function as feminine as well as masculine; the third person singular of the active

[38] R.O. Franke, *Pāli und Saṃskrit*, Strasbourg, 1902.

[39] N.L. Westergaard, *Über den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte*, Breslau, 1862, p. 47; E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1875, p. 9.

optative in *-e* or *-eyya*, the middle optative in *-tha* (in constrast to Skt. *-ta*).

We saw in the preceding chapter (pp. 411-413) how closely the inscriptions in monumental Prākrit at Bhārhut and Sāñcī could be compared with Pāli, with which they have in common certain forms of
626 the ablative singulars in *-āto* (e.g. *Vāḍivahanāto, Kurarāto, Arapānāto, Bhogavaḍhanāto, Pokharāto*), an ending also attested at Nāsik (*khetāto*) and Mathurā, but completely absent from the Aśokan inscriptions. The dominant characteristic at Bhārhut and Sāñcī is the total absence of those Magadhisms which considerably affected the Pāli texts and even the inscriptions of the North-West and Central India.

From all that precedes, and without wishing to underestimate the value of the points of comparison supplied by such scattered, badly dated and badly written epigraphical material, we can conclude that neither Māgadhī nor Ardhamāgadhī constitutes the linguistic basis of Pāli, and that the cradle of the latter — if we can speak of cradle for such a composite language — is to be sought among the Western Prākrits, in the area of Avanti extending into Kāthiāwār. The Magadhisms sprinkled throughout the Pāli texts doubtless originate from Buddhist recitations in Magadhan dialects used somewhat slavishly by the first compilers of the Pāli Tipiṭaka.

6. If this conclusion is justified, at about what date did the authors of the Tipiṭaka, working from Magadhan prototypes, produce the bulk of their effort? Was it long before the arrival of Buddhist missionaries in Ceylon, to which they carried the outline of the Pāli canon, or at a date relatively close to that event?

This is a delicate question and it would be unwise to advance on such slippery ground. On the one hand, the oral teaching of Pāli could date far back in the past : «Certain features relate it to the Vedic rather than the classical language. Hence it gives as the instrumental cases of pronouns the forms *tehi* and *yehi* which recall the Ved. *tebhis* and *yebhis*, the infinitive in *-tave* in relation to the classical in *-tum*; the absolute in *-tvāna* goes back to another type than that of standard Sanskrit in *-tvā*; forms such as *idha* and *sabbadhi* seem even earlier than Vedic». Furthermore, «in reasoning and preaching, the stylistic attachments are in keeping with Vedic prose, in particular with that of the Upaniṣads»[40]. This might lead us to think that, from the outset of Buddhism, when the original recitations in Magadha would normally have been made on the

[40] After L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, I, pp. 76-7.

627 basis of an eastern dialect, it could have been coupled in Avanti with an oral teaching in Pāli by a Mahā-Kaccāyana and his school.

Conversely, it should be recognized that the form taken by this teaching in the oldest attested Pāli (*Sīla, Pārāyaṇa, Aṭṭhakavagga, Pāṭimokkha* and *Nikāya*) bears witness to a linguistic and morphological state more advanced than that of the Aśokan inscriptions of the North-West and even Girnār. This would enable us to conclude that the *known* Pāli texts represent a codification of the word of the Buddha at a more recent, post-Aśokan stage. Likewise, the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina canon apparently represents a linguistic state more advanced than would have been expected from the date of Mahāvīra (sixth-fifth centuries B.C.).

Here we will merely mention some archaisms of a phonetic and syntactic type in the Aśokan inscriptions which place them at an older linguistic stage than the Pāli texts :

1. The edicts of Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā retain the three original sibilants which Pāli was to reduce to *s*. If they happen to replace the vowel *ṛ* by an *a*, *u* or *i*, as in Pāli, they generally retain it in its liquid consonantal form accompanying the vowel : *ra* in *grahastha* (Pā. *gahaṭṭha*), *ri* in *driḍha* (Pā. *daḷha*), *ir* in *kirṭa* (Pā. *kata*), *ru* in *śruneyu*. The liquid *r* is generally retained in combination with the preceding vowel : *dhrama* (Pā. *dhamma*), *draśana* (Pā. *dassana*); or with the following consonant : *vagra* (Pā. *vagga*), *athra* and *aṭhra* (Pā. *attha*), *savra* (Pā. *sabba*). Finally, some groups of consonants which Pāli never fails to assimilate are retained : *kṣ* in *akṣati*, *kr* in *atikratam*, *gr* in *agra*, *dr* in *khudrakena*, *dhr* in *dhruva*, etc.

2. Girnār, often so close to Pāli, is nevertheless differentiated from it by a considerable number of archaisms. Before two consonants it often retains the long vowel : *ātpa* (Skt. *ātma-*, Pā. *atta*), *asamāta* (Skt. *asamāpta*, Pā. *asamatta*). It does not assimilate absolutely all consonantal groups since it retains *tr* alongside *t* (*trī* or *tī*, *tatra* or *tata*), *pr* alongside *p* (*prāṇa* or *pāṇa*), *vy* alongside *v* in verbal adjectives in *-tavya* or *-taya*. The *st* group remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*; but *st* changes to *sṭ* in *sṭitā*.

628 A recent study by L. Renou[41] of the evolution of nominal compounds in Sanskrit proves that the archaism of the Aśokan inscriptions in relation to the Pāli texts is not only phonetic, but also structural. In the use of nominal compounds, the edicts are prior to the linguistic revolu-

[41] L. RENOU, *Sur l'évolution des composés nominaux en sanskrit*, Bull. de la Société Linguistique de Paris, LII, 1956, pp. 96-116.

tion and contain hardly any compounds other than those with two members. In contrast «Pāli prose of the early type is clearly situated at the new stage, that is, at the stage of the *Gṛhya-* and *Dharma-sūtra*»[42], in which the earlier structure with two members gives way to more and more complex combinations, either through insertion, or juxtaposition. The author notes in *Dīgha*, I, p. 76, the combination *aniccucchādanaparimaddanabhedanaviddhaṃsanadhammo* «an impermanent thing, subject to erasion, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration».

Therefore, from the viewpoint of linguistic evolution, the Pāli text belongs to a later stage than the edicts of Aśoka. Its relatively late date would explain its permeability to Sanskrit influences which might have appeared very early, without even waiting for the time of Buddhaghosa who is suspected of having «revised the texts in consideration of a Sanskrit norm»[43].

NORTH-WESTERN PRĀKRIT. — We saw above (pp. 293, 332-337), the circumstances in which the Buddhist propaganda, powerfully supported by Aśoka and his officials, reached many regions, including Kaśmīra-Gandhāra, that is North-West India. At the end of the Mauryan period, the region had been practically won over to the Buddhist religion.

Faithful to the advice of their master and to an already well-established tradition, the Buddhist missionaries who settled in that region adopted as their language-medium the form of Middle Indian known as North-Western Prākrit or also as Gāndhārī[44]. This wide-spread dialect embraces a whole series of both religious and lay documents, the chief of which are : 1. the Aśokan edicts in Kharoṣṭhī script at Shāhbāzgaṛhī
629 (Sh) and Mānsehrā (M)[45]; 2. The *Prākrit Dharmapada* (Dh) of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, brought to Khotan around the beginning of the Christian era[46]; 3. some hundred inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī mostly

[42] After ID., *ibid.*, p. 109.

[43] After J. BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 8.

[44] Cf. H.W. BAILEY, *Gāndhārī*, BSOAS, XI, 1946, pp. 764-97.

[45] See a linguistic study on these two edicts in E. HULTZSCH, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Oxford, 1925; pp. LXXXIV-XCIX, and the introduction by J. BLOCH to his edition of *Inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris, 1950.

[46] Editions of the manuscript : E. SENART, *Le manuscrit kharoṣṭhī du Dhammapada : les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins*, JA, s.9, XII, 1898, pp. 193-308, 545 sq.; B. BARUA and S. MITRA, *Prākrit Dharmapada*, Calcutta, 1921; H.W. BAILEY, *The Khotan Dharmapada*, BSOAS, XI, pp. 488-512. — Various studies : Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 14 May 1895 and 15 April 1898; E. SENART, OC, XI, Paris, 1897, p. 1 sq.; G. BÜHLER, *On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet*, 2nd ed., Strasbourg, 1898, p. 122 sq.; H. LÜDERS, *Bemerkungen zu dem Kharoṣṭhī-Manuskript des Dhammapada*, NGGW, 1899, pp. 474-94; T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, *The Gosinga Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript*, JRAS, 1899,

dating from the Kuṣāṇa period[47]; 4. The documents from Niya, written on wood, leather or silk, dating from the third century, discovered at Cad'ota and representing the official language of Krorayina, capital of the Shan-shan kingdom in Southern Serindia (= Chinese Turkestan[48]); 5. numerous borrowed words taken from Central Asian texts in Khotanese, Kuchean and Agnean, as well as in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of Buddhist texts from the North-West, such as the *Chang a han* (T 1), a translation of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama*.

The area of North-Western Prākrit coincides with Udīcya which, according to the *Kauśitakī Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 6) was the region of fine speech, more so than the centre, east or south : «It is in the north that
630 the language is used with the greatest discernment : people go to the north to learn the language and they like to hear those who come from there speak it». It was there, in fact, that the Āryan occupation penetrated most profoundly. However, Prākrit juxtaposed with classical Sanskrit is not ruled by the same norms : in the course of its long history it must have shown, in the vast domain that it covered, dialectal differentiations of which the documents at our disposal give only a vague idea. Because of its geographical position, it came under the influence of neighbouring languages, Eastern Iranian, possibly even Tocharian. Conversely, it left considerable traces in the vocabulary of the languages of Central Asia. The reader can consult the numerous and important works which H.W. Bailey has devoted to the subject[49].

Truth to tell, the Buddhist texts in North-Western Prākrit are not very numerous : apart from the *Dharmapada*, we can only point to the few short citations in certain Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, such as the Kurram

p. 426 sq.; *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 128; R.O. FRANKE, *Zum Manuskript Dutreuil de Rhins*, ZDMG, LX, 1906, pp. 477-511; J. BLOCH, *Le dialecte des fragments Dutreuil de Rhins*, JA, 1912, pp. 331-7; S. KONOW, *Bemerkungen über die Kharoṣṭhī-Handschrift des Dhammapada*, Festschrift Windisch, Leipzig, 1914, p. 85 sq.; *Remarks on a Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from the Kurram Valley*, IS, pp. 53-67; *Note on the Ancient North-Western Prākrit*, ISS, pp. 603-12; P.K. MUKHERJEE, *The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga*, IHQ, XI, 1935, pp. 741-60.*

[47] Edited by S. KONOW, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1929.

[48] A.M. BOYER, E.J. RAPSON, P.S. NOBLE, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, 3 vol., Oxford, 1920-29; T. BURROW, *A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, London, 1940. — See also P.S. NOBLE, *A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Endere*, BSOS, VI, 2, pp. 445-55; T. BURROW, *The Dialectic Position of the Niya Prākrit*, ISS, pp. 419-35; *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937; *Further Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Niya*, BSOS, IX, pp. 111-24.

[49] See above, p. 487, in the notes.

reliquary (Konow, p. 155), or the Wardak vase (Id., p. 170). We are justified, however, in believing that a certain number of originals have disappeared. The Chinese version of the *Chang a han* (T 1) seems to be based on an original in North-Western Prākrit, and it is probable that the *Milindapañha*, known only through its Pāli and Chinese recensions, was originally composed in the Eastern Punjab, where the hero it presents ruled. If those originals have disappeared, it is in all likelihood because the manuscript tradition began at a comparatively late period, at the time when Buddhist Sanskrit, of a mixed or relatively pure type, had already replaced Prākrit.

The *Dharmapada* of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript is all the more valuable. The majority of the maxims it contains have their parallels in the Pāli *Dhammapada* and the *Dharmapada* and *Udānavarga* in Tibetan (*Ched-du-brjod-paḥi-tshoms*, ed. H. Beckh) and Chinese (T 210-213), although the classification is different.

The verses of the *Dharmapada* are the expression of Indian or universal wisdom. They are not all Buddhist in origin; many have found a place in such dissimilar works as the *Laws of Manu*, the *Mahābhārata*,
631 Jaina texts or narrative literature (*Pañcatantra*, etc)[30]. There is no Buddhist monk who cannot recite them from memory. In such conditions, it is impossible to determine exactly the place where those maxims appeared for the first time. It is probable that certain of them were recited in Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but the existence of a Magadhan collection, a prototype of the Pāli *Dhammapada* and the Prākrit *Dharmapada*, has not been proved.

The fact that the language of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript is indeed North-Western Prākrit, is proved by its numerous points of contact with the idiom of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions : the consonantal treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in certain positions : *pradhavi* alongside *paḍhavi* (Skt. *pṛthivī*); the weakness of the intervocalic voiceless occlusives : *sagarauḍa* for Skt. *saṃkārakūṭa*, *kṣiravaya* for *kṣīrapāka*, *ghadhedi* for *ghātayati*, *pave* for *pāpe*; the tendency to omit the anusvara; the relative strength of the consonant groups with *r* first or second : *artha* alongside *atha*, *dharma* alongside *dhama*, *pridipramoju*, *prañasa*, etc.; the changing of *ṣy* into *ś* in *manuśa*; the hesitation in the treatment of the *kṣ* group, sometimes retained with the diacritical mark (value *ṭṣ* or *ṭṣh*) in *kṣaya*, *kṣiravayo*, sometimes rendered by the western *ch* in *bhichave*, *bhichati*,

[30] On these parallels, see L. de L Vallée Poussin, *Essai d'identification des gāthās et des udānas en prose de l'Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta*, JA, 1912, pp. 311-30; R.O. Franke, *Dhamma-Worte*, Jena, 1923, pp. 93-119.

sometimes rendered by the eastern *kh* in *bhikhu, khaṇo, pradimukhe*. We could point out coincidences of the same type in the morphological sphere.

There are, however, some clear differences between the Prākrit *Dharmapada* and other documents originating from the North-West. In conformity with Sanskrit usage, the edicts of Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā, as well as the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, retain intact occlusives preceded by a nasal : *aṃtaram* (Sh), *viyaṃjanate* (M), *paṃca, mahaṃtasa, puyayaṃto* (Patika). The *Dharmapada*, in contrast, voices the voiceless occlusives after omitting the nasal : *paga* (Skt. *paṅka*), *paja* (Skt. *pañca*), *aṇadara* (Skt. *anantara*), *subaśu* (Skt. *saṃpaśyan*), and, always after the nasal, omits or reduces the voiced occlusives : *kuñaru* (Skt. *kuñjara*), *daṇa* (Skt. *daṇḍa*), *vinadi* (Skt. *vindati*), *banha* (Skt. *bandha*), *gamhira*
632 (Skt. *gambhīra*). J. Bloch[51], has noted that these phenomena, which contradict and go beyond the general evolution of Prākrit, are again found in certain dialects of modern India, particularly Punjabi and Sindhi. They are, furthermore, quite old in these dialects, since Alexander's historians already transcribed as Σάγγαλα the name of the Punjabi town which is Śāṃkala or Śākala in Sanskrit.

There are other characteristics which confer a particular aspect on the language of the *Dharmapada*. Alongside the short locative in *-e* (sometimes written *i*), the inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī had a long form of the locative, in *-aspi* or *-asi* at Shāhbāzgaṛhī (*oradhanaspi, apakaraṇasi*), in *-a(m)mi* or *-asi* in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions (*gahami, hasasi*), in *-aṃmi* at Niya. This long form of the locative is lacking in the *Dh.* which goes so far as to replace it with the genitive : hence *asmi loke parasayi* as compared to the Pāli *asmiṃ loke paramhi ca* «in this world or in the other».*

In stems in *-a*, the nominative singular at Shāhbāzgaṛhī is sometimes in *-o* (*jano*), sometimes in *-a* through the dropping of the visarga (*jana*), sometimes in *-e* (*jane*). However, this *-e* is not a Magadhism since, in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, it is found to the west of the Indus, except for Wardak (at Peshāwār, *kue khaṇavide* for *kūpaḥ khanapitaḥ*), the ending in *-o* (var. *-a*) being the rule to the east of the same river (at Taxila, *parichago* for *parityāgaḥ*; *thuvo pratithavito* for *stūpaḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ*). The Prākrit *Dharmapada* has no nom. sing. masc. in *-e*, but only in *-o*, *-a*, or *-u* (*akrodhu aṇuvayasa vipramutu*; *kaeṇa savrudo bhikhu*) : such a restriction classes it in the eastern (Punjabi) section of North-Western Prākrit.

[51] JA, 1912, pp. 331-7.

* [Editors' note : *asvi* ... according to Brough, *Gāndhārī Dhammapada*, 135].

Finally, the Aśokan inscriptions have the absolutive in *-tu* (*śrutu* = Skt. *śrutvā*), in *-ti* (*tiṭhiti* from the present *tiṣṭhati*, for *sthitvā*) and in *-ya* (*saṃkhaya* for *saṃkhyā*). That of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions is in *-ta* (*karita* for *kṛtvā*) and in *-ya* (*likhiya*). However, the *Dharmapada* retains *kitva* (Skt. *kṛtvā*, Pā. *katvā*), *chitvana* (Pā. *chetvāna*), and also uses *nihai* (Pā. *nidhāya*).

THE BUDDHIST LANGUAGES AT THE END OF THE PRE-CHRISTIAN ERA.** — It seems that three conclusions can be drawn from the facts noted so far : 1. Up to a date which can be fixed approximately at the end of the ancient era, the Buddhists transmitted the word of the Buddha in their local dialects (*sakāya niruttiyā*), to be more precise, in the respective
633 Prākrits of the listeners whom they addressed. We do not know the exact number of Prākrits adopted, but there are traces, even documents, of three of them :

a. Traces, in the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts, of recitations in one or more varieties of Māgadhī. The Bhābrā edict lists some titles which are in Māgadhī (above, pp. 234-237).

b. Recitations in Pāli, a composite Prākrit, the linguistic basis of which should be sought in a western dialect, possibly in Avanti, extending up to Kāthiāwār.

c. Recitations in North-Western Prākrit and more precisely the Prākrit of the Punjab, a specimen of which is supplied by the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript.

2. In the form or forms available to us, the Buddhist Prākrits, which are very clearly composite in aspect, are all at a more evolved linguistic stage than the Aśokan edicts to which they can respectively be compared.

a. The Magadhisms observed in the Buddhist texts by Lüders, Lévi and others are markedly more advanced than the language known as that of the Aśokan administration as it appears in the edicts of the Gangetic basin and in Kaliṅga.

b. The edicts of the North-West (Shāhbâzgaṛhī, Mānsehrā) and even those of the West (Girnār) all contain a whole series of archaisms of which there is no trace in Pāli.

c. Within the compass of the North-Western Gāndhārī, the language of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript appears to be a local dialect, restricted to the region of the Punjab.

However, Buddhist teaching began before the time of Aśoka, 218 years according to the long chronology, 100 according to the short one. So how can it be explained that it appears in a linguistically more evolved form than the Aśokan Prākrits?

It is sometimes said that the language of the edicts is intentionally archaic, but this explanation does not hold good when confronted with the formal evidence of Aśoka who published his edicts in order to be understood by everyone, and not only by linguists : «this text of the Dharma has been engraved by order of the king, beloved of the gods, amiable in look. It exists in summary, in medium length and in expansion... For vast is my empire and I have had many engraved and will have many more engraved. There are many repetitions in them because of the charm of certain subjects, so that they may be conformed to» (after Bloch, pp. 133-4).

The texts which we have at our disposal therefore do not reflect the
634 state of the language which served for the preaching of the Buddha and his first disciples; they represent a codification at a more recent stage. This is, clearly, what has justified the search for an *Urkanon*. Nonetheless, although the Buddhist propaganda pre-dated Aśoka by one or two centuries, the linguistic form in which it has reached us goes no further back than the Mauryan period.

3. Even if there were recitations in Māgadhī, North-Western Prākrit and Pāli during the Mauryan age, this does not prove that the recited texts constituted a canon of writings at that time.

We studied at length in Chapter Two (pp. 124-140) the Buddhist works concerning the speciality of the reciters (*bhāṇaka*) and the supposed compilation of the writings at the council of Rājagṛha. We reached the conclusion that the facts given about the extent and content of that compilation are contradictory and hence apocryphal.*

Examination of the Buddhist languages does not argue in favour of an early canon. The few titles cited in the Bhābrā edict, and the few traces of Magadhisms in the Pāli and Sanskrit texts are not sufficient to establish the existence of a Magadhan *Urkanon*. Without prejudice to any discoveries that may be made in the future, should be acknowledged that, in the lighty of information available at present, the mere existence of the Dutreuil de Rhins *Dharmapada* does not allow us to infer the existence of a canon in North-Western Prākrit. As for the Pāli canon, it was not definitively fixed until the fifth century A.D. : as we saw above (pp. 149-150), post-canonical texts (*Milindapañha, Visuddhimagga, Aṭṭhakathā, Divyāvadāna*) are the first to mention the *tipiṭaka* or *piṭakattaya*. The terms *peṭakin, pañcanekāyika* did not appear before the Śuṅga period on the inscriptions at Bhārhut and Sāñcī. We should recall that these are vague terms, which seem to qualify the religious who were versed in the Buddhist doctrine as a whole.

MIXED SANSKRIT[52]. — Alongside texts in various Prākrits, Buddhist literature has produced works in mixed Sanskrit, also called «quasi-Sanskrit», «the language of the gāthās» or «hybrid Sanskrit», a kind of
635 idiom which juxtaposes Sanskrit forms with Prākrit forms.

These works, which do not figure among the oldest, on the whole date back to the first centuries of the Christian era and belong both to the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. They can be classified in two groups :

1. Works in which both verse and prose are in mixed Sanskrit :

The *Mahāvastu*, compiled by the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsāṃghika sect, has already been the subject of numerous linguistic studies : ed. É. SENART, 3 vol., Paris, 1882-97, I, pp. IV sq.; tr. J. JONES, 3 vol., London, 1949-56, III, pp. XIV sq.; E. WINDISCH, *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 3, 41, 43; *Buddha's Geburt*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 144; *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu*, ASGW, XXVII, 1909, p. 476; H. OLDENBERG, *Studien zum Mahāvastu*, NGGW, 1912, p. 124; *Studien zur Geschichte des b. Kanon*, *ibid.*, p. 156; HIĀN-LIN DSCHI, *Die Verwendung des Aorists als Kriterium für Alter und Ursprung b. Texte*, NAWG, 1949, pp. 245-301.

The *Bhikṣu-* and *Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*, a fragment of which is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (ed. BENDALL, pp. 154-7) and a complete manuscript of which, found in Tibet, is being prepared for publication (L. RENOU, HLS, p. 209, n.3).

A short *jātaka*, published by H. KERN as an appendix to his edition of the *Jātakamālā*, Boston, 1891, pp. 240-1.

The *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. — The prose recension, edited by S. SĀMAŚRAMI, Calcutta, 1873, is hybrid like the *Mahāvastu*; The verse recension, edited by G. TUCCI, *La redazione poetica del Kār*, Accad. di Torino, LVIII, pp. 605-30, is in almost classical Sanskrit. — Cf. P.Ch. MAJUMDAR, *The Kār. : Its Metrical Version*, IHQ, XXIV, 1948, pp. 293-9; C. RÉGAMEY, *Randbemerkungen zur Sprache und Textueberlieferung des Kār.*, Asiatica (Festschrift Weller), Leipzig, 1954, pp. 514-27. A new edition in preparation by M. LALOU and C. RÉGAMEY, will use the manuscripts from Tun huang (cf. M. LALOU, *A Tun-huang Prelude to the Kār.*, IHQ, XIV, 1938, pp. 198-200).

[52] On mixed Sanskrit, an old bibliography can be found in M. WINTERNITZ, *Hist. of Indian Lit.*, II, p. 226; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Indo-Européens*..., p. 205; LIN, *AM*, pp. 162-75. The fundamental work is now that by F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* (*Grammar, Dictionary, Reader*), 3 vol., New Haven, 1953. The author has summarized his views in *The Buddha and Language*, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 129-35. Important reviews by L. RENOU, JA, 1953, pp. 283-7 (cf. *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, pp. 220-2); J. FILLIOZAT, TP, XLIII, pp. 147-71; E. WALDSCHMIDT, GGA, 1954, pp. 92-100; F. WELLER, OLZ, 1955, p. 465; H.W. BAILEY, JRAS, 1955, pp. 13-24; J. BROUGH, BSOAS, XVI, 1954, p. 421; W. BROWN, JAOS, 71, pp. 167-8. On the application of metrics to hybrid Sanskrit, see H. SMITH, *En marge du vocabulaire sanskrit des bouddhistes*, Orientalia Suecana d'Uppsala, II, 1953, 2-4, pp. 119-28; III, 1954, 1, pp. 31-5; *Retractiones Rythmicae*, Studia Orientalia Fennica, XVI, 1951, 5, pp. 3-37; *Analecta Rythmica*, ibid., XIX, 1954, 7, pp. 1-17.

636 2. Works in which only the verse is in mixed Sanskrit, the prose being in Sanskrit which is for the most part correct :

Lalitavistara, a Sarvāstivādin work strongly tinged with Mahāyānism. — Ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1877; S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902-08; F. Weller, *Zum Lal. Vist.*, I, *Ueber die Prosa des Lal. Vist.*, Leipzig, 1915; F. Edgerton, *The Aorist in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, JAOS, LVII, 1937, pp. 16-34; Hiän-Lin Dschi, *'Die Verwendung ...'*, p. 263.

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna, a late Hīnayānist work. The versified section, entitled *Dharmasamuccaya*, has been edited by *Lin Li-kouang*, I, Paris, 1946, and emended by D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, JRAS, 1955, pp. 37-54. These verses are in almost correct Sanskrit, but nevertheless have affinities with Middle Indian and the Pāli texts (Lin, *AM*, pp. 162-6).

Prajñāpāramitā. — The prose is in Sanskrit, but a collection of verses which summarizes the whole of this literature is in hybrid language : cf. E. Obermiller, *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1937. — For the *Vajracchedikā*, the old edition by M. Müller, Oxford, 1881, is now replaced by that of E. Conze, Rome, 1957, who uses fragments from Gilgit published in G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, I, Rome, 1956, pp. 172-92.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. — There are considerable variations between the different editions published to date : ed. H. Kern-B. Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1908-12 (Nepalese recension); R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, Oxford, 1916, pp. 132-66 (version from Kašgar); U. Wogihara-C. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934-35; W. Baruch, *Beiträge zum Saddharm.*, Leiden, 1938 (Gilgit fragments); N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1952 (with readings by Mironov). It is not true that the Saddharm was first written in Middle Indian and that the hybrid language of its verses constitutes an intermediary stage between Sanskrit and Pāli : cf. L. Renou, *Introd. à Wackernagel*, p. 81, n.281; p. 83, n.286; N. Dutt, *Manuscripts of the Saddharm., their linguistic Peculiarities*, IHQ, XXIX, 1953, pp. 133-48. — On what can be learned from the Tibetan versions, see N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien*, I, Uppsala, 1957.

Sukhāvatīvyūha. — Cf. A. Ashikaga, *The Sanskrit Text of the Gāthās in the Larger Sukh.*, Tōyō-gaku Ronsō, Feb. 1952, pp. 55-68; *The Sanskrit Text of the Buddhastotra in the Sukh.*, Bukkyō-gaku Kenkyū, 8-9, July 1953, pp. 1-8.

The *Avataṃsaka* Collection. — The *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. D.T. Suzuki-H. Idzumi, Kyoto, 1934-36) concludes with 62 gāthās entitled *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna* (*ibid.*, IV, p. 543). They have been the subject of a separate edition by K. Watanabe, Leipzig, 1912. — The stanzas from the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* have been edited by J. Rahder-S. Susa, *The Gāthās of the Daśabhūmika-Sūtra*, The Eastern Buddhist, vol. V, No. 4; No. 1. 1931-32; R. Kondō, *Daśabhūmīśvaro nāma Mahāyānasūtram, revised and edited*, Tokyo, 1936.

The *Ratnakūṭa* Compilation. — Staël-Holstein, *Kāśyapaparivarta*, Shanghai, 1926. Linguistic study in Lin, *AM*, pp. 167-71. — *Raṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, ed.
637 L. Finot, St. Petersburg, 1901 (linguistic study, pp. XII sq.); J. Ensink, *The Question of Rāṣṭr.*, Zwolle, 1952 (linguistic study, pp. XIII sq.).

Samādhirājasūtra. — Ed. C. Régamey, *Three Chapters from the Samādhir.*, Warsaw, 1938 (linguistic study, pp. 14-19); ed. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, II, 3 parts, Srinagar, 1941-53 (linguistic study, part I, pp. v-xi).

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra. — Ed. H. IDZUMI, Kyoto, 1931; J. NOBEL, Leipzig, 1937 (with copius linguistic notes). See also LIN, *AM*, pp. 171-3.

Hybrid forms in the recensions of the *Udānavarga.* — See R. PISCHEL, *Die Turfan-Rezensionen des Dhammapada*, SBAW, 1908, pp. 968-85; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Documents sanskrits de la seconde collection A. Stein*, JRAS, 1912, pp. 355-77; S. LÉVI, *Textes sanskrits de Touen-Houang*, JA, 1910, pp. 433-56; *L'Apramādavarga, Étude sur les recensions des Dharmapadas*, JA, 1912, pp. 203-94; N.P. CHAKRAVARTI, *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit*, I, Paris, 1930. — On the different versions, P.K. MUKHERJEE, *The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga*, IHQ, XI, 1935, pp. 741-60.

Numerous quotations of gāthās in hybrid language, in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. C. BENDALL, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902.

This list is far from exhaustive. We should remark that the majority of these works have, through the hazards of transmission, undergone considerable changes. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* exists in at least three recensions originating from Nepal, Central Asia (Khotan) and Kaśmīr (Gilgit), and Prākritisms are the most numerous in the Khotanese recension. Similarly, with regard to the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Udānavarga*, the proportion of Prākritisms in comparison to the Sanskrit varies considerably depending on the manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts. Often works which, on the basis of existing editions, appear to be in correct Sanskrit, prove to be in hybrid language when the manuscript tradition is thoroughly studied. This is particularly the case for the *Kāraṇḍavyūha.* The edition at present being prepared by M. LALOU and C. RÉGAMEY will point out a number of Prākritisms, the existence of which is in no way indicated in the old Calcutta edition, published in 1873. The degree of Sanskritization of texts in mixed Sanskrit can be at least, explained by partly the particular disposition of each scribe.

In one and the same work Middle Indian features are not all in equal proportion. The gāthās of the *Mahāvastu* are richer in Prākritisms than the passages in prose. This is undoubtedly because it was more
638 difficult to standardize them than to standardize the prose. Nevertheless, Middle Indian forms such as the third person singular of the optative in *-e* could easily have been sanskritized in *-et* without harming the metre, but are nonetheless retained in the gāthās.

An appreciation of the linguistic facts is complicated by variations in style in one and the same work. H. Oldenberg distinguished at least two different styles of diction in the *Mahāvastu*. Style B, which is the oldest and closely related to canonical Pāli, abounds in personal verbs, particularly aorists and perfects, displays a marked preference for the joining particle *khalu*, and constructs its phrases on stereotyped models such as

adrākṣīt... dṛṣṭvā ca... prasīde and *ekānte asthāsi, ekāntasthitaḥ... uvāca*: a set of formulae well-known to the Pāli sources. Style A, which is more recent, prefers to use the nominal diction and favours long compounds; the use of personal verbs is reduced and tends to be limited to the present; the joining particle *khalu* gives way to *dāni* following some form of the pronoun *ta-* or one of its derivatives.

Various hypotheses have been put forward about the origin of mixed Sanskrit[53]. Either the author, believing he was writing Sanskrit which he knew only imperfectly, made a number of errors; or someone writing in Prākrit believed it was advantageous to mix Sanskrit forms with Prākrit; or else the authors had qualms about avoiding Prākrit when the Vinaya invited them to resort to local dialects.

However, it is very important to realize that the achievement of the writers did not consist in transposing Prākrit originals into mixed Sanskrit, but in writing directly in the latter, using terms and turns of phrase which appeared in the old canonical texts.

Buddhist Sanskrit of the mixed type appears as a stage on the downward curve followed by Prākrit during the first centuries of the Christian era before it disappeared in the third century in Northern India. We must emphasize, as did L. Renou, the fact that mixed Sanskrit is not a strictly Buddhist phenomenon, but is part of the general
639 evolution of the Indian language. Hybrid language, not identical but similar, is found again in inscriptions (not all Buddhist) from the second and third centuries, in some technical works preserved in fragments and of partly Buddhist inspiration, such as the lexicographical fragment called the Weber fragment, the sūtras of Bakhshāli, dealing with mathematics, and the Bower manuscript devoted to medicine[54].

Making allowances for the gaps in the documentation, the broad outline of the history of mixed Sanskrit in epigraphy can be surmised[55]:

1. The Prākrits first used in the Aśokan edicts, in the third century B.C., were predominant in epigraphy until the end of the ancient era. The Buddhist inscriptions on the stūpa at Bhārhut, on the old balustrade at Bodh-Gayā and the «Bhīlsa Topes» (Sāñcī, Sonārī, Satdhāra,

[53] These are discussed in J. Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Paris, 1931, pp. 105-9.

[54] Cf. L. Renou, HLS, p. 220, note; *Introduction à Wackernagel*, p. 82, n. 286.

[55] Id., *Introduction à Wackernagel*, pp. 20, and 83, nn. 288-95. — On the literary Prākrits, R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900; S. Sen, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Calcutta, 1951. On the epigraphical Prākrits, M.A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prākrits*, Poona, 1948 (and the review by J. Bloch, JA, 1949, p. 384).

Bhojpur, Andher), and the Jaina inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri are all in Prākrit. The only exceptions to this general rule are three inscriptions which appear to date back to the Śuṅga period : the Sanskrit inscription of Ayodhyā which cites Puṣyamitra and his sixth son or successor (EI, XX, 1929, p. 57), and two inscriptions in mixed Sanskrit at Pabhosā (LÜDERS, 904-5) which refer to the reign of Udāka, possibly the fifth Śuṅga king.

2. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, Prākrit was strongly rivalled by mixed Sanskrit, and even by [pure] Sanskrit. However, the importance of the Sanskrit influence varied according to the region.

a. The Deccan remained faithful to the use of Prākrit. This was particularly the case in inscriptions in the bureaucratic and official style of the Śātavāhanas and in the Buddhist inscriptions at Amarāvatī (second cent.) and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which are in epigraphical Prākrit with touches of Paiśācī.

b. The Kuṣāṇa inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script also remained faithful to North-Western Prākrit almost until the end. However, inscription
640 No. 21 at Peshāwār Museum (KONOW, p. 157), dated by the editor from the year 151-2 A.D., concludes with the Sanskrit formula : *Daṇasya avaptir astu*, and the even more recent inscription at Thor Ḍherai (KONOW, p. 176) is almost [pure] Sanskrit.

c. It was also Prākrit which very clearly dominated in the caves, mostly Buddhist, on the west coast and the region of Bombay. At Nānāghāt (LÜDERS, 1112-20), Bhājā (1078-85), Kondāne (1071), Pitalkhorā (1187-93), Junnar (1150-83), Bedsā (1109-11) and Kārli (1086-1108), Prākrit alone is attested. However, Nāsik is the exception in allowing a modest place to mixed Sanskrit (LÜDERS, 1131, 1136, 1137), and even to [pure] Sanskrit (1145).

At Nāsik there are five inscriptions by Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of the satrap Nahapāna who ruled, it is believed, from 119 to 125 A.D. Four (LÜDERS, 1132-5) are in Prākrit, but one (1131) is in mixed Sanskrit.

Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1132), is in Prākrit : *Sidhaṃ rāṃño Kṣaharātasa kṣatrapasa Nahapānasa dīhitu Dīṇikaputrasa Uṣavadātasa kuḍuṃbiniya Dakhamitrāya deyadhaṃmaṃ ovarako.*

«Success! This cell is the gift of Dakṣamitrā, wife of Ṛṣabhadatta, the son of Dīnika, daughter of King Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta kṣatrapa».

Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1131), is in mixed Sanskrit : *Siddhaṃ rājñaḥ Kṣaharātasya kṣatrapasya Nahāpanasya jāmātrā Dīnikaputreṇa Uṣavadātena... dharmātmanā idaṃ leṇaṃ kāritaṃ imā ca poḍhiyo.*

«Success! By Ṛsabhadāta, son of Dīnika, son-in-law of King Nahapāna, the Ksharāta kṣatrapa, inspired by the Law, was this cave fashioned, and these tanks».

Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1145), is in [pure] Sanskrit : *Deyadharmmo yaṃ upāsikāyā Mammāyā layanam.*

«This religious gift — a cave — is from the laywoman Mammā».

At Kānheri, where the caves were inhabited until the ninth century, the inscriptions (LÜDERS, 984-1034) are for the most part in Prākrit, but a few are in mixed Sanskrit (984, 1018) and [pure] Sanskrit (989-92, 994).

d. The linguistic situation is completely reversed in Central India where the Prākrits were clearly declining. Of the 133 Brāhmī inscriptions at Mathurā recorded in LÜDERS' list (Nos. 16-149), only eight are in Prākrit (Nos. 92, 93, 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 117), the others are in mixed Sanskrit, and a very few in [pure] Sanskrit (cf. 111, 147-8). Contempo-
641 rary epigraphs at Śrāvastī (918-19) and Sārnāth (922-30) show that this state of affairs was valid for the eastern (Gangetic) part of the great Kuṣāṇa empire.

The majority of the Mathurā inscriptions are undated. However, mixed Sanskrit appears in them very early, from the end of the Śaka occupation, since at least three of them (LÜDERS, 59, 82; EI, XXIV, 1938, p. 208) are from the reign of the satrap Soḍāsa, vassal of Azes II (ca 5-19 A.D.). This is the text of the third, according to the reconstruction by D.C. SIRCAR (*JBRS*, XXXIX, 1953, p. 48) :

1-5. … … … …
6. *Vasunā bhagava [to Vāsude]*
7. *vasya mahāsthāna [ke devaku]*
8. *laṃ toraṇaṃ ve[dikā prati]*
9. *ṣṭhapitaṃ. Prīto [bha] [vatu Vāsu]*
10. *devaḥ. Svāmi[sya] [mahākṣatra]*
11. *pasya Śoḍā[sa] [sya śāsanaṃ]*
12. *saṃvartayatam.*

«By Vasu a chapel, a gateway and a balustrade were erected in the great enclosure of Lord Vāsudeva. May Vāsudeva be content. May the authority of the lord, the great satrap Śoḍāsa, be maintained».

Here again is an inscription (LÜDERS, 925) in mixed Sanskrit, particularly well preserved, dating from the year 3 of the great Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka (ca 130 A.D.) and which is in Sārnāth Museum :

1. *Mahārajasya Kāṇiṣkasya saṃ 3 he 3 di 22*
2. *etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Puṣyavuddhisya saddhyevi-*
3. *hārisya bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya*

4. *Bodhisatvo chatrayaṣṭi ca pratiṣṭhāpito*
5. *Bārāṇasiye Bhagavato caṃkame sahā māt[ā]*
6. *pitihi sahā upaddhyāyācerehi saddhyevihāri-*
7. *hi aṃtevāsikehi ca sahā Buddhamitraye trepiṭika-*
8. *ye sahā kṣatrapena Vanaspparena Kkarapallā-*
9. *nena ca sahā ca ca[tu]hi pariṣāhī sarvasatvanaṃ*
10. *hitasukhārtthaṃ.*

«In the year 3 of the great king Kaniṣka, in the third [month] of winter, on the twenty-second day, on the date [indicated] above, [a gift] from the monk Bala, Tripiṭaka master, a colleague of the monk Puṣyavṛddhi, [a gift consisting of] a [statue of the] Bodhisattva and a pole with
642 a parasol, was erected at Vārāṇasī, on the walkway of the Lord. The [gift was made in collaboration] with his mother and father, his master and tutor, his colleagues and disciples, and the [nun] Buddhamitrā versed in the Tripiṭaka, with the satrap Vanasppara and Kharapallāna, and with the four communities, for the welfare and happiness of all beings».

This digression devoted to the history of epigraphical mixed Sanskrit and its clear victory over the Prākrits in Gangetic India during the first centuries of the Christian era is not a pointless one, since it is in that perspective that mixed Sanskrit in Buddhist literature should be put.

As L. Renou[56] remarked, «the hybrid language could not have been produced by poorly educated authors unable to attain to correct Sanskrit», but by authors handling, often with dexterity, a literary language in which the amount of Prākrit and Sanskrit was left to their personal judgement.

Just as the writers of the inscriptions drafted the epigraphs in the best interests of the foundations and donations to be commemorated, without adhering to any other rules than those established by usage, so the authors of the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* or the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* wrote their works directly in mixed Sanskrit, without necessarily always taking their inspiration, from pre-existing models. They acted as authors and not merely as translators or adapters.

Naturally, when the *Mahāvastu* cites in full the *Discourse at Vārāṇasī*, the *Mahāgovindasutta*, *Dīghanakhasutta*, *Mārasaṃyutta* and whole passages from the *Khuddaka*, it stays as close as possible to the ancient originals memorized in Prākrit; but when it narrates a *jātaka* or elaborates the life of the Buddha, it knows how to give free rein to its own inspiration.

[56] After *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, p. 222.

It is taking far too dogmatic an attitude to claim, as did Hiān-lin Dschi, that Buddhist works in mixed dialect and Sanskrit are more or less perfect transpositions of the original canon compiled in Old Ardhamāgadhī[57]. Even in the early parts [in style B] of the *Mahāvastu*, we must distinguish what is text from what is quotation. It is even more
643 unwise to assert, as did the same author, that «the prototype of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and perhaps of other old Mahāyānist works was compiled in Old Ardhamāgadhī»[58]. By deduction this is condemning oneself — as the author indeed saw — to localising the origins of the Mahāyāna in the same place as those of the Hīnayāna, namely Magadha. It would be highly unlikely that the whole literary output of both Vehicles in principle dates back to the first century of Buddhism, and that the following centuries were utterly barren. Furthermore, in order to explain the literary affiliation of the Sanskrit texts, we would have to posit a whole series of intermediaries between them and the supposed original canon. Hence, for certain sections of the *Lalitavistara* and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, in which the ending *-am* is replaced by *-u*, Hiān-lin Dschi has tried to prove that those texts could not have assumed their present form as a result of a translation made directly from an eastern prototype in Old Ardhamāgadhī, but presuppose the intermediary stage of a translation in a North-Western dialect.

Taking into account the inevitable variations in the manuscript tradition, we ourselves think that the authors of the texts in mixed Sanskrit and quasi-Sanskrit composed their works more or less in the form in which they have come down to us and that, if Prākritisms are more prominent in the verses than in the prose, this fact is due above all to reasons of a literary sort.

Through their technical vocabulary, turns of phrase and even certain grammatical forms, those texts are very close to the canonical production. In them we find passages, even entire pages, which have exact parallels in Pāli. This is because those authors, past masters in the Tripiṭaka, had memories bursting with the old canonical texts and because these texts returned ceaselessly to their lips. For those experts in teaching, the transposition into mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit of Prākrit was mere child's play. However, the weight of tradition did not reduce them to the rôle of mere repeaters and they could, when required, add new to the old.

[57] HIĀN-LIN DSCHI, *Die Verwendung des Aorists...*, p. 295.

[58] After ID., *Die Umwandlung der Endung -am in -o und -u im Mittelindischen*, NGAW, 1944, p. 141. — See also E. WALDSCHMIDT, GGA, 1954, p. 99.

Linguists wonder about the origin of the Prākrit which the texts in hybrid language juxtapose with Sanskrit.

644 In his grammar of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, F. Edgerton pursued the practical aim of classifying the collection of hybrid forms encountered in some twenty works of mixed Sanskrit in the traditional frameworks of phonetics and morphology. This results in a disconcerting multiplicity, with regard to both phonetical changes and the use of noun and verb terminations. So the nominative masculine singular of stems in *-a* can assume the endings *-o, -u, -ū, -a, -ā, -e* or *aṃ*, and, for stems in *-i* and *-ī*, there are up to twenty-five possible endings in direct cases[59]. F. Edgerton's fine effort would gain if it were to be completed by a series of descriptive grammars based on each particular work.

For Hiän-lin Dschi, the Prākrit of the *Mahāvastu* betrays its Magadhan origin by at least five «eastern» features : the vocative masculine plurals in *-āho* (*amātyāho*), the particle *yeva* alongside *eva*, the first and second person of the optative singular in *ehaṃ* and *-eha* (*tiṣṭhehaṃ, dadeha*) alongside *-eyaṃ* and *-eya*, the occasional change from *y* to *v* (*tāyo*; *-karāvo* for *-karāyo*); the forms *hoti* and *hosi* of the verb to be[60]. However, as Edgerton rightly remarked[61], these phenomena, which are found elsewhere besides in Māgadhī, in no way prove the eastern origin of Hybrid Prākrit.

More interesting is the point raised by Edgerton[62] concerning formations which have no direct correspondent in Middle Indian : the locative singular of stems in *-a* in *-esmin, -esmiṃ*, or *-esmi*; the direct feminine case in *-āvo* (nouns in *-ā*), the verb endings of the third person plural in *etsuḥ, -etsu, -ire* and *-ure*; the absolutive in *-i*; verb forms such as *sthihati* (for *tiṣṭhati*), *abhūṣi* (for *abhūt*), *gaṃsati* (for Skt. *gamiṣyati*), etc.

From this state of affairs, Edgerton[63] concludes : 1. that there is no
reason to believe that the Prākrit chiefly underlying Buddhist Hybrid
645 Sanskrit was an eastern dialect; 2. that, as in the case of Pāli, there is no
reason to question the essential dialectal unity of that same Prākrit.

In view of the composite and literary nature of the mixed Sanskrit used by the Buddhist writers, any attempt to determine its local origin would prove far too hypothetical. The handling of that language and more particularly the amount of Prākrit in relation to Sanskrit depended

[59] F. Edgerton, *o.l.*, pp. 49-50 (for stems in *-a*); pp. 69-70 (for stems in *-i*).

[60] Hiän-lin Dschi, *Die Verwendung des Aorists* ..., pp. 269-71.

[61] F. Edgerton, *o.l.*, pp. 3-4.

[62] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

[63] Id., *ibid.*, p. 11.

mainly on the personal taste of the authors, and geographical conditions had no significant effect.

Nevertheless, considering the success gained in Central India, especially at Mathurā, by the epigraphical Prākrit of a mixed nature, it was probably the Buddhists of Madhyadeśa, rather than those of the Deccan or the North-West, who developed the literature in mixed Sanskrit.

BUDDHIST SANSKRIT[64]. — During the last centuries of the ancient era, the Buddhist literature used only Middle-Indian Prākrits : Māgadhī, North-Western Prākrit (Gāndhārī) and Pāli. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, these Prākrits were strongly rivalled by the use of mixed Sanskrit. Finally, from the beginning of the Gupta dynasty (fourth cent. A.D.), Buddhist Sanskrit, which was relatively correct, finally replaced the Prākrits and mixed Sanskrit. However, this final stage of evolution had been developing since the second century A.D., during the period of the great Kuṣāṇas.

Here again, there is a close parallel between the history of the Buddhist language and that of epigraphical Sanskrit. In the first three centuries of the Christian era, when the Prākrits were holding their own in the South and mixed Sanskrit was triumphant in the North, a few Sanskrit inscriptions had already made their appearance. Most of them are documents concerning the construction of caityas and vihāras, gifts of land, development work; technically, they resemble legal documents. However, in the year 72 of the Śaka age (150 A.D.), on the famous rock of Junāgaḍh (Girnār, in Kāthiāwār), the rājan mahākṣatrapa Rudradā-
646 man had carved, in Sanskrit, a panegyric of himself (Lüders, 965), which by the amplitude of its phrasing, the length of its compounds and its figures of style attains the level of a *-kāvya*, a literary composition of a learned nature.

The example given by the satrap of Ujjayinī was followed by the Gupta emperors, whose renown and merit were praised, in verse or in prose, by courtiers who hoped to rival in talent the greatest poets of the period, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. Among these most famous *praśasti* we can mention the panegyric — in a single sentence of thirty-three lines — of Samudragupta by Harisena (Allahābād, ca 375-390 : FLEET, No. 1, pp. 6-10); the panegyric of Kumāragupta by Vatsabhaṭṭi (Mandasor, ca 473-474 : FLEET, No. 18, pp. 81-4); the panegyric of Yaśodharman by

64 Except for the hybrid language, we still lack a detailed grammar of Buddhist Sanskrit, but full information can be found in L. RENOU, *Inde Classique*, I, p. 72; *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, pp. 214-20. At a more general level, J. FILLIOZAT, *Langues de relations et langues de culture dans l'Inde*, Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique, I, Paris, 1956, pp. 135-54.

Vāsula (Mandasor, undated : FLEET, No. 33, pp. 146-7); finally, at a later date, the versified *praśasti*, in sixteen separate metres, of the Cālukyas and Pulakeśin II by Ravikīrti (*EI*, VI, p. 4)[65]. These documents bear witness to the victory of Sanskrit in epigraphy, a victory which came more quickly and more readily than in literature.

The technical precision of Sanskrit, knowledge of which continued to spread among the various levels of the population, made it an ideal instrument for the propagation of doctrines and ideas. The time had passed when its use was reserved for a necessarily limited brahmanical élite. The reasons which had decided the Buddha to advise the use of local dialects were no longer valid. Henceforth, the Buddhists had no scruples about putting the word of the Master into Sanskrit.

Unfortunately, we do not know to whom this initiative should be attributed, nor where to situate it exactly in time and space.

Much is made of the tradition recorded above (p. 546-547), according to which the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit[66]. This fact is true, but only at a certain date. Before finally adopting Sanskrit, the Sarvāstivādins may have turned to Prākrit. The same tradition attributes the use of Prākrit to the Mahāsāṃghikas. Nevertheless, even if they used mixed Sanskrit in their *Mahāvastu*, their Vinaya (T 1425) was in [pure] Sanskrit, as can be
647 seen from some fragments discovered at Bāmyān[67]. In time, all the sects on the sub-continent, and not only that of the Sarvāstivādins, yielded to the attraction of Sanskrit.

It was long believed that the compiling of the Sanskrit canon of writings and the Pāli canon occurred at the same time. J. Przyluski wrote : «The first canonical texts were written in the Magadhan dialect. When the Sthavira and Sarvāstivādin sects asserted themselves in the regions of Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, each of them drew upon a literary language which was a source of prestige and an instrument of propaganda. Thus, the Scriptures were eagerly translated, into Sanskrit at Mathurā, and into Pāli at Kauśāmbī»[68]. L. de La Vallée Poussin considered this opinion the most plausible : «At the time when the communities at Kauśāmbī-Sāñcī-Mālava introduced the Pāli-language canon, the communities on the Yamunā and in the North-West, obeying the linguistic mode of those regions, put the old Magadhan tradition

[65] See in L. RENOU, *Anthologie sanskrite*, Paris, 1947, pp. 383-90, a French translation of the panegyrics of Samudragupta and Pulakeśin II.

[66] Particularly LIN LI-KOUANG, *AM*, pp. 197-201.

[67] S. LÉVI, *Note sur des manuscrits sanskrits provenant de Bamiyan et de Gilgit*, *JA*, 1932, pp. 4-8.

[68] After J. PRZYLUSKI, *La légende d'Aśoka*, p. 89.

into Sanskrit and enriched it with versions from Kauśāmbī-Sāñcī-Mālava; this work, begun well before the Christian era, was prolonged»[69].

We accept with those two authorities that, on the basis of texts in Māgadhī, the foundations of the Pāli canon were laid in the Mauryan period, although they belong to a stage linguistically more advanced than the Aśokan edicts (above, p. 567-568). Conversely, we do not consider as proven the assertion according to which the so-called Sarvāstivādin Sanskrit canon was more or less established at the same date, «well before the Christian era».

Many Buddhist sūtras in Sanskrit have been found in Central Asia (see above, pp. 153-154), but the discovery of such manuscripts tells us nothing about the date the sūtras were put into Sanskrit. It is true that the *Legend of Aśoka*, partly reproduced in the *Divyāvadāna*, betrays links with Mathurā and glorifies its local hero Upagupta, Aśoka's chaplain. However, the fact that the *Divyāvadāna* is in correct Sanskrit does not mean that Sanskrit was already employed in Mathurā during the Mauryan period and was applied generally to Buddhist texts.

648 In fact, the first works in standard Sanskrit the date of which can be established with some degree of precision are those by Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Mātṛceṭa whom tradition links with the reigns of the great Kuṣāṇa emperors, from Kaniṣka to Vasudeva (ca 128-230 A.D.). The initiative for resorting to Sanskrit taken by these authors may very well have preceded in time the rendering into Sanskrit of the canonical writings of Buddhism.

That transcription involved a great deal of work, and required concentrated and systematic effort. An undertaking of that type would necessarily leave traces in history.

There is indeed a tradition, recorded in Kaśmīr by Hsüan tsang, which informs us that, in the reign of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151), all the Buddhist writings were subjected to a general revision and given a learned commentary :

A council convened in Kaśmīr by Kaniṣka composed 100,000 stanzas of *upadeśaśāstra* in order to explain the Sūtrapiṭaka, 100,000 stanzas of *vinayavibhāṣāśāstra* in order to explain the Vinayapiṭaka and 100,000 stanzas of *abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* in order to explain the Abhidharmapiṭaka. In all, 300,000 stanzas, 9,600,000 words, were composed in order to explain the Tripiṭaka in full. Since the remotest of times, there has not been [a single text] «the branches and leaves» of which have not been investigated, the superficial

[69] After L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde*, p. 337.

and profound meaning of which has not been examined. The general meaning was again clarified, the smallest words explained. This publication was universally known and successors referred to it. King Kaniṣka ordered the texts of the śāstras to be engraved on copper plates; he enclosed and sealed them in stone caskets, built a stūpa and hid the caskets in the middle of it. He ordered Yakṣas to protect the site and not allow heretics to remove the śāstras from it; but those who wished to study them could do so on the spot (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 887*a*).

While not overestimating the value of this tradition, we may assume that the drawing up of the commentaries, of which our *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545-47) are examples, was accompained by a general revision of the canonical texts and, since those commentaries were in Sanskrit, it is probable that the canonical texts were revised in the same language.

The works in Sanskrit are so numerous it would be impossible to list them all without overstepping the limits of this account. We will merely note a few of them :

1. *The early Mahāyānasūtra.* — In the section devoted to mixed
649 Sanskrit (p. 575), we gave a list of works in which only the gāthās are in mixed Sanskrit, the prose being in generally correct Sanskrit. In the main these are Mahāyānasūtras some of which may date back to the first and second centuries of the Christian era. From the linguistic viewpoint, their composite nature represents the transition between hybrid Sanskrit on the one hand and correct Sanskrit on the other.

The adherents of the Mahāyāna were opposed to traditional Buddhism because of an exaggerated mysticism, a different spiritual ideal (access to Buddhahood) and philosophically advanced positions (the *dharmanairātmya*) did not hesitate to overturn old practices in the field of discipline and the texts. Superimposing their Vaipulyasūtras on the old canonical sūtras, they were the first to turn to [pure] Sanskrit for their prose compositions. Even if they retained hybrid Sanskrit in the gāthās, this was doubtless for pedagogic reasons. These gāthās generally repeat in a condensed form the long explanations which precede them. It was easier to memorize them in a hybrid language, quite similar to dialects currently in use, than in [pure] Sanskrit which was subject to stricter phonetical and morphological demands.

Even in their prose sections, the early Mahāyānasūtras do not show the same degree of Sanskritization and this may vary from one recension to another within the same work.

Do these works which employ both hybrid and [pure] Sanskrit derive from an original work in a pure Prākritic dialect? This hypothesis has been upheld despite the extreme complications it would cause in the history of the texts. It is simpler and more natural to suppose that the

authors of the Mahāyānasūtras made us of a literary style which consisted of compiling the gāthās directly in hybrid and the prose in Sanskrit. The passages of canonical appearance with which their writings are sprinkled can be explained by scriptural reminiscences.

2. *The Sanskrit canon.* — The pages which we devoted to the formation of the canonical writings (pp. 140-191) showed that a Sanskrit canon existed in parallel with the Pāli canon. Both were derived from prototypes in a Magadhan dialect. The Sanskrit canon does not give the same impression of unity and homogeneity as its rival. The reason for this is that it was elaborated later and because, compared to the early texts, it included more recent output compiled after the establishment of the sects.

650 Broadly speaking, it may be said that the Sarvāstivādins transposed, from Middle Indian to Sanskrit, the *sūtra, prātimokṣa* and *karmavācanā*, but that they themselves composed, directly in Sanskrit, their voluminous Vinaya and their Abhidharma books. We will deal here only with the transpositions, of which the characteristic features are as follows :

1. Sūtra fragments discovered in Central Asia which «while appearing to be in more or less correct Sanskrit, are the literal counterparts of the Pāli canon; the syntax agrees exactly with that of the Pāli version, the morphology gives the impression of having been sanskritized»[70].

The exactitude of the Sanskrit translation goes so far as to adopt ready-made formulae word for word. E. Waldschmidt noted, in his edition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (p. 517 sq.), a certain number of these «fixed idioms» :

«Then the Blessed One, having dressed at daybreak, carrying his bowl and robe, went with a group of monks to the dwelling of...; having entered it, he sat down on the seat which was assigned to him».

Pāli : *atha kho bhagavā pubbaṇhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṃghena yena... ten' upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi.*

Skt. : *atha bhagavān pūrvāhne nivasya pātracīvaram ādāya bhikṣusaṃghaparivṛto bhikṣusaṃghapuraskṛto yena... tenopajagāma upetya purastād bhikṣusaṃghasya prajñapta evāsane nyasīdat.*

Furthermore, Buddhist sūtras abound in stereotyped pericopes, explaining in an invariable form the main points of the doctrine of the Buddha. The Sanskrit text reproduces them faithfully. Here, from among thousands of other examples, is the wording of the «dependent origination» :

[70] After L. Renou, *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, p. 207.

«From ignorance arise the formations; from the formations arises consciousness; from consciousness arise «name-and-form»; from name-and-form arise the six bases [of consciousness]; from the six bases arises contact; from contact arises feeling; from feeling arises thirst; from thirst arises grasping; from grasping arises existence; from existence arises birth; from birth arise old-age-and-death, sorrow-lamentation,
651 suffering, grief and despair. This is the origination of the whole mass of suffering».

Pāli : *avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā, saṅkhārapaccayā viññāṇam, viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpapaccayā saḷāyatanaṃ, saḷāyatanapaccayā phasso, phassapaccayā vedanā, vedanāpaccaya taṇhā, taṇhāpaccayā upādānam, upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhavapaccayā jāti, jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇaṃ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanti. evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa samudayo hoti.*

North-Western Prākrit : *avijapracagra saṃk'araṃ, saṃk'arapracagra viñana, viñanapracagra namaruva, namaruvapracagra ṣaḍrayadana, ṣaḍrayadanapracagra phasa, phasapracagra vedana, vedanapracagra taṣ'a, taṣ'apracagra uvadana, uvadanapracagara bhava, bhavapracagra jadi, jadipracagra jaramaranaśograparidevadukhadormanastaüvagrasa. evam asa kevalasa dukhak'aṃdhasa saṃmudae bhavadi.*

Sanskrit : *avidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ, saṃskārapratyayaṃ vijñānaṃ, vijñānapratyayaṃ nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpapratyayaṃ ṣaḍāyatanaṃ, ṣaḍātanapratyayaḥ sparśaḥ, sparśapratyayā vedanā, vedanāpratyayā tṛṣṇā, tṛṣṇāpratyayam upādānam, upādānapratyayo bhavo, bhavapratyayā jātir, jātipratyayā jarāmaraṇaśokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāṣāḥ saṃbhavanti, evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasyotpādo bhavati.*

We will conclude this comparison with a verse from the *Dharmapada* (361) : «Good is restraint of the body; good is that of speech; good is restraint of the mind, good is every kind of restraint; the monk who is restrained in every way is freed from all suffering».

Pāli :

Kāyena saṃvaro sādhu, sādhu vācāya saṃvaro
manasā saṃvaro sādhu, sādhu sabbattha saṃvaro
sabbattha saṃvuto bhikkhu sabbadukkhā pamuccati.

North-Western Prākrit :

Kaena sañamu sadhu, sadhu vayai sañamu
manena sañamu sadhu, sadhu sarvatra sañamu
sarvatra sañato bhikhu savadugatio jahi.

Mixed Sanskrit :

Kāyena saṃvaro sādhu, manasā sādhu saṃvaraḥ
sarvatra saṃvṛto bhikṣu sarvaduḥkhā pramucyate.

652 Sanskrit :

Kāyena saṃvaraḥ sādhu, sādhu vācā ca saṃvaraḥ
manasā saṃvaraḥ sādhu, sādhu sarvatra saṃvaraḥ
sarvatra saṃvṛto bhikṣuḥ sarvaduḥkhāt pramucyate.

2. Prākritisms are not completely eliminated from these transpositions into Sanskrit :

In the Sarvāstivādin *Prātimokṣasūtra*, Finot[71] noted *samanugāhyamāna* (= *grāhyamāṇa*), *kāḍa* (= *kāla*), *vijñu* (= *vijña*), *kāḍiśāmo* (= *kālaśyāma*), *adhiṣṭhahet* (= *adhitiṣṭhet*), *upalāḍayet* (= *upalālayet*), and very frequently the nominative *āyuṣmaṃ* in error for the vocative.

In the fragments of the Qočo manuscript, D 424, Waldschmidt[72] points out as Prākritisms : *sthāmaśaḥ* (= *sthāmnā*), *purastima* (= *pūrva*), *suvaṇi* (= *suparṇī*), *putrebhiḥ* (= *putraiḥ*), *śiṣyebhiḥ* (= *śiṣyaiḥ*); occasionally, *mahārājā* for *mahārājaḥ*.

The Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa*[73] also retains forms such as *poṣa* (= *puruṣa*), *doṣa* (= *dveṣa*), *mukuṭa* (= *makuṭa*), *āmantrayati* for *āmantrayate*, futures formed on present stems : *riñciṣyaṃti* (= *rekṣyante*) and very many absolutives in *-tvā* in verbs with prefixes : *praveśayitvā*, *saṃdarśayitvā*, etc.

There is no lack of strange forms. The Qočo manuscript has a marked tendency to unvoice voiced occlusives : *koṣṭhākāra* (= *koṣṭhāgāra*), *saṃkrāma* (= *saṃgrāma*), *samutra* (= *samudra*), *motante* (= *modante*). However, there are also examples of the reverse treatment : *āmandrayati* (= *āmantrayati*), *vinipādaṃ* (= *vinipātaṃ*).

3. Negligence by scribes is responsible for quite a large number of faults or inaccuracies. Among the most frequent, we note 1. the tendency to generalize the anusvara even before gutturals and dentals : *saṃgha*, *saṃnisanna*; 2. the omission of the visarga; 3. faults against the sandhi;
653 4. negligence in the notation of long vowels; 5. the tendency to double consonants before *r*.

4. It is in these texts that the characteristic features of Buddhist Sanskrit in general are seen most clearly[74] :

a. A special vocabulary, incorporated with that of Pāli, and consisting

[71] L. Finot, *Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādin*, JA, 1913, p. 470 (p. 10 of the offprint). See also J. Filliozat-H. Kuno, *Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin*, JA, 1938, p. 24.

[72] E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke b. Sūtras*, p. 5.

[73] Id., *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, I, p. 7, n. 1.

[74] Features noted by L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, I, p. 72; *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, p. 214.

of terms without any definite Sanskrit etymology (*tathāgata*)[75], words taking on a new meaning (*raṇa* «passion»), sometimes because of restrictions (*ṛddhi* «magic power») and sometimes because of expansions of the meaning (*dharma*, «law, doctrine, teaching, truth, thing»).

b. An impoverishment in means of expression, accompanied by slackness with regard to morphological and syntactical requirements (cf. Renou, HLS, pp. 214-20).

c. An improverished style, in which the sentence proceeds in small juxtaposed groups, and repetitive linking-up which make it akin to Pāli.

As time passed, the Sanskritization of the canonical texts became more and more perfect. In this respect, the collections of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, particularly their *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* and *Vinaya*, large sections of which were among the discoveries at Gilgit, are far more advanced than the Sarvāstivādin compilations. Nevertheless, they too retain the indelible mark of the Prākrit prototypes on which they are based.

3. *Extra-canonical literature in Sanskrit*. — It is not only the fixing of Sanskrit that should be credited to the second century A.D.; the Kuṣāṇa empire also marks the beginning of extra-canonical literature in Sanskrit, and this abounds in various styles.

a. The first chapters of the *Aśokāvadāna* were translated into Chinese by the Parthian Fa ch'in[76] in about the year 300 A.D., with the title of *A yü wang chuan* (T 2042). Part of this legend was repeated by Kumāralāta in his *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and by the compiler of the *Divyā-*
654 *vadāna*[77]. On the other hand, the *Avadānaśataka* was translated into Chinese with the little of *Hsüan chi po yüan ching* (T 200), by Chih ch'ien, in the second quarter of the third century. These facts enable us to locate the beginnings of narrative literature in Sanskrit in the second century of the Christian era.

In both the *Avadānaśataka*[78] and the *Divyāvadāna*[79] the language of

[75] Concerning this term, see the bibliography in the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, I, p. 126, note; since then, J. Filliozat, JA, 1952, p. 266.

[76] Cf. J. Przyluski, *La légende d'Aśoka*, pp. xi and 434.

[77] H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 71-132.

[78] Ed. J.S. Speyer, 2 vol., St. Petersburg, 1902-04.

[79] Numerous corrections have been made to the old Cowell-Neil edition of the *Divyāvadāna* (Cambridge, 1886) by J.S. Speyer, WZKM, XVI, 1902, pp. 103 sq., 340 sq.; R. Ware, JAOS, XLVIII, 1928, p. 159 sq.; E.J. Thomas, BSOAS, X, 1940, pp. 654-6; D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, JRAS, 1950, pp. 166-84; 1951, pp. 82-102. Also see the studies concerning particular chapters : R. Ware, *Studies in the Divyāvadāna; I. Sukārikāvadāna*, JAOS, XLVIII, pp. 159-65; II. *Dānādhikāra*, JAOS, XLIX, pp. 40-51; III. *The Preamble to*

the *avadāna* is «gauche and naive» (Renou) and certain collections, such as the *Vicitrakarṇikā* and the *Dvāviṃśatyāvadāna*, betray Middle Indian influences[80].

On the one hand, the *Avadāna* are derived from the early canonical tradition and cite whole passages from the *Parinirvāṇasūtra* and other Sanskrit sūtras[81]; on the other hand, they have freed themselves from stylistic practices imposed by the Prākrit prototypes and they initiate new formulae and new stock phrases which have no parallels in the post-canonical Pāli works, but which the Mahāyānasūtras occasionally repeat.

L. Feer and J.S. Speyer[82] compiled a list of the stock phrases repeated again and again by the *Divya* and *Avadānaśataka*. Here, as an example, is the physical description of the Buddha repeated thirty-two times in the *Avadānaśataka* :

Atha [N] bhagavantaṃ dadarśa dvātriṃśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ samalaṅkṛtam aśītyā cānuvyañjanair virājitagātraṃ vyāmaprabhālaṅkṛtaṃ
655 *sūryasahasrātirekaprabhaṃ jaṅgamam iva ratnaparvataṃ samantato bhadrakam.*

«N. perceived the Lord adorned with the thirty-two marks of the great man, his body effulgent with the eighty minor marks, adorned with a fathom-wide brilliance, more resplendent than a thousand suns, like a mountain of jewels in motion, auspicious in every way».

b. Aśvaghoṣa, a brahmin from Śāketa and a contemporary of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151), was the founder and practically the only representative of lyrical epics of Buddhist inspiration. His *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*[83] are on a level with the classical *mahākāvya*. The scholastic parts remain faithful to the traditional vocabulary and phraseology; the narrative and descriptive parts abound in brilliant images, figures of style, complicated metres and learned grammatical forms. The author seems to have wanted to dazzle his less knowledgeable colleagues by fully deploying his brahmanical virtuosity. His search for effect and

the Saṃgharakṣitāvadāna, HJAS, 1938, pp. 47-67; K.S. Ch'en, *A study of the Svāgata Story*, HJAS, IX, 1947, pp. 207-314; W. Zinkgräf, *Vom Divyāvadāna zur Avadānakalpalatā*, Heidelberg, 1940; S. Mukhopadhyaya, *Śārdulakarṇāvadāna*, Santiniketan, 1924; J. Nobel, *Udrāyaṇa, König von Roruka*, 2 vol., Wiesbaden, 1955; J. Brough, *Some Notes on Maitrakanyaka*, BSOAS, XX, 1957, pp. 111-32.

[80] R.L. Turner, JRAS, 1913, p. 289.

[81] J.S. Speyer, ed. II, p. XVI sq.; ZDMG, LIII, 1899, p. 120 sq.; H. Oldenberg, ZDMG, LII, p. 672; NGGW, 1912, p. 168 sq.

[82] L. Feer, *Avadāna-Śataka tr. du sanskrit*, Paris, 1891, pp. 1-14; J.S. Speyer, ed. *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. xvi-xx.

[83] Works edited and translated by E.H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita*, 2 vol., Calcutta, 1936; *The Saundarananda*, 2 vol., Calcutta, 1932.

his conciseness, taken almost to the point of unintelligibility, give the impression of a decadent art[84].

c. Slightly later than Aśvaghoṣa, his disciple Mātṛceṭa specialized in Buddhist eulogies[85]. This was a minor genre combining mysticism and scholasticism. The poetry, simpler than in the lyrical epic, is nonetheless not free from grammatical tricks.

In the same style is the *Catuḥstava*[86], rightly or wrongly attributed to
656 Nāgarjuna : this is a collection of four eulogies, only two of which are known to us in the original.

Mātṛceṭa and Nāgārjuna also practised the epistolary form, always in Sanskrit : the *Mahārājakanikalekha* addressed by Mātṛceṭa to Kaniṣka II (ca 270) and the *Suḥrllekkha* sent by Nāgārjuna to King Jantaka, known as Śātavāhana, in South India[87]. We only know these epistles through their Tibetan and Chinese translations. Teaching by letter, perhaps in imitation of foreign propagandists, did not meet with much success in India.

d. Also very early on, the theoreticians of Buddhism adopted Sanskrit as a scholarly language, and until the very end they were to remain faithful to that choice. Buddhist scholasticism is presented in a twofold form : that of the philosophical treatise in prose (*śāstra*) with a few quotations or summaries in verse, and that of the «memory verses» (*kārikā*) summarizing, in concise sūtras, the material to be taught, sūtras which in principle required some explanation by commentaries (*bhāṣya*).

The Arhats of Kaśmīr, who worked after Kaniṣka's council, collaborated together in compiling the most complete encyclopedia of Hīnayānist Buddhism, the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. The work has been preserved only in Chinese (T 1545), but was, beyond a shadow of doubt, originally written in Sanskrit. It claims to be a commentary upon the *Jñānaprasthāna* of

[84] On the pedantic of Aśvaghoṣa, L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, II, pp. 205-7; *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, p. 212. — On some hybridized forms, F. Weller, *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente des Buddhacarita*, ASAW, XLVI, 1953, 4, pp. 1-26; *Ein zentralasiatisches Fragment des Saundarananda*, Mitt. des Inst. für Orientforschung, I, 1953, pp. 400-23.

[85] D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, *The Śatapañcāśatka of Mātṛceṭa*, Cambridge, 1951; *The Varṇārhavarṇa of Mātṛceṭa*, BSOAS, XIII, 1950, pp. 671-810, 947-1003.

[86] L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Les quatre odes de Nāgārjuna*, Muséon, XIV, 1913, pp. 1-18; MCB, I, 1932, p. 395; III, 1934, p. 374; P. Patel, IHQ, VIII, 1932, pp. 316 and 689; X, 1934, p. 82; G. Tucci, *Two Hymns of the Catuḥstava of Nāgārjuna*, JRAS, 1932, pp. 309-25; *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha of Amṛtākara*, Minor Buddhist Texts, I, Rome, 1956, pp. 235-45.

[87] F.W. Thomas, *Mahārājakanikalekha*, Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 345 sq.; H. Wenzel, *Friendly Epistle of Nāgārjuna*, *JPTS*, 1886, pp. 1-32; S. Beal, *Suḥrllekha or Friendly Letter by Nāgārjuna*, London, 1892. — On the epistolary style, S. Lévi, *Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana*, *JA*, 1936, pp. 107-15.

Kātyāyanīputra, a fundamental book in the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharmapiṭaka. It is not impossible that the latter had already been composed in Sanskrit[88]. If this were so, the origins of the «śāstra in Sanskrit» could date back even further than the second century.

657 The oldest memory verses are the *Mādhyamikakārikā* by Nāgārjuna[89]. They were accompanied by their author's commentary, the *Akutobhaya*, which now exists only in a Tibetan version, but which can be replaced by the *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti (sixth cent.). We also possess part of the *Catuḥśataka* by Āryadeva[90], a disciple and emulator of Nāgārjuna. These two works, which explain the basic theories of the Mahāyānist school of the Śūnyavāda, are written in language of admirable clarity and concision. Rarely has a philosophical system found such a perfect instrument of expression.

It follows from all these facts that, at the time when Rudradāman was having the panegyric of himself carved on rock at Girnār, Sanskrit was becoming accepted on the Indian sub-continent as the paramount Buddhist language. All the disciples of Śākyamuni, whether they were narrators, poets, letter-writers or philosophers, resorted to it in order to glorify the person and thought of their Master.

This privilege, which Sanskrit was never to lose, was to become even more evident during the Gupta period, because of the talents of the Vasubandhus, the Asaṅgas and their emulators.

2. — Progress in the Abhidharma*

We saw, in Chapter Two, the rôle played by the sects in the formation of the canonical writings or Tripiṭaka : codification of the Sūtras which constituted a common heritage for all the schools, development of the Vinaya and elaboration of the disciplinary collections to which remain

[88] Hesitation by J. TAKAKUSU, *On the Abhidharma Literature*, *JPTS*, 1905, p. 84 : "In what language, however, the original text (of the *Jñānaprasthāna*) was composed we have no means of ascertaining. All we can say is that the text brought by Saṃghadeva and Dhammapiya from Kaśmīra seems to have been a dialect akin to Pāli, whereas the text used by Hiuan-tsang, as in other cases, seems to have been in Sanskrit. But this supposition rests solely on the phonetic value of Chinese ideographs employed in these translations and is not corroborated by any other evidence".

Nonetheless, the *Kośavyākhyā* by Yaśomitra, who refers to the *Jñānaprasthāna* eight times, quotes a long passage from it which is in Sanskrit (cf. WOGIHARA, ed., p. 52, lines 15-22). A Sanskrit recension of the *Jñānaprasthāna* must certainly have existed.

[89] Ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin; St. Petersburg 1903.

[90] Ed. P.L. VAIDYA, *Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka*, Paris, 1923; V. BHATTACHARYA, *The Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva*, II (the only one to appear), Calcutta, 1931.

attached the names of the most famous of the sects. — Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins — and, finally, the publication of the Abhidharma books which explain systematically the teaching scattered throughout the sūtras. The Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins excelled in Abhidharmic compilations, and the schools which rejected the Abhidharma as apocryphal, such as the Sautrāntikas for example, were obliged to compose philosophical treatises which had in practice, if not officially, the value of Abhidharma books.

658 The disputations of the *Kathāvatthu*, of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva record approximately 500 theses summarizing the doctrinal and disciplinary positions of the eighteen Hīnayānist sects. Here we will confine ourselves to extracting from this mass of information a few characteristic theses which show undeniable progress in the elaboration of the doctrine. All or nearly all of them are in conformity with the early teaching as it appears in the sūtras : they are explanations of doctrine and not deviations. Their contribution is to clarify the full details of the four noble truths propounded by the Master in his discourse at Vārāṇasī.

CLASSIFICATION OF DHARMAS[91]. — In the terms of the first truth, all formations (*saṃskāra*) are transitory, painful and devoid of personality. The rule applies to all phenomena connected with the life and salvation of a person : the five aggregates (*skandha*), twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) and eighteen elements (*dhātu*). However, to these ancient classifications proposed in the canonical writings[92], the schools added a new one embracing all the elements of existence (*dharma*) distributed into two groups : conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) dharmas, i.e. those arising from causes and subject to becoming, and the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) dharma or dharmas unaffected by the process of causality.

The Theravādins drew up a list of 82 dhammas : 81 *saṅkhata*, conditioned, and one *asaṅkhata*, unconditioned[93].

[91] YAMAKAMI SOGEN, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, Calcutta, 1912; O. ROSENBERG, *Probleme der buddh. Philosophie*, Heidelberg, 1924; T. STCHERBATSKY, *Central Conception of Buddhism*, London, 1923; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Zur Geschichte der buddh. Dharma-Theorie*, ZDMG, XCII, 1938, pp. 383-420; *Der Ursprung der buddh. Dharma-Theorie*, WZKM, XLVI, 1939, pp. 242-66; *Entwicklungsstufen des ind. Denkens*, Halle, 1940, p. 338 sq.

According to certain authors, the dharma theory is alien to early Buddhism : A.B. KEITH, BSOS, VI, 1932, pp. 393-404;IHQ, XII, 1936, pp. 1-20; S. SCHAYER, Archiv Orientální, VII, 1935, pp. 121-32; Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, 1, 1937, pp. 8-17.

[92] See above, pp. 30-4.

[93] List drawn up in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, tr. S.Z. AUNG, *Compendium of*

The *saṅkhata dhamma* are classed in three categories : 1. *rūpa*, corporality; 2. *cetasika*, mental factors; 3. *citta*, thought.

659 I. *Rūpa* includes everything material in the universe, in all 28 dhammas :

The four *dhātu*, primary elements : earth (*paṭhavī*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*) and wind (*vāyo*), whose characteristics are respectively solidity, liquidity, heat and movement.

24 derived phenomena, distributed in the following way :

(1-5) Five physical sense organs (*indriya*) constituting the internal bases (*ajjhatika āyatana*) of consciousness : organs of the eye, ear, nose, tongue and body.

(6-10) Five material sense objects (*visaya*) constituting the external bases of consciousness (*bāhira āyatana*) : form or appearance, sound, odour, taste and the tangible.

(11-12) Sexual characteristics : feminity and masculinity (*itthi-*, *purisa-indriya*).

(13) *Hadayavatthu*, the heart, as the physical foundation of mental processes.

(14-15) Corporal and vocal intimations (*viññatti*), in other words, gestures and words which manifest externally and materially the reasoned and voluntary actions from which they derive and with which they are associated.

(16) Physical vitality (*rūpajīvita*).

(17) Space (*ākāsa*) as the limit of physical bodies.

(18-20) Three physical properties : lightness (*lahutā*), softness (*mudutā*) and workableness (*kammaññatā*).

(21-23) The three characteristics of the *dhamma saṅkhata* : development (*upacaya*), continuity (*santati*) and old-age-and-impermanence (*jarā-aniccattā*), mentioned in the old suttas (*Aṅguttara*, I, p. 152) by the names of arising (*uppāda*), disappearing (*vaya*) and stability-change (*ṭhitasa aññathattam*).

(24) Material nutriment (*āhāra*).

II. The 52 *cetasika*, psychical, mental factors derived from the thought (*citta* or *viññāna*) to which they are concomitant[94]. They are classed in three categories :

(1) 25 morally good (*kusala*) *cetasika* : faith (*saddhā*), etc.

Philosophy, London, 1929. Summary in H. von Glasenapp, *Die Philosophie der Inder*, Stuttgart, 1949, pp. 326-32.*

[94] Detailed list in Nyanatiloka, *Guide through the Abhidhammapiṭaka*, Colombo, p. 12 (table).

(2) 14 morally bad (*akusala*) *cetasika* : mental delusion (*moha*), etc.

660 (3) 13 morally indeterminate (*avyākata*) *cetasika*, the quality of which depends on the nature of the thought with which they are associated. The first seven, contact (*phassa*), etc., are common to all conscious action; the last six, reflection (*vitakka*), etc., are peculiar (*pakiṇṇaka*) to special states of consciousness.

III. *Citta* is pure thought, consciousness or the state of consciousness; it is synonymous with *manas*, mind, and *viññāna*, consciousness.

In normal life, thought never appears alone, but in conjunction with other dhammas : material dhammas which serve it as organs and objects, mental dhammas or states of consciousness which immediately precede it. It is comparable to a river which flows continuously and the waters of which are ceaselessly renewed.

For Buddhists, the material dhammas and mental factors which collaborate with thought constitute so many autonomous and separate elements. The three characteristics of the conditioned dhamma accompany thought and determine its arising, duration and disappearance, but without becoming merged with it : these are external elements and not mere properties. The mental factors have this superiority over material dhammas in that they determine the karmic value of thought and mark its progress on the path of deliverance. The Theravādins differentiate 89 states in all in which consciousness can be found because of its association with mental and psychic factors[95]. These states of consciousness, called *cittāni*, appear sometimes as good (*kusala*), sometimes as bad (*akusala*) through association with one of the three unwholesome roots, craving (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) or delusion (*moha*), finally, sometimes as morally indeterminate (*avyākata*) as mere results of action (*vipāka*) or as independent functions (*kriyā*). They embrace all levels of life from the World of Desire (*kāmadhātu*) and its five destinies to the four stages of the Buddhist path, passing through the World of Subtle Matter (*rūpadhātu*) and the World of Formlessness (*arūpadhātu*).

In this system, important though the action of physical dhammas and mental factors is, it is thought that is central and determines the process
661 of re-becoming. Hence, the Theravādins endeavoured to specify its functions. They distinguished in consciousness[96] 14 activities called *viññānakicca* :

[95] Detailed list, ID., *ibid.*

[96] Cf. NYANATILOKA, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Dodanduwa, 1950, pp. 166-8, and the table at the end of the volume. The system is summarized by K'uei chi, in T 1831, p. 635*b-c* (cf. É. LAMOTTE, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule*, Louvain, 1931, II, p.*8).

1. *Paṭisandhi*, consciousness at the moment of returning to existence. This does not pass from the previous existence to the present one, but comes into existence by virtue of conditions incurred in the past existence : actions, volitions, propensities, objects, etc. An echo reverberated by a mountain is not the cry made by the passerby, yet it would not occur if no cry had been made. In this process, there is neither identity nor difference : thought at the time of rebirth is not the same as thought at the time of death, but is derived from it. Similarly, butter is not milk, but without milk there would be no butter.

2. *Bhavaṅga*, the subliminal consciousness which immediately succeeds the *paṭisandhi* and reproduces its object as a result of voluntary action, performed in the preceding existence and memorized immediately before death.

3. *Āvajjana*, advertence. When a material object reaches the field of the senses, it acts upon the organs and provokes a reaction from the subconscious. Immediately the "mind" element (*manodhātu*) or "mental consciousness" element (*manoviññānadhātu*) emerges from the subconscious and notes the presence of an object.

4.-8. *Dassana*, vision, etc. A visual, auditive, gustatory, olfactory or tactile sensation, resulting from a good or bad action, is experienced by the corresponding sense. Nonetheless, if there is seeing and hearing, there is still no consciousness of what is seen or heard.

9. *Sampaṭicchana*, reception. The object perceived by the senses is "received" by the "mind" element (*manodhātu*).

10. *Santīraṇa*, investigation. The object received by the mind is "investigated" by the "mental consciousness" element (*manoviññānadhātu*).

11. *Votthapana*, determination. The object investigated is mechanically "determined" by the "mental consciousness" element.

12. *Javana*, swift perception. The object thus determined is correctly grasped or known by one or other state of consciousness.

662 13. *Tad-ārammaṇa*, identification. The known object is identified and registered. Once the operation is complete, consciousness is lost in the bhavaṅga or subconscious.

14. *Cuti*, the thought at the moment of death. It interrupts the stream of the subliminal (*bhavaṅgasota*), but conditions the appearance of consciousness of the return to existence (*paṭisandhi*).

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The Sarvāstivādins have a list of dharmas somewhat similar to that of the Theravādins. It contains 72 *saṃskṛta* dharmas and 3 *asaṃskṛta*[97].

I. 11 *rūpa*, material dharmas, namely 5 *indriya*, organs, 5 *viṣaya*, objects, and *avijñapti*, non-intimation. This last term requires an explanation. Action is volition (*cetanā*), i.e. purely mental action. This volition can lead to a bodily action (gesture) or a vocal action (speech), which is an external and material manifestation of that volition : these are the *vijñapti*, intimations. At the same time, the volition thus manifested leads to an invisible but material action derived from the great elements, which continues to exist and grow and in fact constitutes a state of moral reponsibility : such is *avijñapti*.

For example, murder can reside in the will to kill, manifested externally by a bodily *vijñapti*, the gesture of killing. However, it is also obtained in the case of a man who orders an assassin to perform the homicidal gesture : at the moment when the assassinated person dies, an *avijñapti* of murder arises in the instigator of the crime, even if at that moment he is distracted or unthinking; that invisible but real *avijñapti* makes him guilty of murder.

II. A *citta*, thought, also called *manas*, mind, or *vijñāna*, consciousness. This is a state of pure consciousness, without any content.

III. 46 *caitta*, mental factors, or psychic concomitants to thought and co-operating with it. They are grouped in six classes :

(1) 10 universal (*mahābhūmika*) *caitta* which accompany every thought whatever : feeling (*vedanā*), etc.

663 (2) 10 *caitta* accompanying every good thought (*kuśala-mahābhūmika*) : faith (*śraddhā*), etc.

(3) 6 *caitta* accompanying every impassioned thought (*kleśa-mahābhūmika*) : delusion (*moha*), etc.

(4) 2 *caitta* accompanying every bad thought (*akuśala-mahābhūmika*) : lack of respect (*āhrikya*), etc.

(5) 10 *caitta* accompanying minor passion (*parīttakleśa-bhūmika*) : anger (*krodha*), etc.

(6) 8 undetermined (*aniyata*) *caitta*, which are sometimes associated with a good thought, sometimes with a bad or undetermined thought : remorse (*kaukṛtya*).

IV. 14 dharmas dissociated from thought (*cittaviprayuktasaṃskāra*) and which are neither material nor mental.

(1) *prāpti*, possession, a power linking an acquired object with its owner.

[97] Table in R. Kimura, *The Original and Developed Doctrines of Indian Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1920, p. 14. Explanations in H. von Glasenapp, *Philos. der Inder*, pp. 332-8.*

(2) *aprāpti*, dispossession, a power separating an acquired object from whoever owned it.

(3) *sabhāgatā*, or type, causing the resemblance of living beings.

(4-6) *āsaṃjñika*, *āsaṃjñisamāpatti* and *nirodhasamāpatti* or powers causing the cessation of thought and mental factors in the "Non-perceptive" gods and ascetics who have entered the attainment of non-perception or the attainment of cessation.

(7) *jīvitendriya*, vital organ, the support of heat and consciousness, and the cause of life.

(8-11) the four "characteristics of the conditioned dharma" (*saṃskṛta-lakṣaṇa*) : birth (*jāti*), old age (*jarā*), stability (*sthiti*) and impermanence (*anityatā*), by virtue of which conditioned dharmas are born, last for a brief instant, deteriorate and immediately disappear.

(12-14) *nāma-*, *pada-* and *vyañjana-kāya*, collections of words, phrases and phonemes which give rise to an idea, a judgement.

The pluralism of the Sarvāstivādins, which breaks up reality into separate elements, of infinitesimal duration, also finds room for an atomic theory[98] differing from other similar Indian systems in that the atom is never presented as an eternal substance.

664 As a rule, the school distinguishes between three kinds of atoms : 1. the *paramāṇu*, subtle, indivisible atom, conceivable only by the mind; 2. the *aṇu*, atom in the proper sense, consisting of a minimum of seven *paramāṇu*, and cube-shaped; 3. the *rajas*, dust atom, formed of seven atoms in the proper sense and visible only to the eyes of a bodhisattva. It should be noted that the *rūpa-dharma* do not consist of atoms, but conversely the atom, conceived as the smallest part of space, is made up of a certain number of *rūpa-dharma* which are themselves devoid of extension[99].

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Sarvāstivādin realism was far from being shared by all the Buddhist schools. A Mahāsāṃghika sect, that of the Prajñaptivādins, asserted that conditioned dharmas are no more than denominations (*prajñapti*) or that the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) are not finished and complete realities[100] —, which comes to the same thing.

[98] See Kośa, I, pp. 89-92; II, pp. 144-9; III, p. 213.

[99] O. Rosenberg, *Probleme*, pp. 156, 158; O. Strauss, *Ind. Philosophie*, Munich, 1925, pp. 208-9.

[100] J. Masuda, *Origin and Doctrines*, p. 36; A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 85.

While not pushing nominalism to that extreme, the Sautrāntikas undertook a severe but constructive criticism of the Sarvāstivādin system. They denied the objective reality of bodily action and *avijñapti*[101]. They admitted the existence of thought, but rejected the *caitta* wholly or partly[102]. Finally, they considered the 14 dissociated dharmas (*viprayuktasaṃskāra*) as purely mental inventions. In particular, the birth, duration, old-age and impermanence of conditioned dharmas are not things in themselves, distinct from the dharma which arises and perishes, but mere modifications of the series which begins, is prolonged, modifies and perishes[103]. For the Sautrāntikas, destruction is spontaneous (*ākasmika*) : the dharma perishes incessantly by itself and re-arises incessantly by itself in normal conditions[104].

These divergences in viewpoint led the schools to formulate different opinions concerning the very nature of a dharma.

665 THE NATURE OF THE DHARMA. — In every dharma the great Hīnayānist schools saw a real entity (*dravya*), a self-nature (*svabhāva*) but transitory (*anitya*). A dharma is both cause and effect. At a time when it was not [existent], it arises in functional dependence on other dharmas and, after having carried out its activity, it is no more.

This general outlook, which was later to be disputed by the theoreticians of the Mahāyāna, is nevertheless open to numerous interpretations.

The Theravādins did not expatiate upon the transcendental nature of a dharma. They accepted the fact as it was presented to them, without attempting to seek further, or dispute the degree of its reality. In advance they conformed to the advice of Goethe : "Suche nichts hinter den Phänomenen; sie selbst sind die Lehre" [Do not seek beyond phenomena; you yourselves are the teaching][105].

Every dharma carries out its activity in time, but with regard to this awkward problem, the Theravādins confined themselves to distinctions which earned them, among others, the epithet of Vibhajyavādins : "He is a Vibhajyavādin who asserts the existence of the present and part of the past, namely of the action which has not yielded its fruit; and the non-existence of the future and part of the past, namely, of the action which

[101] Kośa, IV, pp. 12-14; A. BAREAU, p. 157.
[102] Kośa, II, p. 150, note.
[103] Kośa, II, pp. 226-38.
[104] Kośa, IV, pp. 5-8.
[105] Quotation by H. VON GLASENAPP, *Philosophie*, p. 327.

has yielded its fruit"[106]. In other words, the dharma is at the moment it acts or insofar as it has still to act.

In fact, and as the Buddha already noted (*Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 137; I, p. 10), the dharma does not last for long : "A river does not stop; there is no second (*khaṇa*), minute (*laya*), hour (*muhutta*) when the river stops; likewise, the flux of thought...". Sixteen moments of thought arise and perish while one material dharma lasts. No example can give an idea of the shortness of their time. Thus the Bhagavat said that he could see no
666 dharma the "revolving" of which was as short (*lahuparivatta*) as that of a thought[107].

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The Sarvāstivādins "adherents of the existence of everything" were more realistic; they owe their name to that fact that they asserted the existence of everything, past, present and future[108]. According to them, a dharma exists in the three time-periods, and they support their arguments with proof taken from texts and from reason.

1. The past and future exist because the Bhagavat said (*Majjhima*, III, p. 188) that the knowledgeable, holy Śrāvaka does not take *past rūpa* into consideration and does not delight in *future rūpa*.

2. The Buddha also said (*Saṃyutta*, II, p. 72) : "Consciousness arises because of two things : 1. the organ of sight (*cakṣurindriya*) and the visible (*rūpa*), 2. the mind (*manas*) and things (*dharma*)". However, mental consciousness immediately follows visual perception. If the visible, perceived *before* by the organ of sight and therefore *past*, were *no longer* to exist, mental consciousness would not arise because of it.

3. If the object perceived, in the past, by the organ were no longer to

[106] Kośa, V, p. 52. In fact, in their Kathāvatthu, I, 6-8 (pp. 115-55), the Theravādins disputed, against the Sarvāstivādins, the existence of the past and future; against the Kāśyapīyas, the existence of a certain past and a certain future (cf. A. Bareau, pp. 213-14); but the orthodox tradition claims that the Theravādins themselves, at the council of Pāṭaliputra, proclaimed they were Vibhajyavādins (above, p. 188). Nevertheless, the exact philosophical meaning of the epithet is not clear; cf. Kośa, V, pp. 23-4, note; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Études Asiatiques*, I, Paris, 1925, p. 345, n.1.

[107] L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Notes sur le moment ou kṣaṇa des bouddhistes*, RO, VIII, 1931, pp. 1-9.

[108] J. Masuda, p. 39; A. Bareau, p. 137; Kathāvatthu, I, 6, pp. 115-43; Vijñānakāya, T 1539, ch. 1, pp. 531a-536a (tr. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La controverse du temps et du Pudgala dans le Vijñānakāya*, Études Asiatiques, Paris, 1925, 1, pp. 346-58); Kośa, V, pp. 49-65; S. Schayer, *Contributions to the Problem of Time in Indian Philosophy*, Mém. Acad. Polon., No. 31, Cracow, 1938; A. Bareau, *The notion of Time in Early Buddhism*, East and West, VII, 1957, pp. 353-64.*

exist at the moment of consciousness, the latter would not arise, since there is no consciousness without an object.

4. If the past does not exist, how can a good or bad action, in the future, yield its fruit? In fact, at the moment when the fruit is produced, the cause of maturation (*vipākahetu*) — i.e. the action — is past.

Hence the paradoxical position adopted by the Sarvāstivādins : As a unit (*dravya*) or as self-nature (*svabhāva*), a dharma always exists, but traverses the three time-periods.

667 The Sarvāstivadin scholars proposed four different explanations for this process of thought[109] :

1. Dharmatrāta defended the transformation of the mode (*bhāvānyathātva*). When a dharma crosses from one time-period to another, its substance (*dravya*) is not altered, but its mode (*bhāva*) is changed. It abandons the future (*anāgata*) *bhāva* and acquires the present (*pratyutpanna*) *bhāva* when it moves from the future to the present; it abandons the present *bhāva* and acquires the past (*atīta*) *bhāva* when it moves from the present to the past. However, its substance always remains the same. Thus a gold vase which is broken and transformed changes shape (*ākṛti*) but not colour; and milk changed into curd loses certain qualities (*guṇa*), taste, etc., but not its colour.

2. Ghoṣaka defended the difference in characteristics (*lakṣaṇānyathātva*). When a dharma is past, it is endowed with a characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) of the past, but it is not deprived of the characteristics of the present and future. When future, it is endowed with the characteristics of the future, but it is not deprived of the characteristics of the present and past. When present, it is endowed with the characteristic of the present without being deprived of those of the past and future. It is therefore of three time-periods... Just as a man attached to a woman is not detached with regard to other women.

3. Vasumitra, later supported by Vasabandhu, defended the difference in conditions (*avasthānyathātva*). A dharma traversing the time-periods, having assumed such-and-such a condition, becomes different through the difference in the condition, not through a difference in substance (*dravya*). Hence, a token is called one, ten or a hundred depending on whether it is placed in the ones, tens or hundreds.

4. Buddhadeva defended the process of reciprocal (*anyonyathātva*). A dharma traversing the time-periods assumes different names in relation, i.e. it is called past, future, present in relation to what precedes and

109 Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 77, p. 396*a* sq.; Kośa, V, pp. 52-55.

what follows. Example : one and the same women is both daughter and mother.

However if, by right, the self-nature of a dharma always exists, in fact the dharma is momentary (*kṣaṇika*). It lasts the time necessary for the four characteristics of the conditioned (*saṃskṛtalakṣaṇa*) — birth, duration, old age, impermanence — to complete their activity. This time is so brief that no one is capable of understanding it. A rough example can
668 give an idea of the measure of a *kṣaṇa* : 64 kṣaṇas pass in the time that a strong man can snap his fingers (*acchaṭāmātra*)[110].

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The later Mahīśāsakas were the only ones to support the Sarvāstivādins in their thesis that everything exists[111]. Most of the sects protested at the existence of the three time-periods, and the Sautrāntikas subjected them to pitiless criticism.

They remarked in a famous stanza : "[According to you] the self-nature [of a dharma] always exists, but you do not want a being to be eternal or a being to be different from that self-nature; that is clearly acting in the manner of a lord, [without supplying any justification]"[112]. For us, said the Sautrāntikas, only the present exists; the past is what did exist (*yad bhūtapūrvam*); the future is what, the cause being given, will exist (*yad bhaviṣyati*); but past and future do not exist substantially (*dravyatas*) as does the present[113].

Not satisfied with confining the dharma to the present alone, the Sautrāntikas reduced its duration to zero : its moment (*kṣaṇa*) is "the time in which the dharma in motion moves the distance of an atom"[114]; "there is no forward part or backward part, as the atom has no spatial parts". In fact, birth, duration, old-age and impermanence, given by the Buddha and accepted by the Sarvāstivādins as characteristics of the conditioned, are merely entities of reasoning, without any reality of their own. A dharma perishes spontaneously and immediately after having arisen[115]. A dharma-cause produces a dharma-effect, just as one arm of a balance rises when the other descends.

[110] Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 136, p. 701*b* 14; Nyāyānusāra, T 1562, ch. 32, p. 521*c* 13-14; Kośa, III, p. 178; Madh. vṛtti, p. 547; Divya, p. 142; Mahāvyutpatti, 8226.

[111] J. Masuda, p. 62; A. Bareau, p. 187.

[112] Kośa, V, p. 58, Skt. text in Kośavyākhyā, p. 472, and Pañjikā, p. 581.
svabhāvaḥ sarvadā cāsti bhāvo nityaś ca neṣyate
na ca svabhāvād bhāvo 'nyo vyaktam īśvaraceṣṭitam.

[113] Kośa, V, p. 58.

[114] Kośa, III, p. 177.

[115] Kośa, IV, p. 4.

It ensues that an entity is only an uninterrupted chain of juxtaposed instants (*kṣaṇa*). As such, the objects of the external world cannot be
669 perceived directly since, being instantaneous, they have disappeared long before they can have been grasped. One only perceives what is already in the past.

Under such conditions, wondered the Sautrāntikas, what is the thing that cognizes (*vijānāti*) and to what should cognition (*kasya vijñānam*) be attributed? Cognition in respect of the object does nothing at all[116]; quite simply, it "arises like the object", in the same way as the fruit, although it does nothing, is said to correspond to the seed, reproduce the seed, because it emerges like it[117]. Having already passed, the object is not perceived directly, but it leaves an image in the consciousness which reproduces it, and that reproduction causes belief in the present existence of something which already pertains to the past.

For the preceding Buddhists, consciousness was no more than pure cognition, without any content. The Sautrāntikas, in contrast, asserted that it is full of images (*ākāra*). This decisive step set Buddhist speculation on the path of idealism.

It can be seen how, simple though it may be in appearance, the first noble truth proclaiming the universality of suffering was able to supply Buddhists with ample material for reflection.

The second truth concerning the origin of suffering (above, pp. 33-40) poses even more awkward problems. It amounts to saying that transitory, painful and impersonal dharmas do not arise by chance, but according to the strict mechanism of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). The twelve links of this causal chain condition one another and show how passion (*kleśa*) provokes action (*karman*) and how action calls for maturation (*vipāka*). It remains understood that maturation throughout existences operates outside any transmigrating entity and that the Ātman (substantial soul) is non-existent.

Scholars were to discuss at length the nature of the causality which rules the links of the causal chain as well as the process of transmigration without the intervention of a transmigrating entity.

THE NATURE OF CAUSALITY. — The concept of causality is evoked on every page of the canonical writings and there is no lack of terms to
670 express it : *hetu, kāraṇa, nidāna, saṃbhava, pratyaya,* etc. Nevertheless, in the description of dependent origination, the phraseology remains

[116] Kośa, I, p. 86.
[117] Kośa, IX, pp. 280-1.

vague : "This being, that is; through the arising of this, that arises : namely, the formations are conditioned by ignorance, etc".[118].

The schools endeavoured to specify the nature of the manifold causes and conditions which intervene in the arising of phenomena, and rarely in the history of human thought has analysis been pushed so far. There is, however, no room to enter into details. It will have to suffice to note that, in their *Paṭṭhāna*[119], the Theravādins distinguished between up to 24 kinds of conditions (*paccaya*) : condition of cause (*hetu*), of object (*ārammaṇa*), of predominance (*adhipati*), of priority (*anantara*), of contiguity (*samanantara*), etc. They accept that they do not exclude one another and that many of them are identical. According to the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, they can be reduced to only four : object (*ārammaṇa*), decisive support (*upanissaya*), action (*karma*) and presence (*atthi*). Action, it is specified, consists of good or bad worldly volition (*cetanā*), manifested bodily, vocally or mentally as good or bad action. The condition called "of presence" is verified in every phenomenon the presence of which conditions the existence of other phenomena.

Even while acknowledging the synonymity of the words *hetu* and *pratyaya*, the Sarvāstivādins distinguished between them in their explanations[120]. They proposed six *hetu* : 1. *kāraṇahetu*, reason for being; 2. *sahabhūhetu*, mutual cause; 3. *sabhāgahetu*, homogenous cause; 4. *saṃprayuktakahetu*, associated cause; 5. *sarvatragahetu*, universal cause; 6. *vipākahetu*, cause of maturation; and counted four pratyayas : 1. *hetupratyaya*, condition as a cause; 2. *samanantarapratyaya*, as a contiguous and immediate antecedent; 3. *ālambanapratyaya*, as object; 4. *adhipati*, as predominant condition. The general principle is that all dharmas are causes with respect to all the conditioned dharmas, with the exception of themselves, because no dharma constitutes an obstacle to the arising of dharmas which are susceptible to arising[121]. Such a vast extension of the concept enables theoreticians to discover in all things
671 innumerable implications by virtue of which they are both cause and fruit.

ANĀTMAN AND THE SERIES. — The Hīnayāna is a system which is based on two fundamentals : the assertion of the existence of psychophysical phenomena (*skandhavāda*) and the denial of the existence of the

[118] Saṃyutta, II, pp. 28, 65.

[119] Cf. NYANATILOKA, *Guide through the Abhidhammapiṭaka*, pp. 97-109.

[120] For example, Kośa, II, p. 244 sq.

[121] Kośa, II, p. 246.

self or individual (*nairātmyavāda*). The latter thesis is lucidly expressed in the Canon[122], but it rested with the schools to supply its proof.

The Theravādins in the *Kathāvatthu* and *Milindapañha*, the Sarvāstivādins-Vaibhāṣikas in the *Vijñānakāya* and *Vibhāṣā*, the Sautrāntikas in the *Kośa*[123], did not lack arguments in order to establish that the substantial and autonomous self (*ātman*), as conceived by the sectaries, does not exist as such but is only the designation of the series of aggregates (*skandhasaṃtāna*). They showed that the belief in a self, by favouring the birth of the passions, prolongs existence indefinitely and makes deliverance impossible. No proof establishes the existence of a self independent of the aggregates, neither proof of authority (*āgama*), nor proof of evidence (*pratyakṣa*), nor proof of induction (*anumāna*). While the objects of the five sense-consciousnesses and mental consciousness, i.e. matter and thought, are known through evidence, while the five material organs, which are subtle matter, are known through induction — even in the presence of a visible object, vision does not occur if the organ is absent —, the self, independent of the aggregates, equally avoids both evidence and induction. Like a pitcher or a garment, an irregular assemblage, it does not exist as an entity (*dravyatas*), but simply as a denomination (*prajñaptitas*).

However, although the self does not exist as such, the maturation of action remains an indisputable tenet. To repeat the words of Buddhaghosa, there is no agent, but action is a fact; no one suffers, but suffering — the fruit of action — exists. If I am only an ever-renewed sequence, of momentary phenomena, how could action concern me and, in particular, how could I undergo its maturation?

672 The sects resolved this serious problem within the framework of their particular systems.

1. The Sarvāstivādins, as we saw above, were realists who believed in the existence of the three time-periods and acknowledged the reality of the 14 dharmas dissociated from matter and thought (*cittaviprayuktasaṃskāra*) and, among them, *prāpti* or "the possession of action"[124].

Considered, voluntary, action necessarily incurs maturation, but that maturation is not always immediate. The *Divyāvadāna* rightly comments : "Actions do not perish, even after millions of cosmic periods. Encountering the complex of causes and conditions and the favourable time,

[122] Above, pp. 27-29.

[123] Detailed references in the preliminary notes by L. de La Vallée Poussin to Ch. IX of the Kośa, pp. 227-9.

[124] Kośa, II, p. 179.

they fructify"[125]. At the moment when it is accomplished, the action "takes hold of" (*pratigṛhṇāti*) or "projects" (*ākṣipati*) its fruit, but it is only when it is past that it "yields" (*dādāti, prayacchati*) that fruit[126].

Action at the moment it is accomplished creates, in the psycho-physical series of the entity responsible, a "possession" (*prāpti*) of itself. This possession is a transitory dharma which perishes as soon as it has arisen, but engenders a possession similar to itself. We incur this possession at the moment when the action "projects" its fruit and we will continue to retain it, always being renewed, until the moment when the action "yields" its fruit. At that moment, the incessant generating of that possession is interrupted and we have then received its maturation. Thus, action yields its fruit to the benefit of whoever has accomplished it and retained possession of it.

2. The Sautrāntikas ridiculed the existence of the past which "would yield" its fruit and the preposterous role assigned to the *prāpti*, which are purely gratuitous inventions.

They did not admit that the fruit is engendered directly by past action — since the latter, after having been, no longer exists —, but indeed from a special state of the series (*saṃtānaviśeṣa*), a state which precedes
673 action[127]. By series they meant the material and mental aggregates which succeed one another without interruption in a sequence, the original cause of which is action. At the moment an action is accomplished it transforms the series, and that transformation determines an evolution (*pariṇāma*). The last moment of that evolution possesses special or culminating efficacy, the capacity to produce the fruit immediately : it is distinguished, in that connection, from other moments; it is therefore named *viśeṣa*, supreme moment of evolution.

It is therefore wrong to say, as did the Sarvāstivādins, that action projects its fruit when it is present and yields it when it is past. It is enough to say that present action transforms the series of aggregates; the series thus transformed evolves, and the ultimate end of that evolution consists in the maturation of action. Similarly, in nature, a fruit does not grow directly from the seed : it is at the end of a long evolution, which originates in the seed, but which pre-supposes as intermediaries the shoot, stem, leaf and, finally, the flower which brings the fruit into existence.

[125] Divya, pp. 54, 131, 141, 191, 282, 311, 504, 582, 584; Pañjikā, p. 468; Madh. vṛtti, p. 324.

[126] Kośa, II, p. 293; Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa, MCB, IV, 1936, p. 81 of the off-print.

[127] Kośa, II, pp. 185, 272; V, p. 63; IX, p. 296; Karmasiddhi, p. 88.

One Sautrāntika category went so far as to admit the existence of a subtle thought (*sūkṣmacitta*), the fruit of maturation endowed with all the seeds (*sarvabījaka*) of the phenomenal world[128]. By the very fact of maturation, it continues in a series, from the taking of existence until death, and after death passes (*saṃkrāmati*) to a new existence. It is thus prolonged in various aspects (*ākāraviśeṣa*) until Nirvāṇa, when it is definitively destroyed. This subtle thought of the Sautrāntikas is close to the "store-consciousness" (*ālayavijñāna*) as it was later to be conceived by the idealist scholars of the Mahāyāna. There is however more difference namely that the Sautrāntikas still believe in the reality of an external object, while the Vijñānavādin only accepts the existence of thought alone.

3. Such as it was conceived by the Sarvāstivādins and Sautrāntikas, the theory of the series (*saṃtāna*) left the old Buddhist principle of Anātman intact. We may wonder whether the latter was not gravely threatened by the doctrine of the "indefinable individual" (*avaktavya pudgala*) of which the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas were the protagonists[129]. This school met with great success from the fourth to the seventh
674 centuries of the Christian era and its adherents were in the majority when Hsüan tsang visited India[130].

It accepted a Pudgala, i.e., an individual, a person, while acknowledging that it is neither identical to the aggregates (*skandha*) nor different from them. It is not identical to the aggregates, for it would be susceptible to annihilation (*uccheda*); but it is not other than the aggregates, for it would be eternal (*śāśvata*) and therefore unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*). It reacts to the aggregates as fire does to kindling : fire is not identical to the kindling, since the "kindled" would be the same as the kindler; it is not different from the kindling, since the kindling would not be hot[131].

[128] Karmasiddhi, pp. 100-3.

[129] J. Masuda, p. 53; A. Bareau, p. 115. — The Pudgala theory is described in the Saṃmitīyanikāyaśāstra, T 1649; it is explained and refuted in the Kathāvatthu, I, 1 (pp. 1-69); Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 9, p. 42*c*; ch. 11, p. 55*a*; Kośa, IX, p. 232; Satyasiddhiśāstra, T 1646, ch. 3, p. 259*a*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 1, p. 61*a*; Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā, T 1521, ch. 9, p. 69*b*; Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya, T 1595, ch. 2, p. 160*c*; Siddhi, pp. 14-16.

[130] One of their scholars was perhaps the Arhat or Bhikṣu Gopa who composed a *Shêng chiao yao shih lun*, Treatise on the essential truths of the Holy Doctrine, in which he taught the existence of the Ātman. Hsüan tsang, who places him in Viśoka, makes him a contemporary and rival of Devaśarman, the author of the Vijñānakāyapāda of the Sarvāstivādins (T 2053, ch. 3, p. 234*c* 7-8; T 2087, ch. 5, p. 898*c* 16-17).

[131] Kośa, IX, p. 234.

Among the arguments invoked as authoritative by the school is the Sutta of the Bearer of the Burden (*Saṃyutta*, III, p. 25), in which the Buddha explains that the burden consists of the five aggregates, and the bearer of the burden, such-and-such a person (*pudgala*) with such-and-such a name and from such-and-such a clan[132].

For the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas, that person is the only dharma to pass on (*saṃkrāmati*) from this world into the other, and it does indeed seem that it is to them that can be attributed the curious theory of "non-perishing" (*avipraṇāśa*) intended to explain the mechanism of maturation[133]. A good or bad action perishes as soon as it arises, but not until it has deposited in its agent a "non-perishing" of itself, comparable to the acknowledgement of a debt and a true right to the fruit. This *avipraṇāśa* is a dharma dissociated from thought; neutral from the
675 moral point of view, it can affect equally the offender and the holy one. It continues to exist as long as it has not yielded its fruit in one of the four worlds : *kāma-*, *rūpa-* *ārūpya-* or *anāsrava-dhātu*. It no longer acts when it has yielded its fruit or when one avoids its fruit by reaching a world higher than that in which it would normally have fructified.

All the Buddhist schools joined forces against the indefinable Pudgala of the Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas, in which they suspected a rehabilitation of the Ātman of the heretics and which they considered to be blemished with the belief in individuality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*) condemned by the Buddha. There are two possibilities : either the Pudgala exists as an entity (*dravyatas*) and is eternal and unconditioned — which is a non-Buddhist doctrine —, or it exists as a denomination (*prajñaptitas*) and then all Buddhists are in agreement.

THE ASAMSKṚTA AND NIRVĀṆA[134]. — The third noble truth asserts the cessation of suffering, i.e. Nirvāṇa. In contrast to the phenomena of existence, dharmas of becoming conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) by the process of cause and fruit, Nirvāṇa is unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), an Absolute, not arising from any cause.

The Theravādins accepted only one *asaṃskṛta*, Nirvāṇa; the Sarvāsti-

[132] Kośa, IX, p. 256.

[133] The theory of *avipraṇāśa* is explained in the Karmasiddhi (off-print, pp. 86-7); Kośa, II, p. 304; Nyāyānusāra, T 1562, ch. 19, p. 444*b* 23; Madh. Kārikā, XVII, 14 (cf. T 1564, ch. 3, p. 22*b* 22-23; Madh. vṛtti, pp. 317-23); Madh. avatāra, Tib. version by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, St Petersburg, 1907, p. 126, 1.12 (tr. Muséon, 1910, p. 318); Prajñāpradīpa, T 1566, ch. 10, p. 100*c* 24 sq. — K'uei chi attributes this theory to the Saṃmatīyas (cf. Siddhi, p. 71).

[134] On the Asaṃskṛta, see the learned dissertation by A. BAREAU, *L'Absolu en philosophie bouddhique*, Paris, 1951; on Nirvāṇa, references above, p. 40.

vādins recognized three[135] : 1. space (*ākāśa*) which does not hinder matter and is not disturbed by it; 2-3. two kinds of Nirvāṇa : the cessation of suffering due to discriminating wisdom (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*) consisting of the comprehension of the truths and separation from impure dharmas; the cessation of suffering not due to discriminating wisdom (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*) consisting of the absolute stopping of the arising of future dharmas.

Certain schools, such as that of the Mahāsāṃghikas[136], multiplied the *asaṃskṛta* : not only space and the two kinds of Nirvāṇa were unconditioned, but also the formless spheres and even dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) : to which one can reply, with the Theravādins and Sarvâstivādins, that, if each of the twelve links (*aṅga*) of that origination is conditioned, it is difficult to see how the whole could be unconditioned.

676 The Sautrāntikas denied the real existence of unconditioned things, including Nirvāṇa[137]. They accepted, however, the end of suffering — without which they would not have been Buddhists —, but refused to consider that pure absence as an entity.

On the nature of Nirvāṇa, the Absolute situated beyond experience, opinions vary.

1. It is possible, as L. de La Vallée Poussin claimed, that according to the ancient concept held by the Buddha and his disciples, Nirvāṇa was understood to be an immovable abode, conceived in the manner of the mystical worlds of the Yogins[138]. The latest research by M. Eliade is in favour of this interpretation.

2. The Nirvāṇa of the Sarvāstivādins is an entity (*dravya*), the only one worthy of that name — "everything is false, except Nirvāṇa" —, the unborn, release. Nonetheless, whatever is "nirvāṇized" does not exist[139]. This last proposition is in keeping with Buddhist logic. If rebirth takes place without the intervention of an individual, of a person, Nirvāṇa, which marks its end, cannot in any way be the abode of the "nirvāṇized".

The holy one whose defilements are all destroyed (*kṣīṇāsrava*) possesses "Nirvāṇa with residual conditioning" (*sopadhiśeṣa*) : he is freed from

[135] Kośa, I, pp. 7-8.

[136] J. Masuda, p. 29; A. Bareau, p. 67.

[137] Kośa, II, pp. 278-9.

[138] L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Une dernière note sur le Nirvāṇa*, Mel. Linossier, II, pp. 329-54.

[139] Id., *'Documents d'Abhidharma, Textes relatifs au Nirvāṇa'*, BEFEO, XXX, 1930, pp. 1-28, 247-98; *Les deux Nirvāṇa d'après la Vibhāṣā*, Ac. de Belg., 14 Oct. 1929.

the conditioning of passion (*kleśopadhi*), but still retains that of the body received at birth (*janmakāyopadhi*). He continues to live as long as the series of the great elements and form is not severed, as long as the series of thoughts based on the five organs continues[140].

After the decease of the holy one, as life has been destroyed, and as the psycho-physical series has been severed never to occur again, there is a complete destruction of the fetters : this is what is called Nirvāṇa "without residual conditioning" (*nirupadhiśeṣa*).

3. The Sautrāntika, as we have just seen, asserts that the threefold unconditioned is not real : space is only the absence of a resisting body, Nirvāṇa is, after the destruction of the passions and the dharmas of
677 existence, the absence of their renewal. Nirvāṇa is the conclusion, negative and unreal, of dependent origination which was positive and real; it is a *paścād abhāva*, non-existence succeeding existence, a *nirodha*, cessation and nothing more[141].

If he were to be told : "The Buddha taught an Unborn, a Nirvāṇadhātu, and your Nirvāṇa is only an absence", he could reply, as did a commentator on Āryadeva : "The Sūtra says that there is a Nirvāṇadhātu, but that is in order to reprove people who deny Nirvāṇa; people who think that Saṃsāra, which had no beginning, will have no end. There is in fact a complete cessation of the fire of the passions and of suffering"[142].

4. The Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas who considered the Pudgala as a real entity (*dravya*), although indefinable in its relationship with the aggregates, remained consistent with themselves by extolling a kind of Nirvāṇa-existence in which the "nirvāṇized" dwells in some way. Here again, they were prudent in formulating their thesis in order not to provoke too strong a reaction. "It cannot be said", they asserted, "that Nirvāṇa is identical to all things (*dharma*), nor that it is truly differentiated from them. It cannot be said that it truly exists nor that it truly does not exist"[143].

MĀRGA. — The object of the fourth noble truth is the path leading to the cessation of suffering, i.e., the path of Nirvāṇa. It consists of eight branches (*aṣṭāṅgika*) or eight "tracks", which obviously should not be trodden successively, but simultaneously, and which in the end converge on right view (*samyagdṛṣṭi*). The latter, starting from the most slender

[140] Kośa, VI, p. 211, note.
[141] Kośa, II, pp. 282, 284.
[142] L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Madhyamaka*, MCB, II, 1932, p. 28.
[143] M. WALLESER, *Sekten*, p. 87; A. BAREAU, p. 117.

germ of faith and knowledge, gradually increases until it reaches the highest stage of Enlightenment and direct insight (*vipaśyanā*) : it is therefore the indispensable condition for acquiring the fruits of the path and attaining Nirvāṇa.

The Buddha and the early canonical texts[144] analyzed the path in its three essential and inseparable elements : morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). They also defined the four great fruits
678 of the religious life which free the *srotaāpanna* from all delusion concerning the nature of things, in particular the nature of the self; the *sakṛdāgāmin*, from the first six categories of fetters pertaining to the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*); the *anāgāmin*, from all fetters pertaining to that same world; and, finally, the *arhat*, from all fetters pertaining to the two higher worlds.

However, it lies with the Buddhist schools to elucidate for us the various stages of the supramundane (*lokottara*) path, which does not lead to the possession of a world or paradise of any kind, but causes one to pass beyond the worlds to the other shore of the ocean of existences, namely Nirvāṇa.

Each sect had its own particular concepts concerning the path, but here we cannot enter into the details of their discussions. We will merely give a brief description of the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika system which seems to be, if not the clearest, at least the best constructed[145].

The path is conceived as both an intellectual discipline (meditation on the truths) and a moral and spiritual discipline (disgust, detachment from the passions). Its main factors are perfect mental quietude (*śamatha*) and transcendental insight (*vipaśyanā*). It is basically characterized by concentration (*samādhi*) on the four noble truths (*āryasatya*) in their sixteen aspects (*ṣoḍadaśākāra*)[146] :

1. The four aspects concerning suffering (*duḥkha*) : a. impermanent (*anitya*), b. painful (*duḥkha*), c. empty (*śūnya*), d. selfless (*anātmaka*).

2. The four aspects concerning the origin (*samudaya*) of suffering : a. cause (*hetu*), b. origin (*samudaya*), c. product, (*prabhava*), d. combined condition (*pratyaya*).

144 See above, pp. 42-47.

145 Two descriptions of remarkable clarity can be found in L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Note sommaire sur le Chemin*, Foreword to Kośa, V; E. OBERMILLER, *The Path of the Śrāvaka*, in *The Doctrine of Prajñā-Pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya*, Acta Orientalia, XI, 1932, pp. 18-26.

146 This list, which is not canonical, nevertheless has its own place in the School : Saṃyuktābhidharma of Dharmatrāta, T 1552, ch. 6, p. 918*a-b*; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 79, p. 408*c*; Kośa, VI, p. 163; VII, pp. 30-4; Mahāvyutpatti, 1190-1205.

3. The four aspects concerning the cessation (*nirodha*) of suffering : a. cessation (*nirodha*), b. calm (*śānta*), c. excellent (*praṇīta*), d. salvation (*niḥsaraṇa*).

679 4. The four aspects concerning the path (*mārga*) : a. path (*mārga*), b. correct method (*nyāya*), c. progress (*pratipad*), d. definitive release (*nairyāṇika*).

In order to obtain perfect understanding of these truths and simultaneously the eradiction of all the passions, the candidate or, according to the traditional expression, the Śrāvaka (Auditor, disciple) must traverse five stages. During the first two, he remains a worldling (*pṛthagjana*); as from the third, he is already a holy one (*ārya*).

I. Path of the accumulation of merits (*saṃbhāramārga*).

By nurturing in himself disgust for existence and an aspiration for Nirvāṇa, the Śrāvaka plants the wholesome roots leading to deliverance" (*mokṣabhāgīya kuśalamūla*).

Proceeding as a monk or at least an upāsaka, he combats desire within himself by practising the moral qualities which place him in the lineage of the holy ones (*āryavaṃśa*) i.e. being satisfied with (little) clothing (*cīvara*), alms-food (*piṇḍapāta*), seating (*śayanāsana*) and delighting in Nirvāṇa and the path which leads to it[147].

Meditation on the repulsive (*aśubhabhāvanā*) — the contemplation of a decomposing body — and control of the breath (*ānāpānasmṛti*)[148] enable him to fight efficiently against desire and distraction and prepare him for meditation.

This meditation consists of four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), the objects of which are respectively the body (*kāya*), feeling (*vedanā*), the mind (*citta*) and dharma[149]. These practices consist of wisdom (*prajñā*) derived from listening (*śruta*), reflection (*cintā*) and contemplation (*bhāvanā*), which enables one to see things according to their particular and general features (*svasāmānya-lakṣaṇa*) : "All dharmas are impermanent (*anitya*), painful (*duḥkha*), empty (*śūnya*) and selfless (*anātmaka*)". However, this knowledge is impure and imperfect, because it is not absolutely free of all passion (*kleśa*) and all delusion (*viparyāsa*).

II. Path of practice (*prayogamārga*).

While the ascetic is plunged into meditation — pre-ecstatic (*anāga-*
680 *mya*), inter-ecstatic (*dhyānāntara*) or ecstatic (*dhyāna*) —, he acquires,

[147] Dīgha, III, p. 224; Aṅguttara, II, p. 27; Kośa, VI, pp. 146-8.

[148] Kośa, VI, pp. 148-53.

[149] Dīgha, II, p. 290 sq.; Majjhima, I, p. 56; Saṃyutta, V, pp. 141, 166; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 457; Kośa, VI, p. 153 sq.

after the *dharma-smṛtyupasthāna* described above, the four "wholesome roots contributing to penetration" (*nirvedhabhāgīya kuśalamūla*) : heat (*uṣmagata*), heads (*mūrdhan*), patience (*kṣānti*) and supreme worldly dharmas (*laukikāgradharma*)[150]. These are *smṛtyupasthāna* of a higher quality whose object is no longer the general marks of dharmas, but the four noble truths and their sixteen aspects. The latter appear even more clearly to the ascetic, but the knowledge of them, even at the summit of the supreme worldly dharmas, remains impure.

III. Path of vision (*darśanamārga*).

This stage, which marks the beginning of the path proper, is characterized by the vision (*darśana*) of the noble truths in their sixteen aspects and by the abandoning (*prahāṇa*) of a category of passions (*kleśa*)[151].

This vision is direct comprehension (*abhisamaya*) and undefiled wisdom (*anāsravā prajñā*), because it is free from all delusion (*viparyāsa*), especially the false view of individuality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*), and consists of the elimination of the passions which oppose the vision of the truths, and as such, can only be abandoned by [correct] vision (*darśanaheya*).

Direct comprehension is gradual (*anupūrvābhisamaya*) because it develops in sixteen thought-moments : four for each of the four truths. The truths in fact apply to the lower world of desire (*kāmadhātu*) and to two higher worlds called that of subtle matter (*rūpa dhātu*) and that of formlessness (*ārūpyadhātu*).

We will begin with the first truth, that of suffering (*duḥkha*), which concerns first the world of desire and then the two higher worlds. The comprehension which applies to it consists of four moments or four thoughts[152] :

681 1. Patience with regard to knowledge about suffering (*duḥkhe dharmajñānakṣānti*), affecting the Kāmadhātu. This patience (*kṣānti*) is an acquiescence, not yet exempt from doubt or passion, but eliminating precisely that doubt and that passion. The ascetic reflects : "Doubtless in the Kāmadhātu, all dharmas are impermanent, painful, empty and selfless". This patience eliminates a certain doubt, a certain category of passions; that is why it constitutes a path of abandonment (*prahāṇamārga*), also known as uninterrupted path (*ānantaryamārga*). Through that abandonment, the Śrāvaka stops being a wordling (*pṛthagjana*) and

[150] The expression *nibbedhabhāgiya* is canonical (Dīgha, III, pp. 251, 277; Aṅguttara, III, p. 427), but the list of the four *kuśalamūla* is not. It is found in Divyāvadāna, pp. 50, 79-80; Jñānaprasthāna, ed. Sastri, pp. 6-7; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 6, p. 29*c*; Kośa, VI, p. 169; Pañjikā, p. 426; Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 93; Mahāvyutpatti, 1211-15.

[151] Kośa, VI, p. 185.

[152] Kośa, VI, pp. 189-91.

is transformed into a holy one (*ārya*), anchored in the certainty that one day he will acquire the absolute good (*samyaktvaniyāmāvakrānti*), i.e. Nirvāṇā.

2. Knowledge in respect of suffering (*duḥkhe dharmajñāna*), affecting the Kāmadhātu. When *kṣānti* has eliminated every element of doubt in the ascetic concerning the suffering of the Kāmadhātu and has thus discarded the category of passions relating to that Kāmadhātu, the ascetic takes possession of the disconnection from that doubt and passion through a knowledge (*dharmajñāna*) which is firm (*niścita*) and free from doubt : "Certainly, in the Kāmadhātu, all dharmas are impermanent...". This knowledge delivered from the passion in question, is named the path of deliverance (*vimuktimārga*).

3 and 4. Afterwards, the ascetic comprehends the truth of suffering, this time concerning the two higher worlds of the Rūpa- and Ārūpyadhātus with two further thought-moments, one of *kṣānti*, the other of *jñāna*, both of which are known as subsequent (*anvaya*) because they succeed the previous two. They are called : 1. subsequent patience over suffering [pertaining to the higher worlds] (*duḥkhe 'nvayajñānakṣāntiḥ*), 2. subsequent knowledge of suffering [pertaining to the higher worlds] (*duḥkhe 'nvayajñāna*).

The sixteen thought-moments of the gradual comprehension can therefore be classed in the following way :

I. Duḥkhe	1. dharmajñānakṣānti 2. dharmajñāna	Kāma
	3. anvayajñānakṣānti 4. anvayajñāna	Rūpa and Ārūpya
II. Samudaye	1. dharmajñānakṣānti 2. dharmajñāna	Kāma
	3. anvayajñānakṣānti 4. anvayajñāna	Rūpa and Ārūpya
682 III. Nirodhe	1. dharmajñānakṣānti 2. dharmajñāna	Kāma
	3. anvayajñānakṣānti 4. anvayajñāna	Rūpa and Ārūpya
IV. Mārge	1. dharmajñānakṣānti 2. dharmajñāna	Kāma
	3. anvayajñānakṣānti 4. anvayajñāna	Rūpa and Ārūpya

Therefore, in all there are eight thought-moments of *kṣānti* and eight thought-moments of *jñāna*. Among the latter, four *dharmajñāna* are

connected with the Kāmadhātu and four thought-moments of *anvayajñāna* concern the two higher worlds.

The sixteenth thought-moment, *marge 'nvayajñāna*, is no longer a part of the path of vision (*darśanamārga*), but initiates the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*)[153]. In fact, from that instant the ascetic possesses the destruction of all the passions to be abandoned through vision (*darśanaheya*). He then acquires the first fruit of the religious life (*śrāmaṇyaphala*), that of the Srotaāpanna, from which he cannot regress (at least according to the Sarvāstivādin theory). His deliverance is assured and will be rapid, since he will attain Nirvāṇa after seven rebirths at the most.

IV. The path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*).

The path of the vision of the truths destroys only those passions "to be abandoned by vision" (*darśanaheya*) which opposed the vision of the truths. These are thirty-two impassioned tendencies (*anuśaya*), the main one being the false view of individuality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*)[154]. However, the path of vision leaves intact the countless natural passions, craving (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), etc., the object of which, unlike the "Self", can be real. Pleasant feeling, the object of greed, is real.

These passions, which can be qualified as "innate" (*sahaja kleśa*) are "to be destroyed by meditation" (*bhāvanāheya*)[155]. Hence the necessity for the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*) defined as repeated confrontation (*punaḥ punar āmukhīkaraṇa*) and prolonged effort (*abhyāsa*) in respect of the Buddhist truths.

683 The innate passions are dispersed throughout the nine spheres of the triple world (1. Kāmadhātu, 2-5. Four *dhyāna* of the Rūpadhātu, 6-9. Four *āyatana* of the Ārūpyadhātu), and in each of those spheres appear under nine different modalities (strong-strong, strong-middling, strong-weak; middling-strong, middling-middling, middling-weak; weak-strong, weak-middling, weak-weak)[156]. Thus there are 81 categories of passions each to be destroyed by a thought-moment of abandonment or expulsion (*prahāṇa-* or *ānantaryamārga*) and by one thought-moment of deliverance (*vimuktimārga*) by means of which the ascetic takes possession of the abandonment of passion. Those 162 thought-moments constitute the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*).

At the 12th moment of meditation, the ascetic is freed from the sixth

[153] Kośa, VI, pp. 191-2.
[154] Kośa, V, p. 11.
[155] Kośa, VI, p. 257.
[156] Kośa, VI, pp. 198-9.

category of passion (middling-weak) of the Kāmadhātu. He then obtains the second fruit of the path and becomes a Sakṛdāgāmin, i.e., he will be reborn only once in the Kāmadhātu[157].

At the 18th moment of meditation, the ascetic is freed from the ninth and last category of passion (weak-weak) of the Kāmadhātu. He thus obtains the third fruit of the path and becomes an Anāgāmin, assured of not being reborn again in the Kāmadhātu, but only among the gods of the two higher worlds[158].

At the 161st moment of meditation, the ascetic abandons the 81st passion which is at the same time the ninth and last passion of the fourth and last sphere of the Ārūpya, known as *Naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*, "Sphere of neither perception nor non-perception", or again *Bhavāgra* "Summit of existence". This abandonment bears the name of *Vajropamasamādhi* "diamond-like concentration"[159]. This abandonment is immediately followed by a 162nd moment which is :

V. The path of the Aśaikṣa (*aśaikṣamārga*) or Arhat.

The Vajropamasamādhi is followed by a moment of deliverance by means of which the ascetic takes possession of the destruction of the last passion and, through that very deed, of all the passions (*kleśa*) and defilements (*āsrava*). He is henceforth an Arhat, "holy one worthy of the respect of all", or an Aśaikṣa, "holy one who no longer has to train
684 (*śikṣ-*) with a view to the destruction of the defilements"[160]. He possesses the knowledge of the destruction (*kṣayajñāna*) of the defilements[161] and, when he is unshakable (*akopya*) — which, according to the Sarvāstivādins, is not always the case —, the knowledge of the non-arising (*anutpādajñāna*) of the defilements[162]. To put it more simply, he knows that all the defilements are destroyed in himself and will never recur.

The path described here is the undefiled (*anāsrava*) or supramundane (*lokottara*) path in which the path of meditation (*bhāvanā*) follows that of the vision of the truths (*darśana*). However, this undefiled and supramundane path can be combined with a defiled (*sāsrava, samala*) and worldly (*laukika*) path.

In fact, while the passions to be abandoned by vision (*darśanaheya kleśa*), belief in individuality, etc., can be cut off only by direct compre-

[157] Kośa, VI, p. 208.
[158] Kośa, VI, p. 209.
[159] Kośa, VI, pp. 227-9.
[160] Kośa, VI, p. 230.
[161] Kośa, VI, p. 230.
[162] Kośa, VI, p. 240.

hension (*abhisamaya*) of the truths, the passions to be abandoned by meditation (*bhāvanāheya kleśa*) — with the exception of the nine categories of passions of the Naivasaṃjñāyatana or Bhavāgra[163] — are likely to cut off by a defiled or worldly meditation (*laukikā bhāvanā*) preceding the comprehension of the truths. In fact, every ascetic, even if he is not a Buddhist, can, by means of simple natural disgust, become detached from the coarse pleasures of the World of Desire and even from the subtle pleasures of the two higher worlds, with the exception of the Bhavāgra.

This was particularly the case for the Buddha Śâkyamuni. When he sat under the Tree of Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā, he was only a worldling (*pṛthagjana*), but a worldling who, through purely mundane meditation, had already become detached from all the innate passions pertaining to the three worlds, with the exception of the nine categories of passions of the Bhavāgra.

From there, in order to reach Enlightenment, Śākyamuni had to devote himself to two endeavours. The first consisted of passing through, in sixteen thought-moments, the path of the pure vision of the truths (*satyadarśana*) which freed him from the passions to be abandoned by vision (*darśanaheya*). The second had the effect of freeing him from the nine categories of innate (*sahaja*) passions connected with the Bhavāgra : he obtained that result by applying to each of them a
685 thought of abandonment (*prahāṇamārga*) and a thought of deliverance (*vimuktimārga*), i.e. eighteen thoughts.

Sixteen thoughts of *abhisamaya* plus eighteen thoughts of pure *bhāvanā* add up in all to thirty-four thoughts which the Buddha had to achieve under the tree in order to reach Enlightenment. That is the figure accepted by the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 153, p. 780*a* 27, *c* 5) and the *Kośa* (II, p. 206; VI, p. 177).

The Buddhist Path, as it was conceived by the Sarvâstivādins, represents an admirable monument of scholastics. It is based on the conviction that comprehension of the truths (*abhisamaya*), and hence the advance along the way of deliverance, is progressive or gradual (*anupūrva*). This conviction, formulated by the Sarvāstivādins in the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 78) and *Kośa* (VI, pp. 185-9), was shared by the later Mahīśāsakas (J. Masuda, p. 32), Andhakas, Saṃmatīyas and Bhadrāyanīyas (Comm. on *Kathāvatthu*, II, 9, pp. 212-20). It may be based on a solemn declaration made by the Buddha asserting that the comprehension of the four truths is progressive and not once for all (*caturṇām*

[163] On the reason for this restriction, Kośa, VI, p. 233.

āryasatyānām anupūrvābhisamayo na tv ekābhisamayaḥ), the idea of which was developed in various places in the writings : *Dhammapada* v.239; *Suttanipāta*, v.962; *Aṅguttara*, IV, pp. 200-1; and above all the three comparisons of the storied mansion (*kūṭāgāra*), the stairway with four flights (*catuṣkaḍevara sopāna*) and the ladder with four rungs (*catuṣpadikā niḥśreṇī*), all of which are elaborated in the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, Nos. 436-7, ch. 16, p. 113*a-b*), *Saṃyuttanikāya* (V, pp. 452-3) and *Kośavyākhyā* (pp. 543-4).

However, the system commended here appeared too unwieldy and complicated to some sects : the Theravādins (*Kathāvatthu*, II, 9, pp. 212-20), Mahāsāṃghikas (J. MASUDA, p. 21), early Mahīśāsakas (J. MASUDA, p. 59) and Vibhajyavādins (*Vibhāṣā*, T 1545, ch. 103, p. 533*a* 22-3) were adherents of a once for all and total comprehension of the truths : the clear understanding of a single instant would immediately lead to knowledge of all the aspects of the four truths. We might recall in the wording of Mahādeva's fifth heretical proposition (above, p. 275) adopted by the Mahāsāṃghika schools, that the exclamation : "O suffering!" could lead instantly to the Path, the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*) as much as the initial stage of the path of vision
686 (*darśanamārga*). Nevertheless, the few scriptural texts upon which those sects based their thesis (*Saṃyutta*, V, p. 437; *Suttanipāta*, v.231; *Vinaya*, I, p. 11 = *Saṃyutta*, IV, pp. 47, 107 = *Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 186 : texts quoted in *Kathāvatthu*, I, p. 220) are not clearly established, and Vasubandhu had no trouble in interpreting them as he wished (*Kośa*, VI, pp. 185-9).

However that may be, from the first centuries of Buddhism, two great theses confronted each other in the field of mystics : that of progressive (*anupūrva*) comprehension and that of once for all (*eka*) or "sudden" (*yugapat*) comprehension. Having smouldered for a long time, the argument became more heated and finally erupted in the eighth century in Tibet, during the reign of Khri sroṅ lde bcan. The council of Lhasa opposed the "school of the sudden method" (Tun mên pai) represented by the Chinese master Hva śaṅ, known as Mahāyāna, to the "school of the gradual method" (Chien mên pai) whose protagonist was the Indian Kamalaśīla. A voluminous study, which is a model of clarity and erudition, has been devoted to this memorable event by P. Demiéville[164].

[164] P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, I (Bibl. de l'Inst. des Hautes Études Chinoises, VII), Paris, 1952.

When we compare the very simple explanation in the discourse at Vārāṇasī with the entire scholastic output, we cannot but respect and admire the efforts made by the sects to clarify the message of the four noble truths in all its most unexpected details. We should also note the perfect faithfulness of the disciples to the spirit of their Master. The progress made in Abhidharma constitutes more an explanation of the doctrine than an evolution or especially a deviation. It is the work of scholars labouring in cells, far from the noisy crowd which would be incapable of grasping the import of the work carried out and discussed among specialists.

Nevertheless, the influence of the surrounding atmosphere was felt as far as the very interior of the monasteries and compelled the Buddhist theoreticians to come to terms with lay aspirations over certain points and to a certain degree.

3. — CONCESSIONS TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE LAITY

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAY SPHERE. — Buddhism is not only a spiritual philosophy for the use of candidates to Nirvāṇa. It is also a religion which overflowed the limited area of the monasteries and
687 permeated all levels of the population. Doubtless, with regard to certain points of doctrine and ritual, the monks did not have to come to terms with the aspirations of the laity.

We saw, at the end of the first chapter, the efforts made by the Upāsakas, unofficial members of the community, to win equal religious rights and to raise themselves to the level of the bhikṣus. We should recall that the long and arduous struggle resulted in victory for the laity; in a partial victory for the Hīnayāna schools, certain of which acknowledged the possibility for the laymen to attain holiness and agreed to limit the privileges of the Arhat-religious; in a total victory for the Mahāyāna, where the "son of good family", just like the monk, could aspire to Buddhahood.

We will not return here to the doctrinal concessions agreed to on that occasion by the Abhidharma masters. The problem envisaged will be more general. As will be seen in the next chapter, the increasing success of the propaganda had the effect of transforming Buddhism from the philosophico-mystical message which it was to begin with into a true religion including a God (more exactly, a deified Buddha), a pantheon, holy ones, a mythology and a worship. This religion soon infiltrated the monasteries and influenced, though only slightly, the learned scholars. For we must not forget that the bhikṣus made their recruits among the

people, and renouncing the world did not suffice to sever automatically every wordly bond : inside the yellow robe, the monk remains a man of his times and environment. However, the learned monastics who, at the beginning of the Christian era, compared the ancient doctrine of the sūtras with ideas that were current in the fourfold assembly, could not help noticing the changes undergone by the Good Law under the influence of the lay sphere, both Indian and foreign. They lacked the necessary authority to oppose innovations of a doctrinal and disciplinary kind; all the same, they were skillful enough to direct the movement and maintain the essential part of Śākyamuni's message, while partially yielding to the new ideas from which Mahāyāna Buddhism was eventually to emerge.

The struggle between the original orthodoxy and the innovatory tendencies was particularly marked on the subcontinent; the remoteness
688 of Ceylon protected her for a long time from foreign influences. It is true that, under the protection of their founder kings, the disciples of Mahinda conformed widely to external pomp : we have previously seen the grandiose ceremonies which marked the founding of the Mahāvihāra by Devānaṃpiyatissa (250-210 B.C.), the erection of the Lohapāsāda (Brazen Palace) and the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli Dāgaba) by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (104-80 B.C.), and the inauguration of the Abhayagirivihāra by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (32 B.C.). However, all this external pomp, organized by the kings and monks, remained in line with the most strict orthodoxy and no popular superstition was involved. It was only for disciplinary reasons that, in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the religious from the Abhayagiri, separated from the community of the Mahāvihāra, taking with them in their secession the monks of the Dakkhiṇavihāra. Those schismatics, reinforced by a contingent of Vajjiputtakas who had come from the mainland under the leadership of Dhammaruci, were no different from the orthodox Theras except with regard to disciplinary practices of minor importance. Mahāyānist ideas did not infiltrate into Ceylon until the second half of the third century, during the reign of Vohārikatissa (260-282 A.D.); the monastics at the Abhayagiri openly adopted the heretic Piṭaka of the Vetulla; but, on the intervention of the king and his minister Kapila, those apocryphal writings were burned and the monks of the Abhayagiri fell into disgrace. From its foundation in 250 B.C. until the end of the third century A.D., the Sinhalese community was therefore effectively shielded from the new ideas which, in an overt or covert form, so profoundly altered the communities on the mainland.

So, in North-West India, the Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṃghika com-

munities, subjected to all the alien influences, both political and religious, had to come to terms time after time with the innovatory tendencies and constantly modify their positions. Under the impulse of popular feeling, they were led to emphasize ever more strongly the attributes and privileges of the transcendental Buddha, his achievements in his career as a Bodhisattva, the place to be given to minor gods in Buddhist piety, the importance of external practices and the legitimacy of the worship. All these questions are of a religious kind and only very indirectly concern the philosophical elaboration of the doctrine to which the Abhidharmas are devoted; they therefore deserve to be treated separately.

689 SARVĀSTIVĀDIN AND MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA BUDDHOLOGY.* — In the Pāli Nikāyas and especially the Sanskrit Āgamas[165], it is already possible to discern a tendency to distinguish between three bodies in the Buddha : a corruptible body (*pūtikāya*), born from the womb, formed of the four elements, subject to old-age-and-death; mind-made bodies (*manomayakāya*) with which he visits the higher worlds, becoming a Māra among the Māras, a Brahmā among the Brahmās, etc.; finally and above all, a Doctrinal-body (*dharmakāya*), defined by the teaching itself and revered above all by the devout : "I am", they say, "the son of the Bhagavat, born from his lips, born from the Dharma, created by the Dharma, inheritor of the Dharma[166]. Why is that so? Because the Buddhas have as bodies the Dharma, the Brahman, are the Dharma, the Brahman"[167]. It serves no purpose to see the Buddha in his material body (*rūpakāya*), in his corruptible body (*pūtikāya*); he should be seen in his *dharmakāya*, i.e., in his teaching[168]. To see the Pratītyasamutpāda which is the axiom of the teaching, is to see the Dharmakāya, to see the Buddha[169].

Although very important, these are only sparse notions which the Sarvāstivādins had to systematize[170]. They attributed three separate bodies to the Buddha : 1. a body resulting from maturation (*vipāka-*

[165] References collated by P. DÉMIEVILLE, Hōbōgirin, s.v. *'Busshin'*, p. 174 sq.

[166] Dīgha, III, p. 84; comp. Saṃyutta, II, p. 221; Itivuttaka, p. 101.

[167] Dīgha, III, p. 84; Majjhima, III, p. 195; comp. Theragāthā, v.491.

[168] Saṃyutta, III, p. 120; Divyāvadāna, pp. 19, 396-7. While meditating on impermanence in his cave, Subhūti was the first to greet the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha; he thus preceded the nun Utpalavarṇā who had gone to Sāṃkāśya to greet Śākyamuni's *janmakāya* (references in *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, II, p. 635, note).

[169] Majjhima, I, pp. 190-1.

[170] Explanation and references in L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Siddhi*, pp. 766-73.

kāya), also called material body (*rūpakāya*) or body obtained by birth (*janmakāya*), born of Māyā in the Lumbinī garden, with all the marks imprinted in him through the practice of the perfections. Although endowed with extraordinary strength, that body which emerged from the womb by true birth, and which was not simply apparitional (*aupapāduka*), is defiled (*sāsrava*), in the sense that the passion of others, craving, hatred or delusion, can be nurtured by it. — 2. Above the physical person of the Buddha, the Sarvāstivādins posited a Dharma-
690 kāya, a collection of conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) but undefiled (*anāsrava*) dharmas, the possession of which turns the bodhisattva into a Buddha : morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*), deliverance (*vimukti*) and the knowledge and vision of that deliverance (*vimuktijñānadarśana*). An adherent seeks refuge, not in the physical person of the Buddha, but in his undefiled dharmas. The latter, identical in all the Buddhas, possess a threefold accomplishment : a. accomplishment of causes (*hetusaṃpad*) : equipment in merit and knowledge (*puṇyajñānasaṃbhāra*); b. accomplishment of effect (*phalasaṃpad*) : omniscience, the dispelling of every passion or hindrance, power; c. accomplishment of the service of beings. According to a scholarly tradition recorded by Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912*b*), Aśoka built five special stūpas in honour of the fivefold Dharmakāya. — 3. As for the bodies created by transformations (*nirmāṇakāya*) which the Buddha manifests and multiplies in certain circumstances, they depend on that power of transformation (*nirmāṇa*) and sustainment (*adhiṣṭhāna*) enjoyed by great magicians and which enables them to revive, even keep after their death, doubles of themselves which they make talk and act at will.

Those scholastic speculations on the triple body, which the Mahāyāna experts were to turn to their own account while allowing for certain modifications, appeared to the Sarvāstivādins as a compromise enabling them to reconcile the historical existence of Śākyamuni with the transcendent nature with which popular piety vested the Buddha. The Mahāsāṃghikas and their descendents did not hesitate to sacrifice the former to the latter by proclaiming the Buddha to be "supramundane" (*lokottara*).

The Mahāsāṃghikas laid emphasis on a passage from the *Saṃyutta* (III, p. 140) in which it is said : "The Tathāgata born in the world, matured in the world, whether he moves or stands still, is not tainted by worldly dharmas (*anupalitto lokena*)". From this they concluded that everything in the Buddha, including his birth-body, is undefiled (*anāsrava*) : his birth is purely apparitional (*upapāduka*), his existence,

mere fiction; his body is mind-made and, if externally he manifests human qualities and gestures which in reality are alien to him, it is solely in order to conform to the world (*lokānuvartana*).

Mahāsāṃghika docetism is clearly formulated in the preface to the
691 *Mahāvastu* which, it is true, does not constitute the oldest part of the text : "In the fully and perfectly enlightened Buddhas, there is absolutely nothing in common with the world; therefore, for those great sages, everything transcends the world (*sarvaṃ lokottarum*); their very birth is supramundane" (I, p. 159). "It is at the end of ten months that all the bodhisattvas appear in their mother's womb by entering through the right side, but without causing harm" (I, p. 148). "Transcendent is the conduct of the Blessed One, transcendental his wholesome roots! Moving, standing still, sitting or lying down are transcendent in the Sage. The body of the Sugata who accomplishes the destruction of the fetters of existence is also transcendent : the fact is beyond doubt. The wearing of robes by a Sage is transcendent : the fact is beyond doubt; the eating of food by the Sugata is likewise transcendent. The teaching given by those heroic men is deemed wholly transcendent and, in conformity with the truth, I shall proclaim the greatness of those eminently wise men. When they encounter the favourable place and time and the appropriate maturity of action, the Leaders expound the truthful and beneficial Law. The Buddhas conform in a human way to worldly customs, while also acquiescing to supramundane convention. Those pre-eminent men adopt the four bodily attitudes, but no fatigue affects those beneficent beings. They wash their feet, but no dust ever adheres to them, and their feet are like lotus-leaves : this is mere conformity. The Saṃbuddhas bathe, but there is no dirt on them, and their aspect is like a golden disc : this is mere conformity... Masters at suppressing karma (if they so wish), the Victorious Ones manifest karma and conceal their sovereign power : this is mere comformity. They take nourishment, but hunger does not distress them : this is in order to provide mankind with the opportunity to give, and through mere conformity... Even though the body of the Sugata is not the result of sexual union, the Buddhas mention their mothers and fathers : this is mere conformity" (I, pp. 1667-70).

Sarvāstivādin in origin, but very similar to the Mahāyānist *vaipulya*, the *Lalitavistara* (Ch. VIII, pp. 118-19) gives the young Śākyamuni equally resonant stanzas to utter : "When I was born, this trichiliocosm shook; Śakra, Brahmā, the Asuras, Mahoragas, Candra, Sūrya, as well
692 as Vaiśravaṇa and Kumāra, lowering their heads to my feet, paid homage to me. What other god could be distinguished from me by his pre-eminence?... I am the god above gods (*devātideva*), superior to all

gods (*uttamaḥ sarvadevaiḥ*); no god resembles me; how could there be a superior one? By conforming to the world, this is how I shall go… Gods and men will agree that : 'He is a god by himself' (*svayam eva devaḥ*)".

Mahāsāṃghika docetism found fervent supporters, not only among the adherents of the sect, Caitikas, Pūrva- and Aparaśailas, settled in the mountainous regions of Andhra country, but also among the northern Buddhists known by the vague term of Uttarāpathakas. Disputed in vain by the Sinhalese Theravāda and the mainland Sarvāstivāda, docetism was one of the basic positions of Mahāyānist Buddhism, both in its Sinhalese form (Vetullavāda) and its Indian (schools of the Śūnya- and Vijñānavāda).

The treatises on the sects by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva record some fifteen docetist propositions which they jointly attribute to the Mahāsāṃghikas and their subschools[171] : The Buddhas are *lokottara*; they are free from defiled (*sāsrava*) dharmas, all their discourses are in keeping with the teaching of the Law which they can explain in a single vocal utterance (*ekavāgudāhāra*); all the sūtras declaimed by them are precise and definitive in meaning (*nītārtha*); their material bodies (*rūpakāya*), their might (*prabhāva*) and their life-spans (*āyus*) are unlimited; plunged into continuous concentration (*samādhi*), they experience no fatigue in propounding the Law, answering questions, constructing their sentences; they understand all things in a single instant of thought; until their entry into Parinirvāṇa, they are always in command of the twofold knowledge of the destruction of the defilements (*āsravakṣaya*) and their non-re-arising (*anutpādajñāna*).

The *Kathāvatthu* attributes similar theses to the Mahāsāṃghikas, Andhakas, Uttarāpathakas and Vetulyakas : the Buddhas are present everywhere in all the regions of the universe (XXI, 6, p. 608) and can suspend all natural laws by their supernormal power (XXI, 4, p. 606), their conduct (*vyavahāra*) is transcendent (II, 10, p. 221); the very odour
693 of their excrement surpasses all perfumes (XVIII, 4, p. 563); they have never resided in the world of men (XVIII, 1, p. 559).

NATURE AND CAREER OF THE BODHISATTVA.* — Before acceding to supreme and perfect Enlightenment, the Buddhas have to travel, in the course of innumerable existences, through the long and arduous career of the bodhisattva, or future Buddha. The growing interest people were showing in the former births of the Buddhas led the theoreticians of Buddhism to define the nature of a bodhisattva and the commitments he

[171] J. MASUDA, pp. 18-21; A. BAREAU, pp. 57-60.

had to undertake to win Buddhahood. In the Hīnayāna, the bodhisattva's career was still only of retrospective and not exemplary value : it concerned only the seven Buddhas of the past : Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni, whose history it was endeavoured to explain; the coming of the Mahāyāna was needed before the bodhisattva's career could be proposed as an example to the faithful.

The bodhisattva is he who has aroused the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) by making an aspiration to attain supreme and perfect Enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) one day with a view to the welfare and happiness of all beings : an altruistic ideal particularly appreciated by the laity, as opposed to the concern for personal perfection cherished by the religious. Through the *cittotpāda*, arousal of the thought of Enlightenment, the bodhisattva is determined as to the result (the attaining of Enlightenment), but not as to the way (*gati*) towards that result. The true bodhisattva is he who is determined (*niyata*)[172] both as to *bodhi* and *gati*, he who will certainly attain Enlightenment and whose way to *bodhi* is fixed as to the duration and nature of his rebirths. The Hīnayânist scholars are not in agreement over the precise moment of that predetermination.

For the Sarvāstivādins, the bodhisattva's career consists of three countless periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*) followed by one hundred additional Kalpas[173]. During the three Asaṃkhyeyas, the bodhisattva practises the heroic perfections : giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), vigour (*vīrya*), ecstasy (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). During the first
694 Asaṃkhyeya, he cannot know for certain whether he will become a Buddha; at the end of the second Asaṃkhyeya, he does indeed know that he will become a Buddha, but does not dare proclaim it; at the end of the third Asaṃkhyeya, he performs actions which imprint in him the marks of a Great Man : he then arouses fearlessness and roars the lion's roar : "I shall become a Buddha". It ensues from this that, during the Asaṃkhyeyas, the bodhisattva is still only a worldling (*pṛthagjana*), determined with regard to *bodhi*, but not with regard to *gati*. It is only during the hundred additional Kalpas, in which he performs actions which give rise to the marks, that he is determined both with regard to *bodhi* and *gati*, that he is a true bodhisattva, recognized as such by gods and mankind. As a result of those actions, he eliminates five inferiorities

[172] On this *nyama*, see Kośa, VI, p. 180.

[173] Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 176, p. 886*c*; Kośa, IV, p. 220 sq.; Nyāyānusāra, T 1562, ch. 44, p. 590*b*-*c*.

and gains five superiorities : 1. he is freed from the unhappy destinies and acquires only happy ones; 2. the family into which he is born is not lowly, but noble; 3. he is always of the male sex; 4. he has no infirmities; 5. he never forgets anything and remembers his former existences.

While the Sarvāstivādins reserved the *niyama* for the Kalpas which followed the three Asaṃkhyeyas and placed the acquisition of Ārya status under the tree, immediately before *bodhi*, the Mahāsāṃghikas and their group said : "During the first Asaṃkheyaya, the bodhisattva is not a *niyata*, he is still a Pṛthagjana. He become an Ārya (therefore *niyata*) at the beginning of the second. At the start of the third, he receives the prediction (*vyākaraṇa*). During the first Asaṃkhyeya he makes the aspiration to be born in the unhappy destinies for the welfare of beings; but that aspiration does not bear fruit : the bodhisattva is born according to his actions. Subsequently, he is born as he wishes"[174]. Still according to the Mahāsāṃghikas, bodhisattvas, while in their mothers' womb, do not have to go through the normal stages of development of the embryo, *kalala, arbuda, peśin* and *ghana*; in order to become embodied, they assume the form of a white elephant and, as they are born, they emerge from the right side of their mothers; they have no thought or desire, no anger or ill-will; for the benefit of beings, they aspire to be born in the unhappy destinies; they are free to choose whichever destiny suits them[175]. This last thesis was disputed by the branches of the Caityaśaila who thought that, as a worldling, the
695 bodhisattva is still subject, because of his actions, to rebirth in the unhappy destinies (*durgati*)[176], but the *Kathāvatthu* (XXIII, 3, p. 623) attributes to the Andhakas a thesis, similar to that of the Mahāsāṃghikas, according to which the bodhisattva, of his own free will and in complete freedom, goes to the hells, enters the womb of his choice, practises the austerities and devotes himself to asceticism under the guidance of yoga masters.

Most of these ideas were taken up and adopted by the Mahāyānist scholars. Nevertheless, the practices assigned to the bodhisattva by the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 46-63) tally only imperfectly with subsequent speculations. These practices are four in number : 1. preparatory practice (*prakṛticaryā*) aimed at developing the natural qualities of the bodhisattvas; 2. the practice of aspiration (*praṇidhi-* or *praṇidhānacaryā*) consisting mainly of the arousal of the thought of *bodhi*; 3. the practice of conformity (*anulomacaryā*) by means of which the future Buddha

[174] K'uei chi, II, p. 27*b*, on thesis 16 of Vasumitra : cf. *Siddhi*, p. 735.
[175] J. Masuda, p. 21; A. Bareau, p. 61.
[176] J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 88.

adjusts all his activity to the thought of *bodhi*; 4. the practice of irreversibility (*avivartanacaryā*), or assured and irreversible conduct until *bodhi*.

The third practice, called conformity, is carried out during the course of ten 'grounds' (*bhūmi*) or stages of perfecting (*Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 63-157) : the stages hard to attain (*durārohā*), binding (*baddhamānā*), adorned with flowers (*puṣpamaṇḍitā*), gracious (*rucirā*), extensive in thought (*cittavistarā*), beautiful (*rūpavatī*), hard to conquer (*durjayā*), of demonstration of birth (*janmanirdeśa*), of the crown prince (*yauvarājya*), of unction (*abhiṣeka*).*

Some authors have attempted to reconcile this still badly defined system with the bodhisattva's career as it is formulated in the writings of the Mahāyāna, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Madhyamakāvatāra*, *Daśabhūmika*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and *Siddhi*. However, to try and make everything tally would end in confusion. As we said above, the *caryā* of the *Mahāvastu* have a retrospective rather than an exemplary value : it is the religious history of the Buddhas of the past, and not a programme for life proposed to all "sons of good family". The ten stages of the Anulomacaryā, *durārohā*, etc., the names of which have nothing in common with those of the ten Mahāyānist *bhūmi*, *pramuditā*, etc., do not form a gradation and, with
696 the exception of the last two, do not mark any progress in the spiritual ascent of the bodhisattva; unlike the Mahāyānist *bhūmi*, they bear no relation either to the practice of the perfections (*pāramitā*), or to the impediments (*āvaraṇa*) to be eliminated, or to the tenfold Dharmadhātu to be known. Finally and above all, the fourth practice, called of irreversibility (*avivartanacaryā*), as it is conceived in the *Mahāvastu*, is valid for all the ten stages without differentiation, and is not yet given as a privilege acquired once and for all by accession to a specifice stage, generally the eighth[177].

It is clear that, for the Hīnayānists, scholastic speculations concerning the nature and career of the bodhisattva have no scriptural foundation; unlike the scholars of the Mahāyāna, they do not even have the resourcefulness to refer to the authority of the Mahāyānasūtras.

The ten stages of the bodhisattva, from the joyous (*pramuditā*) stage to that of the Cloud of the Law (*dharmamegha*), do not have their place here, but in the description of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna. We can, however, note here the attempt, probably of Mahāyānist origin[178], to group in a single table the stages pertaining to the three Vehicles :

[177] Concerning all this, see N. DUTT, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, pp. 305-11.

[178] This list in fact runs through the Prajñāpāramitā literature : Pañcaviṃśati, ed. DUTT,

I. Śrāvakayāna
1. Śuklavidarśanā "of bright vision" (or Śuṣkavidarśanā "of dry vision")
2. Gotrabhūmi "of the clan"
3. Aṣṭamaka "of the eighth"
4. Darśana "of vision"
5. Tanu "of refinement"
6. Vītarāga "of renouncing"
7. Kṛtāvi "of one who has done"

II. Pratyekabuddhayāna : 8. the same as the above

III. Mahāyāna
9. Bodhisattvabhūmi : Stages of the bodhisattva, ten in number : Pramuditā, etc.
10. Buddhabhūmi

697 This list of the stages common to (*sādhāraṇa*) the three Vehicles presumably derives from the concern, often displayed in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, to render the Triyāna uniform. The Hīnayānists had no hand in the matter.

THE SIXTH DESTINY. — Generally speaking, but with certain exceptions (*Dīgha*, III, p. 264), the canonical writings (*Dīgha*, III, p. 234, *Majjhima*, I, p. 73; *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 474; *Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 459) know of only five destinies or *gati*, to which beings can be led by the requirements of rebirth : three unhappy destinies (*durgati*) — those of the hell-born (*naraka*), animals (*tiryagyoni*) and hungry ghosts (*preta*) — in which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to see the Buddhas and hear the Law; two happy destinies (*sugati*) — those of mankind (*manuṣya*) and of gods (*deva*) — in which it is relatively easy to reach the path and attain deliverance. However, the introduction into the Buddhist pantheon of a great many Asuras, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas, objects of popular devotion, compelled the theoreticians of Buddhism to reconsider the problem. Where should those hybrid beings be placed, since several of them had embraced the Good Law as upāsakas and were leading a particularly meritorious life, such as the Asura Vemacitra, the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, the spirit Pañcika, or Hāritī the mother of demons?

The sects which remained faithful to the traditional number of five destinies — Theravādins[179], Sarvāstivādins[180] and that of the *Śāri-*

pp. 225, 235; Śātasāhasrikā, ed. GHOSA, pp. 1473, 1520; Āloka, ed. WOGIHARA, p. 104; T 221, ch. 4, p. 29*b* 25-26; T 222, ch. 7, p. 199*a* 1-2; T 223, ch. 6, p. 259*c* 12-14; T 220 ch. 55 (V), p. 309*b* 21-23; T 220, ch. 416 (VII), p. 88*c* 20-21; T 1509, ch. 49, p. 411*a* 26-29. Cf. E. OBERMILLER, *The Doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 48-51; *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, II, p. 178; N. DUTT, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 240-1; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Siddhi*, App., p. 727.

[179] Kathāvatthu, VIII, 1, p. 360.

[180] Kośa, III, p. 11.

putrābhidharma (T 1548, ch. 26, p. 690*b* 4) — attempted to distribute those strangers in the existing *gati*, particularly those of the *preta* and *deva*. An attempt of this kind can be seen in the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 172, p. 867).

In contrast, other sects considered it preferable to reserve a separate place for those hybrid beings by creating for them a sixth *gati*, called that of the Asuras. This was the solution adopted by the Andhakas and Uttarāpathakas (*Kathāvatthu*, VIII, 1, p. 360), the Mahāsāṃghikas (*Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 42, 337; II, p. 368) and the Vātsīputrīyas (as
698 evidenced by T 1545, ch. 2, p. 8*b* 24; T 1546, ch. 1, p. 6*a*; T 1509, ch. 10, p. 135*c* 24). The Sanskrit *Ṣaḍgatikārikā* (st. 94)[181] and the group of sūtras on the *gati* (T 723, 725, 726, 729) not included in the Āgama collection also deal with these six destinies.

The same irresolution and the same hesitation are found in the writings of the Mahāyāna : the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* sometimes counts five (p. 131) and sometimes six *gati* (pp. 6, 9, 135, 346, 372) : the "Nāgārjuna" of the *Madhayamakaśāstra* lists five of them (pp. 269, 304), but that of the *Suhṛllekha* (T 1673, p. 750*c* 1) and the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 10, p. 135*c*) posits six.

As for the voluminous *Smṛtyupasthānasūtra*, which occupies a separate place in Buddhist literature, it never speaks of more than five conditions of existence[182]. Clearly, the theoreticians hesitated to endorse the troublesome religious faun of ambient Hinduism.

VALUE OF THE GIFT AND LEGITIMACY OF THE WORSHIP.* — The moralists were also led to take up a position regarding displays and ceremonies of worship, the importance of which continued to grow in relation to developments in religious devotion.

In the first chapter (pp. 72-74) we saw the importance of gift (*tyāga*) in the laity's obligations and how they, rather than the religious, had to pay suitable homage to the mortal remainders of Tathāgata.

The Buddha himself supplied details of the advantages of charity : the generous donor is cherished by everybody, esteemed by honest men, unreservedly congratulated, welcomed everywhere and, after death, attains the higher heavens (*Aṅguttara*, III, pp. 38-41).

Giving, which is indispensable to the upāsaka who seeks the blisses of the other world, is less useful to the bhikṣu who aspires after Nirvāṇa. It is not included among the three essential elements of the path : morality,

[181] Ed. P. MUS, *La lumière sur les Six Voies*, Paris, 1939, p. 282.(*)
[182] LIN, *AM*, p. 24.

concentration and wisdom. It is only in a subsidiary way that the religious is enjoined to develop within himself the infinite mental states (*apramāṇacitta*) of benevolence (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*) and joy (*muditā*) towards all beings, whether happy or unhappy. He is warned
699 that "all the sufferings and woes, all the pains of this world in all forms derive from what is cherished by someone; where there is nothing more to be cherished, they do not recur : that is why those who have nothing cherishable in this world are rich in joy and free from sorrow" (*Udāna*, p. 92).

The benevolence which the monk cultivates should never degenerate into sensual love or even natural sentiment. He should fight craving (*rāga*) with the practice of "meditation on the repulsive" (*aśubhabhāvanā*) : in a cemetery, in the open air, he should contemplate corpses in various stages of decomposition while considering that all human bodies, lovely though they may be, are inevitably destined to a similar fate. In order to keep his goodwill within the limits of strict impartiality, he should practise the *upekṣā-brahmavihāra*, the fourth and last of the infinite mental states (*apramāṇacitta*) recommended by the Buddha : he will shut himself off in complete equanimity (*upekṣā*) towards all beings, without ever giving a privileged place in his affections to his father, mother, children and relatives. Furthermore, the voluntary poverty embraced by the monk puts him beyond the possibility of practising charity or alms-giving; the only gift he may practise is that of the Law, i.e. religious teaching or preaching.

Meritorious though giving may be, it does not constitute the direct and immediate antidote to the delusions and passions which are at the basis of painful rebirth. In itself, it is unable to put an end to suffering and ensure Nirvāṇa. This is because, in ordinary life, giving is tainted by deleterious errors and illusions. For Buddhism, the Self, Ego, Personality (*ātman*) is a purely conventional expression (*vyavahāravacana*), not corresponding to any objective reality : there is no Self and nothing pertains to the Self; everything is summarized in the origin of physical and mental phenomena which arise and perish according to the eternal laws of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). If I give alms, my blind consciousness tells me : "I am giving something to someone", and setting myself up as a benefactor of a third party, I sink even further into the belief in individuality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*). In truth, there is neither donor nor beneficiary, since the Self does not exist. The Mahāyāna was to add that neither does the object given exist, since the elements of existence (*dharma*) are empty of a substantial mark (*lakṣaṇaśūnya*). That
700 is why, at best, generosity, vitiated by a belief in the Self, can only lead

to a good rebirth in the world of the gods or of mankind; it does not win deliverance.

On the other hand, giving remains the main duty of the lay person, on whom it is incumbent to maintain the community of the religious by supplying it with clothing, food, seating and medicines. In the canonical writings there are many homilies praising the value of alms-giving.

Giving is a bodily and vocal action — that is to say a gesture and a word — resulting from generous volition which causes the donor to sacrifice his own welfare through a wish to pay homage or give service. Its value varies according to the qualities of the donor, the importance of the object given and the excellence of the beneficiary.

The donor is particularly well qualified when "imbued with faith, he gives with respect, at the right time, with good heart, without harm to himself or others" (*Aṅguttara*, III, p. 172). The intention is more important than the thing. Like the Gospels (*Mark*, XII, 41-44; *Luke*, XXI, 1-4), the Buddhist texts (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, T 201, ch. 4, p. 279*c*) praise the poor maiden who gave the two copper pieces she found in the dirt to the bhikṣus, since the value of charity lies in the intention.

However, the material aspect should not be neglected : the thing given is good when its colour, odour, taste and touch are perfect.

Nevertheless, the value of giving depends above all on the excellence of the beneficiary, since we should distinguish a twofold merit in the act of charity : that which resides in the donation itself (*dānapuṇya*) and that which results from the enjoyment derived from it by the beneficiary (*paribhogapuṇya*). The excellence of the "field of merit" (*puṇyakṣetra*), i.e. the recipient, varies according to his destiny, misfortunes, benefits and qualities. It is therefore better to give to men than to animals, to the poor rather than the rich, to kinsmen rather than to strangers, to holy ones rather than offenders (*Majjhima*, III, pp. 254-5).

It goes without saying that all this is debatable, and the sects did not fail to question it.

For the Rājagirīyas and Siddhārthikas (*Kathāvatthu*, VII, 4, pp. 339-40), giving is not material in nature, but mental, since it was not
701 material offerings consisting of food, drink, clothing, etc., which were prescribed by the Buddha, but the observence of morality which constitutes the five great gifts and which keeps beings free from fear, hostility and malevolence (*Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 246).

For the Uttarāpathakas (*Kathāvatthu*, XVII, 11, pp. 556-7), the donor alone "purifies" the gift, and not the beneficiary since, in the opposite hypothesis, he would enjoy merit which he had not gained himself. However, we could counter this as did the Theravādins with a canonical

text in which the Buddha declares that a gift can be hallowed in four ways : by the donor alone, by the beneficiary alone, by both together or by neither (*Majjhima*, III, p. 256).

According to the Buddhist concept, worship (*pūjā*) is only a higher form of giving and enjoys the same advantages. It is addressed to those supreme fields of merit which are the Buddha, the Community of holy ones and the reliquaries (stūpas or caityas).*

A first question arises : to what degree is this homage fruitful and obligatory? According to the Sarvāstivādins (*Kośa*, IV, p. 234), worship is very useful to a man who has not yet entered the path of Nirvāṇa or who, having entered that path, is not detached from the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*) : that worship, in fact, eases or arouses understanding of the truths and ensures a pleasant maturation : good rebirths in the world of desire. However, it is useless to a man who has entered the path and who, detached from the world of desire, is destined to be reborn in the higher spheres, since worship does not incur maturation in the higher spheres. Nonetheless, relics and stūpas, be it merely by acknowledgement, deserve homage of all.

A more difficult problem is that of the respective value of worshipping the Buddha (who has entered Nirvāṇa) and of worshipping the Saṃgha (assembly of living members of the Community).

The early texts showed some hesitation. For the *Majjhima* (III, p. 254), *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 71, 166) and *Kośa* (VII, p. 85), the Tathāgatas are the supreme field of merit, yielding fruits which are certain, pleasant, abundant and excellent in result : "If someone plants a small wholesome root in the field of merit consisting of the Buddhas, he will first secure happy destinies and then attain Nirvāṇa" (*Divya*, p. 166; *Ekottara*, T 125, ch. 24, p. 678*a* 1-2).

702 However, for the *Dīgha* (III, p. 255) and the *Suttanipāta* (v.569), the beings who are worthy of offerings are the eight categories of pudgalas in possession of the fruits of the path, and gifts made to the Saṃgha are the most advantageous of all. In the *Majjhima* (III, p. 253), the Buddha refuses two pieces of clothing which Mahāprajāpatī offers him and says : "Gotamī, give it to the Saṃgha; by giving it to the Saṃgha, you will do me honour and you will honour the Saṃgha".

Confronted by such hesitation, the sects each went their own way : the Theravādins (*Kathāvatthu*, XVII, 10, p. 555; XVII, 9, p. 553) and Sarvāstivādins (*Kośa*, IV, p. 238) were of the opinion that a gift to the Buddha and a gift to the Saṃgha both yielded a great fruit. On the one hand, the Buddha is the peerless being, located at the summit of all beings worthy of offerings; on the other hand, "men who make an

offering, beings who seek merit and who consider merit as the basis of a better existence should give to the Saṃgha in order to acquire a great fruit" (*Saṃyutta*, I, p. 233).

For the Mahīśāsakas[183], the Buddha is included in the Saṃgha, but as he has long since entered Nirvāṇa, he cannot in any way enjoy the gift offered to him; that is why a gift made to the Buddha in Nirvāṇa is less advantageous than a gift made to the Saṃgha which consists of living persons.

Conversely, for the Dharmaguptakas[184], the Buddha is not included in the Saṃgha. Since the Buddha is the supreme and peerless being, a gift made to him greatly surpasses that of a gift made to the Saṃgha. In fact, the merit of the gift is in proportion to the value of the one to whom it is given.

However, the question arises of knowing if an offering to stūpas and caityas, which contain the relics of the Buddha, is advantageous or not. Yes, replied the Dharmaguptakas[185], Sarvāstivādins[186] and Mūlasarvāstivādins[187], because the relics symbolize the Buddha, because the latter declared that there is no difference between the relics and himself and because at the moment of his Nirvāṇa, he accepted in advance all
703 the gifts made to stūpas. It is true that no one receives a gift made to a stūpa, but if the gift produces merit when someone receives it, why should it not produce merit when no one receives it? Therefore, a gift to a stūpa is meritorious.

The Caitikas[188], Pūrva-[189] and Aparaśailas[190] and later Mahīśāsakas[191], however, were of the opposite opinion. Because both reliquaries and shrines are lifeless things, they cannot experience the benefit of a gift which is made to them. Under such conditions, the only value of gift to relics comes from the internal dispositions of the donor.

Nevertheless, the bhikṣu and the upāsaka who take their refuge (*śaraṇa*) in the Buddha and the Saṃgha take their refuge in the dharmas of the Śaikṣa (moral qualities of future holy ones and holy

[183] J. Masuda, p. 62; A. Bareau, p. 185.

[184] J. Masuda, p. 64; A. Bareau, p. 192. — It was doubtless by mistake that Vasumitra said that, according to the Dharmaguptakas, the Buddha is included in the Saṃgha.

[185] J. Masuda, p. 64; A. Bareau, p. 192.

[186] Kośa, IV, p. 156.

[187] A. Bareau, p. 154.

[188] J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 88.

[189] J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 100.

[190] J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 105.

[191] J. Masuda, p. 63; A. Bareau, p. 188.

ones) which constitute the Buddha and the Saṃgha (*Kośa*, IV, pp. 77-8); in contrast, a gift made to the Buddha, or the Saṃgha, is addressed to "persons" (*pudgala*) and not to the holy qualities which constitute them. A group of Vetullakas, known by the name of Mahāsuññatāvādins, concluded from this that, from the absolute point of view (*paramatthato*), the Buddha and the Saṃgha are not in a position to accept or purify gifts which are made to them, that offerings to the Buddha and the Saṃgha are unfruitful and that the gift is hallowed only by the donor and not by the beneficiary (*Kathāvatthu*, XVII, 6-11, pp. 549-57).

Neither in the *Kathāvatthu* nor in the disputations by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, is there a question of images (*pratimā*) of the Buddha. The early Central Indian school of sculpture, at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, at Sāñcī and in the first style at Amarāvatī, avoided representing the human features of the Buddha in his last existence. A passage in the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T 1435, ch. 48, pp. 351*c*-352) alludes to a prohibition "to make images of the body of the Buddha"; other Vinayas, such as those of the Mahāsāṃghikas (T 1425, ch. 33, pp. 496*c*-497*a*) and Dharmaguptakas (T 1428, ch. 50-51, pp. 936 sq.) authorized the decoration of stūpas and monasteries with images, but these were paintings of devas, monks, dragons, animals and landscapes rather than images of the Buddha.

704 In the opinion of A. Foucher, "we do not possess an image of the Buddha earlier than the Christian era". Therefore, there are anachronisms in the texts according to which the original image of Śākyamuni was made during his lifetime, either at the request of the banker Anāthapiṇḍada (*Mūlasarv. Vin.*, T 1442, ch. 28, p. 782*b*; T 1452, ch. 5, p. 434*b*), or at the demand of King Bimbisāra (T 1442, ch. 45, p. 874*a* = *Divyāvadāna*, p. 547) or, finally, on the intervention of the kings Udayana and Prasenajit (*Ekottara*, T 125, ch. 28, p. 796*a*). We should also treat with extreme reservation the Sinhalese tradition according to which Aśoka, wishing to contemplate the features of the Blessed One, received from the Nāga Mahākāla a complete statue of the Buddha, with the marks and minor marks (*Mahāvaṃsa*, V, 87 sq.; *Samanta*, I, p. 43), while in Ceylon King Devānaṃpiyatissa, a contemporary of Aśoka, installed in the Thūpārāma a "great stone statue" (*urusilāpaṭimā*) of the Buddha Śākyamuni (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXVI, 128).

Conversely, no objection can be made to the evidence of the same chronicle when it attributes to the Sinhalese king Vasabha (121-165 A.D.) the erection of a *paṭimāghara* sheltering four statues of the Buddha (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXV, 89), and to King Vohārikatissa (260-282

A.D.) the installation of two bronze statues in the Bodhighara (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXVII, 31).

Nevertheless it is a fact that no "temple with statue" is mentioned in the Pāli commentaries compiled in the fifth century of the Christian era. Buddhaghosa and his school called upon the bhikkhus to sweep and clean the funerary monuments (*cetiyaghara*), the temple of the Bodhi tree (*bodhighara*), the halls of the chapter-house (*uposathaghara*) and other residences (*pariveṇa*), but nowhere do they mention a *paṭimāghara*. Homage was addressed exclusively to thūpas and the Bodhi tree, and to damage them would be a serious offence (*ānantariyakamma*). In contrast, no threat is made to those who destroy or damage a statue. An image is not holy unless it contains a relic. In the early days, the joy derived from contemplation of the Buddha (*buddhālambanapīti*) came, not from the contemplation of images — as is the case nowadays —, but from attentive consideration of a *cetiya* or sacred tree.

There is no doubt, however, that from the Kuṣāṇa period on, images of the Buddha were made in great quantities and that, under the influence of Mahāyānist ideas, holy depictments played a more and
705 more important part in popular and individual devotion. According to I ching (T 2125, ch. 3, p. 221*b*), in the seventh century of the Christian era, the monks of India and the Southern Seas all had in their cells, in a window or niche, an image of the Buddha which they surrounded with respect and veneration. Each morning they bathed it and offered flowers and incense to it; at midday, they presented part of their meal to it; they covered it with a tapestry while they themselves ate or slept.

Despite this fervour, homage to images never enjoyed the same orthodoxy as homage to relics (*śarīra, dhātu*), and so an attempt had to be made to justify it : "If one bows down before clay statues of the immortals, one is not thinking of the clay; one is bowing down while thinking of the immortals". The argument which had already been developed in the *Legend of Aśoka* (*Divya*, p. 363; T 2042, ch. 5, p. 120*a*; T 2043, ch. 8, p. 160*c*) was to be repeated by the writers of the two Vehicles (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, T 201, ch. 9, p. 309*b*; *Upadeśa*, T 1509, ch. 1, p. 64*c*, etc.). The danger of fetishism and trafficking in images did not escape the attention of the theoreticians. Emphasis was therefore laid on the fact that "an image made of wood or stone, if harmed, does not feel pain; if offerings are made to it, it does not feel pleasure, since it is empty in nature" (T 1796, ch. 20, p. 784*b*), and the manufacture for commercial purposes of images of the Buddha in ivory, wood, copper or bronze was forbidden, since "selling an image of the Buddha is the same offence as selling one's father or mother" (T 2122, ch. 33, p. 540*a*).

On the whole, when confronted with the manifold demands of popular feeling, the monastic reaction lacked neither astuteness nor flexibility : astuteness, by maintaining the ancient message of Śākyamuni more or less intact in spirit and broad outline; flexibility, by adapting it to the new time and place in order to attract the greatest number of devotees. In ordinary life, the spiritual authorities avoided taking a position, tolerated without entitling, conceded without concurring; when confronted by awkward problems — such as that of homage to be paid to the Buddha in preference to the Saṃgha or vice versa — they left it in the hands of the schools and scholars who, while not condemning it as such, did not hesitate to propose diametrically opposite solutions. Everyone was free to make his own choice.

707 CHAPTER SEVEN

THE BUDDHIST RELIGION

It is appropriate at the end of this volume to assess the path followed by the Good Law during the first five centuries of its history and to show how it was transformed from the philosophico-mystical message that it was at the beginning into a true religion.

I. — THE STAGES TRAVERSED BY THE GOOD LAW

THE ACTION OF ŚĀKYAMUNI. — Buddhism could not be explained unless we accept that it has its origin in the strong personality of its founder. While not wishing to engage in useless polemics, we are not one of those who attempt to minimize Śākyamuni's action. We are told that he hardly taught anything and that his words, contained in the sūtras, are a later creation of subsequent scholastics : "What was the doctrine of the Buddha and the first holy ones, his disciples? This is impossible to say with certainty. It was an oral doctrine of which we have no satisfactory evidence. The codification of the writings did not take place until many centuries after Śākyamuni's decease, when the religion had already been profoundly changed and generations of scholars had already added considerably to the holy words. The essential point was the feeling of veneration for the Master, a feeling which united men of all conditions into one brotherhood. This feeling, sometimes experienced instantaneously, opened the mind to universal charity; it was really a matter of a new life and, without any study or novitiate, the new convert became a "son of the Śākya", that is, a spiritual brother of Śākyamuni. It was a religion without any clergy or monasteries".

It goes without saying that Buddhist scholasticism was not elaborated
708 in a single day and that India was not suddenly covered with stūpas, vihāras and caityas. But to present early Buddhism as a simple spiritual confraternity, in which regard for the Master took the place of doctrine would be an exaggeration.

Even though it is true that the codification of the writings came later, it is nonetheless a fact that, in order to appreciate early Buddhism, the only valid evidence — or indication — which we possess is the basic agreement between the Nikāyas on the one hand and the Āgamas on the

other. This evidence or indication carries more weight than academic hypotheses put forward after an interval of twenty-five centuries.

For anyone who is willing to take it into consideration, it appears from this that Śākyamuni, after Enlightenment, discovered the noble truths which could lead his disciples to the end of suffering and to Nirvāṇa. He taught those truths for the forty-five years of his public ministry and, to enable his disciples to reap all the fruit thereof, he instituted an assembly of religious, a *bhikṣusaṃgha*, whose rule of life, centred on the destruction of desire, would lead as rapidly as possible to the spiritual end they sought. In parallel with that assembly of bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs, he organized a lay fellowship of upāsakas and upāsikās entrusted with the material and financial support of the assembly.

The high intellectual and moral qualities of Śākyamuni, the support he received from the ruling families in Kośala (Prasenajit) and Magadha (Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru) enabled him to triumph over obstacles : the hostility of rival orders (Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas) and heretical masters (Pūraṇa-Kāśyapa, etc.), the indiscipline of certain monks (the Kauśāmbī schism), the jealousy and intrigues of certain members of his family (Devadatta).

After forty-five years of effort, the dual role which he had assigned himself — that of a teacher and a founder of the order — was fulfilled. A few hours before his decease, in approximately 486 B.C., he was able to say to himself : "I am entering Nirvāṇa now that my bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikās have become wise, disciplined, skilful and knowledgeable preachers... capable of reciting, teaching, promulgating, expounding, explaining and developing the Law, capable of refuting objections, capable of teaching the Law in a persuasive way... I shall enter Nirvāṇa now that this religious life (*brahmacarya*) of mine is
709 prospering, expanding, wide-spread, manifold, increasing and well-proclaimed among mankind (*manuṣyebhyaḥ samyakprakāśita*)"[1].

THE MAGADHAN PERIOD. — During the first two centuries which followed the Nirvāṇa, Buddhism did not meet with spectacular success. It remained practically confined within the limits of Magadha, with a few extensions to Avanti and the western coast.

Like all the religious orders of the time, it was able to benefit from the goodwill or neutrality of the ruling families : Haryaṅkas, Śiśunāgas, Nandas and the first Mauryas.

[1] Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. WALDSCHMIDT, pp. 206-11; Pāli version in Dīgha, II, pp. 112-3. — Other references in Divyāvadāna, pp. 202-3; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Überlieferung...*, pp. 99-102.

The main achievement of the monks was to have compiled the Word of the Buddha in the local dialects in use, first Māgadhī, then Pāli and Sanskrit. This compilation, which served as a basis for the formation of the canon of texts, succeeded in fixing the broad outline of the *dharma* and *vinaya*, that is to say, the Buddhist doctrine and discipline.

The initiative was taken by a group of Arhats who wished to monopolize the religious teaching for their own benefit. Agreement was easily reached over the texts of the doctrinal sūtras, but in the disciplinary field, there was some resistance : should they retain or omit the minor unimportant precepts formulated by the Buddha? Should they oppose the laxist practices in use in certain communities, particularly the Vṛjiputrakas of Vaiśālī? The strict solution seemed to prevail. In any case, it was that which was adopted by the old Vinaya masters, the list of whom has been preserved for us by the Sinhalese chronicle.

The Arhats committed the blunder of claiming the right to Nirvāṇa for themselves alone, they allowed the laity no more than accession to the first fruits of the religious life. They thus lost the sympathy, not only of the upāsakas and upāsikās who supported them, but also of the imperfect religious, who remained at the level of worldlings (*pṛthagjana*).

Discontent simmered for a long time before flaring up, but wrangling between the religious can already be discerned in the biographies of masters of the Law found throughout the subcontinent.

710 Aśoka. — Like so many other communities, Buddhism would doubtless have remained an obscure sect if it had not received the sympathy and support of the great emperor Aśoka. The latter, as we know, undertook to establish among his subjects and neighbours a universal Dharma, which was not identical to the Good Law, but which coincided to a large extent with the advice to the laity already formulated by the Buddha. The Buddhists took advantage of this initiative to intensify their propaganda, and their missionaries followed closely in the steps of the royal functionaries, bearers of the edict of the Dharma. They met with considerable success, and the Community of the Four Quarters was soon represented all over India. However, its influence varied notably in the different regions, and a clear distinction must be made between the island of Ceylon and the Indian mainland.

The conversion of Ceylon. — The few religious who landed in Ceylon in 250 B.C. under the leadership of Mahinda, were imbued with Sthavirian or conservative ideas. As a son of the emperor Aśoka, Mahinda opened relations directly with the Siṃhala royal family who had been established on the island for five generations. King Devānaṃ-

piyatissa, Queen Anulā and Prince Ariṭṭha welcomed the missionaries with open arms and embraced their cause. The conversion of the island, in fact of the royal family, was carried out with all haste. Mahinda was able to profit from these eminently favourable circumstances to pursue in Ceylon the objectives which the Buddha had previously sought in Gangetic India : the recruiting of numerous ordinands and the establishment of the Saṃgha on a solid basis. The Mahāvihāra monastery was founded with royal largesse at the very gates of the capital Anurādhapura; for centuries, it was to rule the religious life of the island and control its policies. The kings of Ceylon competed in generosity to the community, and the Sinhalese chronicle of the *Dīpa-* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, when all said and done, is merely a gigantic "honours list" aimed at glorifying the religious foundations and pious works of the great sovereigns : Devānampiyatissa, Uttiya, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi and Mahādāṭhika, to mention only the main ones.

Peace was disturbed only by the repeated invasions of the Tamil hordes but, after more or less long intervals of foreign occupation, the kings of Ceylon, strongly supported by the monks, always succeeded in regaining their throne.

In the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, between the years 35 and 32 B.C., the
711 Sinhalese religious, assembled at the Ālokavihāra, put their canonical texts into writing, and that action greatly contributed to the fixing of the doctrine. However, at about the same date, a quarrel among the religious caused a scission in the community, and the monks of the Abhayagiri no longer associated with those of the Mahāvihāra. The quarrel became more bitter in the reign of Vohārikatissa (260-282 A.D.), when the Abhayagiri adopted the Vetullavāda heresy.

THE CONVERSION OF THE SUBCONTINENT. — On the Indian mainland, events occurred in a very different way. For reasons of expediency, the propagandists and missionaries were led to change their objective and turn to the masses rather than the élite. The number of conversions was considerably higher than that of ordinands.

The difficulties to be overcome were enormous. The vast subcontinent was still not properly unified and the peoples to be converted were not only of Indian (Ārya and Drāviḍa) origin, but also foreign, Greek or Scythian.

Buddhist propaganda often came up against the hostility of princes : the last Mauryas (236-187 B.C.) withdrew their favours from the sons of the Śākya; Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.) persecuted them; the last Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas (ca 100-30 B.C.) embraced the Bhāgavata religion. It

was among foreign princes, Menander (163-150 B.C.), some Scythian satraps (ca 90-17 B.C.) and Gondophares (19-45 A.D.), that the Buddhists found most sympathy, although it was not always disinterested.

The other Indian religions did not remain inactive. Everywhere, the brahmins, worshippers of devas, Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas attempted to recruit followers. In the Śuṅga period, Viṣṇuite sects launched a powerful theistic movement which met with great success and influenced even the Buddhists themselves.

Despite all these obstacles, the Good Law continued to make progress. The ancient and rudimentary vihāras of the early times were joined by new saṃghārāmas, inhabited by many monastics. The Indian soil, from the Himālayas to the Deccan, from Gandhāra to Champā, was covered with commemorative stūpas. In the second century before Christ, their ornamentation gave rise to the flourishing of the Central Indian school of sculpture, while the bas-reliefs at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī were to remain the most characteristic and original achieve-
712 ments of ancient Indian art. Towards the end of the pre-Christian era, wherever the ground was suitable and particularly in the Western Ghāts, the Buddhists were to adopt the habit of excavating their caityas and vihāras in the living rock; the temple at Kārli shows the perfection which that rock-cut architecture soon attained.

The dispersion of the "Community of the Four Quarters" over an area as extensive as the Indian subcontinent made it impossible to maintain its unity. From the time of Aśoka, the old rivalry between the Arhats on the one hand and the worldly religious (*pṛthagjana*) and the laity on the other culminated in the Mahāsāṃghika schism. The community divided into two branches : Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas. They engendered a whole series of subschools which soon reached the traditional number of eighteen. In contrast to what happened in Ceylon, they all, to varying degrees, came under the influence of lay circles, particularly the upāsakas and upāsikās whose ideal differed appreciably from that of the religious.

Śākyamuni's message was addressed to a chosen flock of noble young people who "left home to take up the homeless life"; he propounded to them an ideal of individual perfection which was only fully attainable within the limited framework of the religious life.

The activity of the Buddhist missionaries, intensified in the Aśokan period, resulted in the popularization of that message by transmission to the masses. The latter were ill-prepared to receive it and could not apply it without first changing it considerably. The lay person requires a god, whereas the religious needs a master. The lay person, who has to live in

the world, wishes to please and to give, while the monk, withdrawn into solitude, pursues by himself the work of self-perfection. Using appropriate rituals, the lay person hopes to conciliate the superior powers whose intervention is called for because of his needs and woes, whereas the monk places his hope and trust in the observance of rules and the efficacy of spiritual practices.

It seems clear, and we hope to demonstrate this in the following pages, that if Buddhism, from the philosophico-mystical doctrine that it was originally was transformed into a true religion, with a pantheon, mythology, hagiography and worship, this is due to the progressive
713 penetration of the Good Law among the mass of the people, who were more devout than well-informed. The beginning of this evolution occurred at the end of Aśoka's reign, which was marked by the expansion of Buddhism throughout the whole of India; but, once it had begun, the popularization of the Good Law was to continue throughout the centuries, become intensified in the Buddhism of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna and reach its culmination in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, at a time when the doctrine of the Śākya, dulled by compromise and deviation, was absorbed by the surrounding Hinduism.

II. — THE DEIFIED BUDDHA

THE GOD, SUPERIOR TO THE GODS. — In the early canonical texts discussed in the first chapter (pp. 23-27), Śākyamuni is presented as a fully enlightened sage, who discovered the truth and taught it to mankind. The Dharma which he devised is not to be confused with him. He limited himself to discovering and teaching it. "There is", he told the brahmin Moggallāna, "a Nirvāṇa and a path which leads to Nirvāṇa, and I am here as adviser. However, among the disciples whom I exhort and instruct in this way, some attain the supreme goal, Nirvāṇa, others do not attain it. What can I do in this matter, O brahmin? The Tathāgata, O brahmin, is merely a shower of the path (*mārga-khyāyin*)"[2]. His instructing was limited by time; after some years, the great voice fell silent and the Wheel of the Law ceased to turn, for the Master himself entered Nirvāṇa, "like a lamp going out when the oil is exhausted". From then on, he was out of sight. Left to themselves, the disciples had nothing but the Law as their one and only refuge. The prospect was all the more sombre because the appearance of Buddhas in this world is something as rare as the flowering of a fig-tree : it is only at

[2] Majjhima, III, p. 6.

very remote intervals (*kadācit karhicit*) that the Tathāgatas, the holy and perfectly Enlightened Ones, manifest themselves on earth.

On the other hand, we saw in Chapter Six (pp. 622-625) the importance given to Buddhology by the sects. The Sarvāstivādins laid the foundations of the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha; the
714 Mahāsāṃghikas devised a transcendent Buddha, a supernormal being having nothing further in common with the world and whose terrestrial life was no more than a fiction. All the scholars studied the career of the bodhisattva, the countless periods and additional Kalpas during which he multiplied virtuous feats in order finally to attain Buddhahood.

Between the old canonical texts and the learned constructions of those scholars, there is a gap which was filled thanks to a surge of popular feeling.

If monks, devoted to a life of study and meditation, are able to resign themselves to regarding their founder only as a sage who had entered Nirvāṇa, lay followers, who are exposed to the difficulties of their times, require something other than a "dead god" of whom only the "remains" (*śarīra*) could be revered. They want a living god, a "god superior to the gods" (*devātideva*)* who will continue his beneficial activity among them, who can predict the future, perform wonders, and whose worship (*pūjā*) will be something more than more recollection (*anusmṛti*).

This state of mind, which had an influence on certain later works in the Pāli canon, such as the *Apadāna*, the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, appeared widely in the post-canonical literature in hybrid and pure Sanskrit. The *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita*, *Saundarananda*, *Aśokāvadāna*, *Divyāvadāna* and *Avadānaśataka* like to represent the Buddha, no longer only as a sage, but as an extraordinary being "adorned with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, his body resplendent with the eighty minor marks, nimbused by a fathom-wide radiance, more brilliant than a thousand suns, like a great mountain of jewels in motion, attractive in every way"[3]. It is this sublime image, not that of the shaven and tonsured bhikṣu, that the chisel of the Gandhāran artists preferred to represent.

Far from hesitating to perform wonders, this marvellous being is a living miracle. On seeing him, automatically, "the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the mad recover their reason, nakedness is

[3] This description of the Buddha is found in thirty-two stories in the Avadānaśataka (e.g. I, pp. 3, 18, 37, etc.), and sometimes twice in some of them. It is also to be found in the Divyāvadāna (e.g. pp. 46-7, 75, etc.).

715 covered, hunger and thirst are appeased, the sick cured, the infirm regain their wholeness"[4].

The Blessed One is no longer a lover of solitude, fleeing from the worries of mankind and withdrawing into the Pārileyyaka forest in the company of wild beasts. Everywhere he dwells, he is "respected, venerated, esteemed, worshipped by kings, kings' ministers, the wealthy, the inhabitants of towns, bankers, caravaneers, Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kiṃnaras and Mahorāgas; thus honoured, the Blessed Lord Buddha, illustrious and filled with merit, is overwhelmed with gifts of clothing, food, bedding, seats, refreshments, medicaments and ornaments"[5].

The texts emphasize the beneficial power of the Buddha, the embodiment of knowledge, omnipotence and compassion :

Nothing escapes the knowledge, sight, learning and comprehension of the Blessed Lord Buddhas. It is in fact a rule that the Blessed Lord Buddhas, endowed with great compassion, devoted to the welfare of the world, accepted protectors, plunged into tranquillity and analysis, skilled in the three domains of discipline, avoiding the four floods, firmly established in the four bases of supernormal power, long since familiar with the four means of winning over beings, freed from the five hindrances, having gone beyond the five destinies, endowed with the six qualities [of equanimity], having fulfilled the six perfections, covered with the flowers of the seven factors of Enlightenment, teaching the eightfold path, versed in the nine successive attainments, endowed with the ten forces, renowned in the ten regions, superior to tens and hundreds of "Autonomous" gods, — it is a rule that, three times at night and three times in the day, they examine the world with the Buddha-eye and that knowledge and vision develop in them : "Who is declining", they ask themselves, "and who is prospering? Who is in pain, danger or trouble? Who is leaning, bending or slipping towards the bad destinies? Who might I save from the bad destinies and establish in heaven and deliverance? Who is it that is being sucked into the mire of desire and to whom I might extend my hand to draw him out of it? Who is it that has no noble riches and whom I might set in full and complete possession of noble riches? Who is it whose eyes are covered by the shadows and mote of ignorance and whose eyes I might cure with the eye-lotion and lancet of
716 knowledge? Who is it in whom have not yet been planted the wholesome roots which I might plant? He in whom are planted wholesome roots which I might cause to ripen? He in whom they are ripened and to whom I might give deliverance?".

The ocean, the abode of marine monsters, may forget the time of the tide; but never will the Buddha allow the hour for converting his dearly beloved sons to pass[6].

[4] Lalitavistara, pp. 278-9; Mahāvyutpatti, 6306-9; Divyāvadāna, p. 365 (more developed). — This stock phrase is reproduced in the Mahāyānasūtras, such as the Pañcaviṃśati, pp. 9-10; Śatasāhasrika, pp. 18-19, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, ed. Nobel, pp. 8-9.

[5] This preamble is usual at the beginning of all the Avadānas.

[6] This passage is repeated in fourteen stories in the Avadānaśataka (e.g., I, pp. 16-17, 30-1, 72, etc.). It is also found in the Divyāvadāna, pp. 95-6, 124-5, 264-5.

This new-style Buddha is no longer as loquacious as the śramaṇa Gautama of Kapilavastu. He no longer expatiates in long dogmatic and highly technical sūtras, but frequently intervenes to reveal their past actions to his listeners or announce their future rebirths. These predictions (*vyākaraṇa*) take place according to a fixed ceremonial.

The Buddha smiles. It is in fact a rule that when the Buddhas smile, blue, yellow, red and white rays of light issue from their lips : some go downwards, some go upwards. Those that go downwards descend to the depths of the hells and, depending on the case, cool or warm the hell-bound, who change into Devas. The rays which go upwards enter the twenty-three heavenly spheres and the gods, seized with admiration, exclaim :

Begin, leave your dwellings; apply yourselves to the Law of the Buddha; annihilate the army of death, just as an elephant overturns a hut made of reeds.

Whoever moves undistractedly under the discipline of that Law, evading birth and the cycle of the world, will put an end to suffering.

Then those rays, after enveloping the Trichiliomegachiliocosm, return to the Blessed One from behind. If the Buddha wishes to explain an action performed in the past, the rays disappear into his back. If it is a future action that he wishes to predict, they disappear into his chest. Depending on whether he is predicting a birth in the hells, among animals, among Pretas, among mankind, among Balacakravartin, Cakravartin kings or among Devas, the rays disappear respectively under the sole of his feet, into his heel, into his big toe, into his knee, into the palm of his left hand, into the palm of his right hand or, finally, into his navel. If he wishes to predict to someone that he will have the intelligence of a Śrāvaka, they disappear into his mouth; if it is the intelligence of a Pratyeka-
717 buddha, they disappear into his ears; if it is the supreme wisdom of a perfectly accomplished Buddha, they disappear into his cranial protuberance.

Ānanda then asks the Buddha the reason for his smile and the return of the rays : "No, it is not without reason that the Victorious Ones, who have triumphed over the foe, who are free from frivolity, who have renounced pride and discouragement, and who are the cause of the hapiness of the happiness of the world, have a smile like the yellow fibres of the lotus...".

The Buddha answers him that in fact his smile is not unmotivated and that such-and-such a person, because of a thought he has conceived or because of an offering he has made, will incur such-and-such a rebirth or might even become, in this world, a perfectly accomplished Buddha with a specific name[7].

It is equally the rule that, after having benefited from a spiritual favour, one should thank the Buddha with a thrice-repeated eulogy :

[7] The long development summarized here is found in twenty stories of the Avadānaśataka (e.g., I, pp. 4-7, 10-12, 19-22). It also appears in several places in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 67-9, 138-40, 265-7, 366-8, 568-70), as well as the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1442, ch. 46, p. 879*a-c*; T 1448, ch. 8, p. 36*a-b*).

Venerable One, what has been done for me by the Blessed One has never been done by my mother, or my father, or the king, or the deities, or the crowd of relatives and associates, or ancient Pretas, or śramaṇas or brāhmins. The ocean of tears of blood is dried up, the mountain of bones is crossed, the doors of the unhappy destinies are closed, the gates of heaven and deliverance are open wide. The foot has been diverted [from the dreadful fate] of the hell-bound, animals and Pretas, and placed among gods and mankind.

Through your compassion, the path of the bad destinies, a cruel and woeful path, has been closed, and the highly meritorious way to heaven has been opened; I have attained the path of Nirvāṇa.

Through your support, I have today acquired the unblemished eye, the pure eye, perfectly pure; I have reached the tranquil place, cherished by the holy ones, and I have crossed the ocean of suffering.

O you, who are revered by the world of Daityas [demons], mankind and gods; you, whose appearance is so rare, even during thousands of existences, the sight of you has been fruitful for me today, O Muni*.

Seen from that angle and in that perspective, the last life and former existences of the Buddha Śākyamuni appear in a more legendary than
718 historical guise. It is no longer a matter of a simple biography, as we attempted to sketch earlier (pp. 15-23), but a true chivalric romance all the subjective elements of that literary style. It is appropriate to examine the development of the legend, with regard to both the last life and former existences of Śākyamuni.

THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE LEGEND OF THE BUDDHA. — By somewhat accentuating the angles, it is possible to distinguish five successive stages in the legend of Śākyamuni : 1. biographical fragments incorporated into the early Sūtras; 2. complete or fragmentary biographies included in the Vinayas; 3. autonomous but incomplete "Lives", elaborated by various Buddhist schools at the beginning of the Christian era; 4. a complete biography in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* and related texts, dating from approximately the fourth century; 5. the *Nidānakathā* and an outline of annals compiled in the fifth century by Sinhalese commentators.

1. *Biographical fragments incorporated in the Sūtras.* — In the *Majjhimanikāya*, four suttas which repeat and complement one another all tell us of an important phase in Śākyamuni's life, namely, the period which extends from the flight from Kapilavastu until the Enlightenment : these are the *Ariyapariyasena* (M., I, pp. 163-73; T 26, No. 204, ch. 56, pp. 776*b*-778*c*), the *Dvedhāvitakka* (M., I, p. 117), the *Bhayabherava* (M.,

* Cf. Avadānaśataka, I, pp. 149, 336; Divyāvadāna, pp. 554-5, 52-3 (verses only); Mūlasarv. Vin. (*Gilgit Man.*, III, part 4, p. 59; cf. *JA*, 1932, p. 30).

I, pp. 17-23; T 125, ch. 23, pp. 665*b*-666*c*) and the *Mahāsaccakasutta* (M., I, pp. 240-9). The following is a summary of the contents of these texts.

Having meditated on birth, old age, disease, death and defilement, Śākyamuni made the decision to seek the absence of defilement, incomparable security and Nirvāṇa. Against the will of his parents, he left home and donned the yellow robe of the religious; he studied successively under Ālāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra; the former taught him the way of nihilism, the latter that of neither-perception-nor-non-perception; however Śākyamuni, considering their doctrines to be imperfect, abandoned them, passed through Magadha and withdraw into solitude, in the neighbourhood of Uruvilvā (*M.*, I, pp. 163-7; T 26, ch. 56, pp. 776*b*-777*a*).

Greatly superior to other monks and brahmins, the newly isolated man passed his retreat in purity and knowledge. During the auspicious nights, he overcame the horrors of the wilderness, in all his attitudes triumphing over fear and dread; he was aware of being one of those
719 men without illusions, born into the world for the welfare of many people (*M.*, I, pp. 17-21; T 125, ch. 23, pp. 665*b*-666*b*).

Three similes borrowed from the respective action of wet wood and dry wood came to his mind and made him understand that he should control his body, restrain his passions and rid his mind of desire. He therefore gave himself over to fearful mortifications : he clenched his teeth and pressed his tongue against his palate; he stopped his breathing through his mouth, nose and ears; he undertook so strict a fast that his life was in danger. Recalling the first time he meditated under the rose-apple tree, when he was still only a child, he wished to make a final effort and practise the ecstasies; to that end, he decided to have a substantial meal, and the five companions who had accompanied him in his retreat abandoned him (*M.*, I, pp. 240-7).

Plunged into meditation, Śākyamuni successively passed through the four ecstasies (*dhyāna*) which were to lead him to Enlightenment. During the first night watch, he acquired the knowledge which consists of recalling his former existences (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*); during the second watch, the knowledge of the death and birth of beings (*cyutyupapādajñāna*); during the third and last watch, he acquired the certainty that all his defilements were destroyed (*āsravakṣayajñāna*). By means of that threefold knowledge, he penetrated the four noble truths concerning suffering, etc., and was finally able to award himself the palm of holiness : "I have found deliverance; all new birth is destroyed; holiness has been achieved, what had to be done has been done; I will return here no

more" (*M.*, I, pp. 21-3, 117, 247-9; T 26, ch. 25, p. 589*c*; T 125, ch. 23, p. 666*b-c*).

The Buddha, judging his doctrine too difficult to be understood wished to keep it to himself; however, after repeated entreaties from the god Brahmā, he consented to propound it to mankind. He wanted first of all to approach his former masters Ālāra and Udraka, but he was told they were dead, so he decided to go to Vārāṇasī and rejoin the five companions who had witnessed his austerities. While on the way there, he met the Ājīvika Upaka and confided his plan to him. He finally reached Vārāṇasī and, in the Deer Park, was acknowledged as a Buddha by the Group of Five and taught them the four noble truths (*M.*, I, pp. 167-73; T 26, ch. 56, pp. 777*a*-778*c*).

720 Another period of the Buddha's life is the subject of a Sanskrit sūtra, the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, discovered in Šorčuq (Chinese Turkestan) by the third German expedition to Turfan, and analyzed and edited by E. Waldschmidt[9]. It does not appear in the Chinese Āgama collections, but has its correspondent in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (*Dulva*, IV, p. 52 sq., T 1450, ch. 5, p. 124*c* sq.). This sūtra contains no less than twenty-eight episodes which can be classified in four sections : 1. the events at the foot of the Bodhi tree in Gayā (Nos 1-9), 2. the Buddha's first entry in Vārāṇasī (Nos 10-21), 3. the conversions at Gayā, on the return from Vārāṇasī (Nos 22-26), 4. the conversions at Rājagṛha (Nos 27-28).

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A special sūtra, the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, is entirely devoted to the last days of the Buddha. It has come down to us in a Pāli version (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 71-168), a Sanskrit recension (analyzed and edited by E. Waldschmidt)[10], a Tibetan translation (*Dulva*, XI, pp. 535*b*-652*b*) and some Chinese versions (T 1, ch. 2-4, pp. 11-30; T 5-7; T 1451, ch. 35-38, pp. 382*b*-402*c*), not to mention the many extracts scattered thoughout all the canonical and post-canonical literature.

Professor Waldschmidt arranged the fifty-one episodes which make up the plot of the account in four classifications : 1. episodes reproduced in substantially the same way in the majority of the sources; 2. episodes

[9] References above, p. 154, note.

[10] References above, p. 154, note.

related by the majority of the versions, but in a different way; 3. episodes attested to in only a small number of sources; 4. episodes attested to in a single version.

If an authentic tradition ever did exist, in the course of time it was subjected to considerable alterations. It is represented more faithfully, it seems, by the Sanskrit version than by the Pāli one.

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The biographical sūtras prove to be very sparing in details concerning the life and childhood of Śākyamuni; the *Soṇadaṇḍa* (*Dīgha*, I, p. 115; T 1, ch. 15, p. 95*a* 2) merely says : "The recluse Gautama was well-born
721 on both sides, of pure descent through his mother and father for seven generations, unblemished and irreproachable with regard to his birth".

However, the *Mahāvadānasūtra* (Pāli version, *Dīgha*, II, pp. 1-54; Sanskrit recension analyzed and edited by E. Waldschmidt[11]; Chinese versions, T 1, ch. 1, pp. 1-10; T 2-4; T 125, ch. 45, pp. 790-1), devoted to the glorification of the last seven Buddhas, contains detailed indications about the life of the Buddha Vipaśyin from his conception until his deeds as a Buddha.

Vipaśyin descended from the Tuṣita heaven in the midst of earthquakes and great light. He became embodied in the womb of a perfectly pure mother, who was able to contemplate the child within her womb. During her pregnancy, she observed the five precepts.

After six months had passed, Vipaśyin was born : earthquakes and luminous signs accompanied his birth. The Bodhisattva immediately stood upright and took seven steps towards the four cardinal points, proclaiming that he was the eldest in the world and that this birth would be his last. Two miraculous jets of water flowed over the mother and child. The gods manifested their joy (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 12-15).

The Bodhisattva was then presented to his father, who had him examined by seers; the latter discovered the thirty-two "Marks of a Great Man" on him and declared that later the child would either become a powerful cakravartin king or a perfectly enlightened Buddha (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 16-19).

The child, whose upbringing was entrusted to nurses, was quick to display extraordinary qualities : his comeliness, the brilliance of his look, the gentleness of his voice and his talents attracted general sympathy. His youth was spent in luxury and pleasure : three palaces, one for each season, were placed at his disposal (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 19-21).

[11] References above, p. 154, note.

However, during his outings, the Bodhisattva successively encountered an old man, a sick man, a dead man and a monk. Filled with disgust for this world and its vanities, he left the town of Bandhumatī, shaved his head, donned the yellow robe of the religious and withdrew into solitude (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 21-30).

While in retreat, he discovered the Law of the twelve causes or the dependent origination of phenomena; triumphing over suffering, he
722 acquired mental liberation which made him a Buddha (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 30-5).

Considering his doctrine to be too difficult to be understood, he wanted to keep it secret; however, yielding to the repeated pleas of the god Brahmā, he agreed to preach it. He went to the Deer Park in Bandhumatī and set turning the Wheel of the Law for the kṣatriya Khaṇḍa and the brahmin Tiṣya. Both attained Arhatship. This example was followed by 80,000 inhabitants of Bhandhumatī who donned the yellow robe of the religious and acquired holiness. The Buddha Vipaśyin sent his monks out on missions, and this continued for six years. After which, the monks returned to Bandhumatī, and Vipaśyin informed them of the monastic rules (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 37-47).

This biography, strongly tinged with legend, is given as typical and is valid, apart from a few details, for all the Buddhas indiscriminately. Started by Vipaśyin, it was relived successively by his successors, the other Buddhas. Śākyamuni, the last of the line, repeated it in turn (*Dīgha*, II, p. 51). The wonders which marked the conception and birth of Vipaśyin were reproduced for him[12]; just like Vipaśyin, he was raised in luxury and had three palaces at his disposal[13]. In short, everything occurred as if the devout biographers, unaware of the precise details of Śākyamuni's coming into the world, had after the event attributed a marvellous conception and birth to him, by applying to him a legend intended to glorify the Buddhas and cakravartin kings, a legend the themes of which were fixed in advance[14].

2. *Biographical fragments incorporated into the Vinayas.* — The Vinayas in our possession narrate a mass of episodes concerning the public ministry of Śākyamuni but, with the exception of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*

[12] Cf. the Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta, Majjhima, III, pp. 119-24; T 26, No. 32, ch. 8, pp. 469*c*-471*c*.

[13] Majjhima, I, p. 504; Aṅguttara, I, p. 145; T 26, No. 117, ch. 29, p. 607*c* 8.

[14] It is true that, theoretically, we could uphold the opposite thesis and claim that the life of Śākyamuni served as a model and point of departure for the legend in the Mahāvadānasūtra. This would mean that at the same time we would have to accept blindly all the miracles of the golden legend of Buddhism.

Vinaya, the anecdotes recorded in no way form a continuous account : they are introduced occasionally to narrate the circumstances which decided the Buddha to formulate an order or impose a prohibition.

723 However, in three Vinayas, the section devoted to the Skandhakas[15] opens with a more or less long section of Śākyamuni's life : the *Pāli Vinaya* (I, pp. 1-44) records events from the Enlightenment to the conversion of Śāriputra. The *Vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka* (T 1421, pp. 101*a* 10-110*c* 10) and the *Dharmaguptaka* (T 1428, pp. 779*a* 5-779*b* 24) devote some ten pages to narrating the antecedents and genealogy of Śākyamuni, his birth and life up to the Enlightenment and, in conclusion, the beginning of his public ministry until the conversion of Śāriputra.

In the same Vinayas, the Skandhaka section ends with the beginning of an ecclesiastical history : the *Pāli Vinaya* (II, pp. 284-308) and the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (T 1421, pp. 190*b* 13-194*b* 20) gives an account of the first two councils; the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (T 1428, pp. 966*a* 15-971*c* 2) briefly relates the funeral of the Buddha and continues with an account of the two councils.

Neither the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T 1435) nor that of the *Mahāsāṃghika* (T 1425) contains a continuous biography of the Buddha. Furthermore, the two Buddhist councils the vicissitudes of which they narrate, the former in the postface by Vimalākṣa and the latter right in the middle of the *Skandhaka*, appear as annexes to the general theme of the explanation[16].

This is why it seems difficult for us to posit, as did E. Frauwallner[17], the existence of an original "Old Skandhaka", beginning with an account of the Buddha's life, from his antecedents until the start of his public ministry, and concluding with the narration of his decease and funeral and an outline of the ecclesiastical history.

However that may be, the Vinayas and particularly that of the Sarvāstivādins include numerous stories and anecdotes concerning Śākyamuni's public ministry which cannot be found elsewhere. Some give evidence of a new spirit, announcing the coming of the Mahāyāna, such as the curious miracle of languages which has been alluded to above (pp. 549-552).

3. *Autonomous but incomplete "Lives"*. — Towards the beginning of the Christian era, new development appeared in the legend of the

[15] See above, pp. 167-171, the analysis of the six Vinayas.

[16] Cf. above, pp. 133-136.

[17] See above, pp. 176-179.

Buddha : the biography of the Blessed One stands out from the mass of
724 doctrinal and disciplinary texts in which it was drowned and becomes the subject of autonomous compositions. Two have come down to us in Sanskrit : the *Lalitavistara* (ed. S. LEFMANN, Halle, 1902) and the *Mahāvastu* (ed. E. SENART, Paris, 1892-97); others are in Chinese (T 184-191; 195-197). The oldest translations date from the end of the second century (T 184 is from 197) or the beginning of the third (T 185 is from 222-229), so we can assume that the first original compositions date from the beginning of the Christian era.

These Lives are incomplete : they are no more than an account of the first return to Kapilavastu, do not mention the great missionary tours of the Buddha and are silent over his decease. Depending on the point at which they stop their narrative, they can be divided into five categories :

a. Lives which conclude with the victory over Māra : *Hsiu hsing pên ch'i ching* (T 184), five chapters.

b. Lives ending with the setting in motion of the Wheel of Law : Sanskrit *Lalitavistara*, 27 chap.; *Fang kuang ta chuang yen ching* (T 187), 27 chap., tr. from the foregoing by Divākara in 683; *I ch'u p'u sa pên ch'i ching* (T 188).

c. Lives concluding with the conversion of the three Kāśyapa brothers : *Mahāvastu* (cf. III, pp. 425 sq.); *T'ai tzŭ jui ying pên ch'i ching* (T 185).

d. Lives finishing with the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, followed or not by the meeting with Mahākāśyapa : *P'u yao ching* (T 186), tr. in 30 chap. of a *Lalitavistara*, carried out in 308 by Dharmarakṣa; *Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching* (T 189).

e. Lives ending with the first return to Kapilavastu : *Fo pên hsing chi ching* (T 190), in 60 chap.[18]; *Chung hsü mo ho ti ching* (T 191).

Alongside these continuous accounts, there are also extracts or anthologies which merely relate certain events in the life of the Buddha : the *Shih êrh yu ching* (T 195), tr. in 392 by Kālodaka, tells briefly of the first twelve years of his public ministry; the *Chung pên ch'i ching* (T 196), tr. in 207 by T'an kuo and Mung hsiang, is a selection of fifteen episodes which occurred between the Discourse at Vārāṇasī and the stay in Verañjā when the Buddha was forced through famine to eat "horse
725 corn"; the *Hsing ch'i hsing ching* (T 197), tr. in about 207 by K'ang Mung hsiang, relates ten torments endured by the Buddha in expiation of former faults.

The Lives borrow the outline of their account from canonical sources :

[18] This life has been translated into English by S. BEAL, *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, London, 1875.

the wonders of the conception and birth are taken from the *Mahāvadānasūtra*; the episodes of the cycle of the Enlightenment, from the departure from Kapilavastu to the arrival at Bodhi, are borrowed from biographical suttas in the *Majjhima*; finally, the beginnings of the public ministry are taken from the *Vinaya*. However, the account is embellished with new and unpublished details which give it a more dramatic appearance : the Bodhisattva's first meditation under the rose-apple tree is combined with the marvel of the shadow which remained motionless over the child's body; the Bodhisattva's meditation on the mysteries of life and death are replaced by a more lively account of the four encounters; the departure from Kapilavastu is enlarged by new episodes : leaving the town with the connivance of the deities, the farewells to the charger Kaṇṭhaka and the charioteer Chandaka, the cutting of his hair, and exchange of clothing with the hunter, etc.; the walk to the Bodhimaṇḍa and the arrangement of the seat of Enlightenment take on the solemnity of a carefully regulated rite; finally, the Bodhisattva has to repulse the assaults by Māra three or four times.

All these Lives contain numerous references to the *jātaka*, former existences of the Buddha and his disciples. The *Lalitavistara* (pp. 163 sq.), summarizes a whole series of them. In the *Mahāvastu* and the *Fo pên hsing chi ching* (T 190), however, these *jātaka* become true motives of the account : each episode of the last life of the Buddha is given as the result and distant repetition of an event in his former existences. This constant concern for reference to the past shows to what degree belief in rebirth was deep-rooted in the minds of Buddhists. On each page, the *Mahāvastu* interrupts its narrative to inform us that it was not the first time the Buddha acted in such a way or was the hero of such an adventure; already in one of his former existences, an event of the same kind had occurred. This narrative process, mixing fable whith legend, was subsequently to become generalized, and we find it again in particular in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* which inaugurates a new stage in the formation of the legend of the Buddha.

4. *Complete Lives of the Buddha*. — We have to wait until the second
726 century of the Christian era to find, at last complete biographies which take Śākyamuni from his descent from the Tuṣita heaven through to his Nirvāṇa and funeral ceremony.

The initiative seems to have been taken by contemporaries of King Kaniṣka. With the title of "Buddhacarita compiled by Saṃgharakṣa", a certain Saṃgharakṣa[19], a native of Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār) and Kaniṣka's

[19] On Saṃgharakṣa, see P. Demiéville, *La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa*, BEFEO, XLIV, pp. 363-8.

teacher, composed in Gandhāra a complete biography of the Buddha in a mixture of verse and prose with a fairly developed version of the legend of Aśoka in appendix. This work was translated into Chinese in 384 by Saṃghabhadra, with the title of *Sêng ch'ieh lo ch'a so chi ching*, or better *Sêng ch'ieh lo ch'a so chi Fo hsing* (T 194).

Another contemporary of Kaniṣka, the brahmin Aśvaghoṣa, a native of Sāketa who had been converted to Buddhism, also composed a *Buddhacarita* in twenty-eight chapters, in Sanskrit verses of scholarly workmanship. The first of these deals with the birth of the Blessed One; the last is devoted to the distribution of the relics. The complete work exists only in a Tibetan version (*Mdo* XCIV, 1) and in Chinese (T 192), the latter translated by Dharmakṣema between 414 and 421. We possess the Sanskrit original of chapters I to XIV, as well as Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia (III, 16-29; XVI, 20-36)[20].

There also exists a third poem in verse which narrates, in thirty-one chapters, the complete life of the Buddha up to the distribution of the relics. Its author is unknown and the work now exists only in a Chinese version, the *Fo pên hsing ching* (T 193) translated by Pao yun between 427 and 449.

We mentioned above (pp. 170-171) a complete biography of Śākyamuni and the beginning of an ecclesiastical history incorporated into the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*. That "historical" section covers the chapters of the *Saṃghabhedavastu* and the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* which exist in Chinese (T 1450, 1451) and in a Tibetan version, the latter translated into English by W.W. ROCKHILL, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1884.
727 Only a few fragments or extracts from the Sanskrit original have come down to us[21]. With the exception of a few leaves of the *Saṃghabhedavastu*, the "historical" section is missing in the publication of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* edited by N. DUTT (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III,

[20] Cf. E.H. JOHNSTON, *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, 2 vol., Calcutta, 1936; *The Buddha's Mission and last Journey* (Buddhacarita, XV to XXVIII), Acta Orientalia, XV, 1937, pp. 1-128; F. WELLER, *Zwei Zentralasiatische Fragmente des Buddhacarita*, ASAWL, XLVI, 4, 1953, pp. 1-26.

[21] For the Saṃghabhedavastu, the Sanskrit text of the Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, edited by E. WALDSCHMIDT, corresponds to T 1450, ch. 5-7, pp. 124*c* 27-136*c* 27; the few leaves from Gilgit edited by N. DUTT, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 4, pp. 225, 16-248, 11, correspond to T 1450, ch. 10, pp. 147*c*-153*a*.

For the Vinayakṣudrakavastu, the Prātihāryasūtra, incorporated into the Divyāvadāna, Ch. XII, pp. 143-66, corresponds to T 1451, ch. 26, pp. 329*a*-333*c*; the beginning of the Māndhātāvadāna, incorporated into the Divyāvadāna, Ch. XVII, pp. 200-9, corresponds to T 1451, ch. 36, pp. 387*c* 4-389*a* 2; finally, the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, edited by E. WALDSCHMIDT, corresponds to T 1451, ch. 35-38, pp. 382*b* 29-402*c* 4.

4 parts, Srinagar, 1942-50). Through one of those sensational discoveries to which he alone holds the key, G. Tucci has recently discovered the Sanskrit original in Afghanistan. We can rest assured he will publish it without delay.

The date of the Vinaya of which this section forms part can be established approximately. It contains a prediction concerning Kaniṣka (T 1448, ch. 9, p. 41*b-c*), and the manner in which it celebrates the sovereign's merits as well as the splendours of the Peshāwār stūpa already presuppose the remoteness of their history. In fact, the present tendency is to delay the accession of Kaniṣka until the second century A.D. (128 according to J. Marshall, 143 according to Ghirshman). Furthermore, the Śākyamuni who is brought onto the scene by the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* is no longer the sage of Kapilavastu known to the early canonical texts, but the "god superior to the gods" celebrated by the Avadāna literature (above, pp. 644-645) and the Mahāyāna. Finally, Fa hsien, who visited India between 402 and 411 in search of copies of the Vinayas, does not seem to have known of the *Mūlasarv. Vin.*, and it was only in the first decade of the eighth century that it was (partly) translated into Chinese by I ching. For all these reasons, we cannot attribute to this work a date earlier than the fourth-fifth centuries of the Christian era[22].

The *Mūlasarv. Vin.* is presented as an enormous compilation. It repeats all the earlier facts from the Sūtras, the Vinayas (particularly that of the Sarvāstivādins) and the autonomous Lives, which enables it
728 to follow Śākyamuni from his conception until the return to Kapilavastu six years after the Enlightenment (T 1450, ch. 12, p. 159*a* 8-9). In order to narrate the rest of his public life, it had to make a summary choice between the accounts in the earlier Vinayas, then classify them chronologically, with the help of guide marks. As to the Nirvāṇa and the funeral ceremony, it conveniently repeated the Sanskrit version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* word for word.

Nevertheless, the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* is not free of neologisms, it sometimes enriches the legend with details, even apparently new episodes.

According to it, Śākyamuni did not have one, but three wives simultaneously, without counting the sixty thousand courtesans in their service; they were named Yaśodharā, Gopā and Mṛgajā (T 1450, ch. 3, pp. 111*c*, 112*c*, 114*b*).

The struggle between the Buddha and his cousin Devadatta also becomes the object of long developments, already partly manifested in

[22] A different opinion in E. FRAUWALLNER, *The Earliest Vinaya*, pp. 27 sq.; 196.

the *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* The Pāli sources were more restrained over the schismatic; the Suttas merely presented him as a man of malevolent desires (*Saṃyutta*, II, p. 156), destined for hell (*Majjhima*, I, p. 393); the *Pāli Vinaya* (II, pp. 182-203), extracts from which are quoted word for word in the *Aṅguttara* (II, p. 73; III, p. 123; IV, pp. 160, 164), gives a brief account of his collusion with Ajātaśatru, the schism which he provoked in the community and the three plots he hatched against the Buddha. The separate Lives say even less about him : they consider that Śākyamuni refused to welcome his former companion and childhood rival into his order (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 181; T 190, ch. 59, p. 923*c*). In contrast, the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (T 1450, ch. 13-14, pp. 168*a*-174*a*; ch. 20, p. 203; T 1464, ch. 2, pp. 859-60) and related sources (T 1435, ch. 36-37, pp. 257*a*-266*b*; T 1509, ch. 14, pp. 164*c*-165*a*) conspicuously expand the history of the schismatic : Devadatta, having entered the order with five hundred other Śākyas, proved to be an exemplary monk for twelve years, but ambition was his downfall. Having acquired, not without difficulty, possession of supernormal powers, he put them to use in order to win the friendship of Prince Ajātaśatru; assisted by the latter, he attempted to supplant the Buddha at the head of the community and to that end committed three offences of immediate maturation : he provok-
729 ed a schism, wounded the Buddha in the foot by throwing a rock at him and punched the nun Utpalavarṇā till she was unconscious. Finally, he took up with heretics. Feeling his end approaching, he again tried to scratch the Buddha with poison-coated fingernails. However, the ground opened under his feet and he was flung alive into the hells.

Certain episodes in the life of the Buddha take on the appearance of an apotheosis. In Śrāvastī, Śākyamuni no longer limits himself to the twin wonders (*yamakaprātihārya*) in the sky — common prodigies within the reach of all holy persons —; he also conducts a grandiose multiplication of fictitious Buddhas, by creating doubles of himself which rise in tiers as far as the heaven of the Akaniṣṭha gods (T 1451, ch. 26, p. 332*a-b*; *Divya*, pp. 161-2).

Eclectic tendencies, already at work in the separate Lives, continue to act and sometimes entirely transform certain old legends, however well established. Nothing is more characteristic in this respect than the story of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. According to known tradition, their teacher, before their conversion to Buddhism, was the heretic Sañjaya Vairaṭīputra, who professed agnostic ideas; the two young men, having finally discovered the Buddha, decided to take up his Law and tried to take their teacher with them. However, Sañjaya refused to follow them and even tried to hold them back; being unsuccessful and finding

himself abandoned, he spat blood in vexation and died[23]. In contrast, in the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (T 1444, ch. 2, p. 1026*a-c*; *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 4, pp. 20-5) and related texts (*Ch'u fên shuo ching*, T 498, ch. 2, p. 768*a-b*; *Upadeśa*, T 1509, ch. 11, p. 136*b-c*; ch. 40, p. 350*a*; ch. 42, p. 368*b*), Sañjaya no longer has much in common with the heretic of the same name : he belongs to a wealthy Kauṇḍinya family and, far from
730 professing agnosticism, he prepares the way for Buddhism by preaching the religious life, non-violence, chastity and Nirvāṇa; as he is dying, he denies before his two disciples that he has already found the way of deliverance by himself, but announces the impending arrival of the Buddha and urges them to join him.

In previous publications[24], I have already raised the matter of the dual tradition concerning Sañjaya : one presenting this person in an unfavourable light as a heretic, the other in a favourable one, as the precursor of the Buddha. However, possibly I was wrong to term the first tradition early and the second later. E. Waldschmidt quite rightly remarked that these traditions are difficult to date and that, if it is important to establish the differences between them, "it is dangerous to consider one as early and the other as late"[25]. Professor Waldschmidt, however, sees in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* "einen aus jungen und alten Bestandteilen stark gemischten Text" [a text with a strong mixture of recent and earlier components], and it is this composite nature which we wish to emphasize here.

Another tendency of this Vinaya is to bring the biography of Śākyamuni into line with the lives of the previous Buddhas. It draws up a list of the actions which every Buddha must necessarily accomplish (*avaśyakaraṇīya*). They are five in number (T 1451, ch. 26, p. 329*c* 26) or ten (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 150)[26] : The Buddha does not enter complete cessation

[23] Pāli sources : Vinaya, I, pp. 39-44; Apadāna, I, pp. 24-5; Jātaka, I, p. 85; Dhammapada Comm., I, pp. 90-5; Suttanipāta Comm., I, pp. 326 sq. — Sanskrit source : Mahāvastu, III, pp. 59-65. — Chinese sources : Wu fên lü, T 1421, ch. 16, p. 110*b-c*; Ssŭ fên lü, T 1428, ch. 33, pp. 798*c*-799*b*; P'u yao ching, T 186, ch. 8, pp. 533*c*; Ta chuang yen ching, T 187, ch. 12, p. 613*c*; Yin kuo ching, T 189, ch. 4, p. 652*a*; Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 48, p. 875*c* sq.; Fo so hsing tsan, T 192, ch. 4, p. 33*b* (cf. E.H. Johnston, *The Buddha's Mission*, Acta Orientalia, XV, 1937, pp. 21-3); Fo pên hsing ching, T 193, ch. 4, p. 81*b*; Chung pên ch'i ching, T 196, ch. 1, p. 153*b*; Ta chi ching, T 397, ch. 19, p. 129*a*; Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 9, pp. 924*c*-925*a*.

[24] *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, II, 1949, pp. 621-32; *La légende du Buddha*, RHR, vol. 134, 1947-48, pp. 65-6.

[25] E. Waldschmidt, *Festschrift Schubring*, Hamburg, 1951, p. 120.

[26] The list of the five obligatory actions is again found in the Ekottarāgama, T 125, ch. 28, p. 703*b* 17-20.

as long as another person has not been told by him that he will be a Buddha one day; as long as he has not inspired in another being a thought capable of not turning back from the supreme state of a perfectly accomplished Buddha; as long as all those whom he should convert have not been converted; as long as he has not exceeded three-quarters of the duration of his existence; as long as he has not fixed the limits of his parish; as long as he has not designated two of his auditors as the foremost of all; as long as he has not shown himself descending from the heaven of the Devas at the town of Sāṃkāśya; as long as, assembled with his auditors near the great Anavatapta Lake, he has not displayed the interweaving of previous actions; as long as he has not
731 established his father and mother in the truths; as long as he has not performed a great wonder in Śrāvastī.

5. *The Sinhalese compilations.* — As might well be expected, the monks of Ceylon did not cease to be interested in the person of their founder. They transmitted intact the Pāli texts which doubtless contain the oldest and most authentic fragments on the life of the Master. They enlarged that heritage to a considerable degree, but refrained from distorting it too much. While attributing a large part to the marvellous, they kept within reasonable limits and did not lapse into the exaggerations and improbabilities to which the separate Lives, the sanskrit Avadānas and Mahāyānasūtras have accustomed us. We know that the monastics at the Mahāvihāra had always been opposed to the Mahāyānist elucubrations known in Ceylon by the name of Vetullavāda, and that disposition is enough to explain the relative reticence they displayed in the matter of miracles.

The *Suttanipāta*, which forms part of the Pāli Khuddakas which were closed quite late (above, pp. 156-159), contains in Sections No. 3, the *Mahāvagga*, some suttas which are archaic in style and respectively relate the first encounter with Bimbisāra (*Pabbajjāsutta, Sn*, III, 1), the assault by Māra on the banks of the Nerañjanā (*Padhānasutta, Sn*, III, 2) and the prediction by the old Asita (*Nālakasutta, Sn*, III, 11). However, Section No. 3, in which these suttas appear, does not prove much : unlike Sections No. 4 (*Aṭṭhakavagga*) and 5 (*Pārāyaṇa*), it was cited by name in the first four Nikāyas, it has not been the subject of a Chinese translation and it is not explained in the *Mahāniddesa*, an ancient commentary considered as canonical by the Sinhalese. I am therefore inclined to see, in these three biographical suttas, a Pāli adaptation of fragments borrowed from northern sources, probably the "Lives" in Sanskrit, in which the episodes in question are narrated.

The *Nidānakathā* "Account of Events", which serves as an introduc-

tion to the long commentary on the Pāli Jātakas (I, pp. 2-94)[27] and it is
732 derived from ancient Sinhalese glosses, is a continuous narrative of the Buddha's deeds. It consist of three sections : 1. "Remote events" (*dūrenidāna*), from the birth of the Śākya as Sumedha until his entry into the Tuṣita heaven; 2. "Less remote events" (*avidūrenidāna*), from his decease among the Tuṣitas and his birth as Siddhārtha until his Enlightenment. 3. "Recent events" (*santikenidāna*), from the beginnings of the public ministry until the donation of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika. Again, this is an incomplete biography, modelled on the separate "Lives" which were widespread on the mainland. To our Western tastes, the compilers seem too well informed on the ancient facts and too little documented on the last existence. The latter includes a considerable part of marvels, but it nonetheless remains within reasonable limits : we sense a desire to present Śākyamuni as an incomparable master rather than a god.

Finally, the spirit of systematization took hold of the biography of the Buddha. A contemporary of Buddhaghosa, namely Buddhadatta (fifth century A.D.), attached to the Bhūtamaṅgalagāma monastery in Coromandel but who studied at the Mahāvihāra, attempted, in his *Commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa* (p. 2), to compile annals of the first twenty years of Śākyamuni's public ministry. Not only are these annals incomplete — since they cover the first half of his public life exclusively — but they are also apocryphal, for they are based on both canonical data and legends incorporated at a later date into the Sinhalese commentaries. If the majority of modern authors adopt the chronology proposed in these annals, it is only as a last resort and because they are unable to substitute another for it[28].

Like the Sarvāstivādins, the Sinhalese Theras sought to specify the resemblances and differences between the Buddhas. All of them are expected to accomplish, during their careers, thirty identical deeds (*samatiṃsavidhā dhammatā*), for example, renouncing the world after the four fateful encounters, practising austerities for at least a week, eating milk-rice on the day of their Enlightenment, etc. (*Buddhavaṃsa*
733 *Commentary*, p. 248); they are all obliged to frequent the same places (*avijahitaṭṭhāna*) : the Bodhimaṇḍa at Bodh-Gayā, the Deer Park in

[27] Translated into English by T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880 (new ed. by C. Rhys Davids, 1925); extracts in H.C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1915, pp. 5-83; J. Dutoit, *Leben des Buddha*, pp. 5 sq., 18 sq.

[28] This is why, in the few pages devoted to the life of the Buddha (above, pp. 15-23), we opted for a geographical classification.

Vārāṇasī, the Jetavana in Śrāvastī and Sāṃkāśya (*Sumaṅgala*, II, p. 424; *Buddhavaṃsa Comm.*, p. 247). The Buddhas differ among themselves only over points of detail, the exact list of which was known to the chroniclers (*Buddhavaṃsa Comm.*, pp. 2 sq., 246 sq.). However, by stereotyping the legend in this way, scholasticism finally killed it.

CAUSES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND. — There are many causes which decided or favoured the development of the legend of the Buddha as we have just sketched it. For more than ten centuries, the ancient facts were subjected to successive adaptations and expanded with new episodes. Whether it is eliminated, modified or added, each detail has its own justification and in principle requires an explanation. However, this can only be found after a detailed search, and the discovery of new sources generally revealed its falseness. Moreover, work has only just begun. For the research to succeed, we would need a synopsis of all the lives of the Buddha, for this alone would yield a fruitful comparison.

In the meantime, among the causes which contributed to the expansion of the legend, we can point to the need to justify such-and-such a detail in the tradition, the influence of holy places on the development of the texts, the incidence of religious imagery on the written tradition, the borrowing from outside sources, the claim of regions which were not converted until late that they had been visited by the Buddha and, finally, the desire of the great families to be connected with the Śākyan lineage.

1. *The justification of detail.* — When a given source is in contradiction with a universally accepted tradition over a point of detail, the old biographers, never at a loss, invented a new story to explain the contradiction.

It is generally accepted that Rāhula, the Buddha's son, was seven years old when his father returned to Kapilavastu[29].

734 According to the *Nidānakathā* (p. 62) and the *Buddhacarita* (II, 46), Yaśodharā gave birth to Rāhula seven days before the Bodhisattva's departure, and Śākyamuni caressed his son before leaving. Śākyamuni withdrew into solitude and practised the austerities for six years and finally attained Enlightenment. Then, after spending the rainy season in

[29] I only know of one dissenting voice, recorded by the Fo pên hsing chi ching (T 190, ch. 55, p. 909*a* 27, *c* 24-27) : according to the Kāśyapīyas and other masters, Rāhula was two years old when his father left home to devote himself to the austerities, and fifteen when the latter returned to Kapilavastu and ordained him as a śrāmaṇera. That is the prescribed age since, according to the Vinaya, one cannot receive the *pravrajyā* before the age of fifteen and the *upasaṃpadā* before twenty (cf. Pāli Vinaya, I, pp. 78-9).

Vārāṇasī, three months in Uruvilvā and two months in Rājagṛha, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his native town. At his mother's instigation, young Rāhula, who was more than six years old, tried to obtain the inheritance due to him from the Buddha. However, the Buddha's only reply was to have Śāriputra confer the first ordination on him, i.e. the pravrajyā of the novice (*Vinaya*, I, p. 82).

Up until now, everything tallies, but according to a whole series of sources the Buddha's return to Kapilavastu did not take place until six years after the Enlightenment[30]. In that case, Rāhula would have been ordained at the age of twelve, which is contrary to tradition. The biographers were faced with the following problem : in view of the fact that Śākyamuni had abstained from all conjugal relations since his departure from home, six years before the Enlightenment, and that he returned twelve years later to Kapilavastu, there to ordain his son, how could the latter still be only six years old when he was ordained?

The solution to the problem is childishly simple and this is how the devout biographers resolved it :

1st. Śākyamuni had his first and last conjugal relations with Yaśodharā only seven days before leaving home[31], and Rāhula was as yet only conceived when his father left Kapilavastu[32].

2nd. Yaśodharā carried Rāhula in her womb, not for nine months, but for six years[33]. She gave birth to him the very night that the Buddha won Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā[34].

3rd. Six years later, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu to visit his
735 family and had his son ordained. The latter was only six years old[35] : this fact had to be demonstrated.

However, our curiosity is still not satisfied. How can it be explained that Rāhula remained in his mother's womb for six years? A jātaka provides the answer[36]. A king died, leaving two sons. The elder became

[30] In particular, see Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 12, p. 159*a* 8-9.

[31] Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 4, p. 115*a* (cf. ROCKHILL, *Life*, p. 24).

[32] Mahāvastu, II, p. 159; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, p. 182*b* 15-15.

[33] Mahāvastu, III, p. 172; T'ai tzŭ jui yung pên ch'i ching, T 185, ch. 1, p. 475*a* 20; Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 55, p. 908*a* 14-15; Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, No. 117, ch. 10, p. 496*b* 26; Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 17, p. 365*c* 12-16.

[34] Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 5, p. 124*b* (cf. ROCKHILL, *Life*, p. 32).

[35] Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 55, p. 906*b* 26-28; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, p. 182*c* 3.

[36] This jātaka, with some variations in the names of the characters, is related in the Liu tu chi ching, T 152, No. 53, ch. 5, p. 30*a-b* (cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 197-201); Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 55, pp. 907*a*-908*a* (cf. BEAL, *Romantic Legend*, pp. 360-3); Fo wu po ti tzŭ ching, T 199, No. 25, p. 199*a-b*; Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 17, p. 365*c*

a recluse, while the younger one mounted the throne. The recluse made a vow never to take anything, not even a drop of water, without it being given to him. However, one day on territory ruled by his brother, he inadvertently drank some water without having asked permission. Considering himself a thief, he demanded that his brother chastise him as he believed he deserved. The king, in order to please him and free him from his scruples, agreed to inflict a punishment on him. After which, he returned to his palace where he remained for six days without going out. All that time, the recluse suffered from hunger and thirst. At the end of the six days, the king left his palace and apologized to the recluse for his distraction. The recluse forgave him, but as a punishment for his fault, for five hundred existences the king regularly remained in his mother's womb for six years. That king, whatever the name attributed to him by the sources, was none other than Rāhula in one of his former existences.

One might also ask how the mother could endure that prolonged pregnancy. When she gave birth to her son, six years after her husband's departure, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu were scandalized and claimed that Rāhula was not the son of the Buddha.

Poor Yaśodharā was called upon to prove her innocence. Cast onto a pyre to be burnt alive, she invoked the Buddha, and the fire was instantly transformed into a pool of clear water, in the middle of which Yaśodharā, holding little Rāhula in her arms, was seated on a lotus
736 blossom[37]. Or again, she took Rāhula, seated him on a truth-stone and placed the stone in the middle of the pool. Having done so, she formulated the following aspiration : "If that child is truly the son of the Bodhisattva, may he float; if not, may he sink to the bottom". She spoke and Rāhula, and the stone which bore him, floated together[38].

However, it was for the Buddha and Rāhula to demonstrate Yaśodharā's innocence. When, six years later, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his former wife attempted to win him back with a potion. She made a magic sweet-meat (*modaka*) and asked Rāhula to present it to his father. The latter had understood the stratagem and knew that Yaśodharā, on giving birth to Rāhula, had been the subject of reproach. Wishing to put an end to those calumnies, he produced through metamorphosis five hundred persons who looked exactly like him. Rāhula, the sweet-meat in his hands, inspected that regiment of fictitious

12-16; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 12, p. 162*b-c*; Mahāvastu, III, pp. 172-5; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, p. 182*c*.

[37] Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, No. 117, ch. 10, p. 496*b* sq.

[38] Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 12, pp. 158*c*-159*a*.

Buddhas, but arriving in front of the true Buddha he had no hesitation and offered him the sweet-meat. Blood spoke to blood and the son had recognized the father. The latter accepted the sweet-meat, but immediately returned it to Rāhula who took it and swallowed it[39].

The story is not finished, and the early biographers inform us that, already in her previous existences, Yaśodharā had always tried to win back her husband[40].*

Here the reader can vividly sense the manner of the old narrators. A minor detail or an unimportant question of chronology requires an explanation. The explanation is enough to start the legend off again and provoke new stories, invented out of nothing or recovered from goodness knows where. One story calls for another. Each recent event must produce a corresponding episode in previous lives. The life of Śākyamuni is a skein of interwoven legends, and cunning indeed is he who could unravel it.

2. *The influence of the holy sites.* — As A. Foucher correctly remarked, it is not possible to separate the biography of the Buddha from the sacred topography of Buddhism. A visit to the holy places, ever increasing in popularity since the pious tours of Aśoka, incited the
737 guides to perfect their patter and recall new "memories". This, they said, is the "Elephant Hole", caused by the fall of the animal which was thrown over the walls of Kapilavastu by Prince Siddhārtha; here is the "Arrow Well", where the arrow shot by the prince stuck in the ground; here again is the shrine of "Chandaka's Return", where the Bodhisattva laid aside his precious clothing and took leave of his charioteer. Pilgrimage guide books (*māhātmya*) existed from which certain "Lives" of the Buddha drew inspiration. The *Lalitavistara*, for example, is presented as an enlarged — and badly corrected — edition of several pilgrimage guide books placed end to end : the information which it contains often coincides, even down to details of expression, with the words of guides collected at the holy places by Hsüan tsang and other pilgrims during their reverent visits[41].

3. *The incidence of religious imagery.* — The ancient Central Indian school of sculpture took advantage of thirty-four episodes in the last life of Śākyamuni (above, pp. 405-406). However, the necessity to resort to symbols for representing the Buddha and the rudimentary carving of the

[39] Id., *ibid.*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, pp. 182*c*-183*a*.

[40] Cf. the Ṛṣyaśṛṅgajātaka, the story of the recluse who was seduced by a courtesan. — References in *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, II, p. 1009, note.

[41] See A. Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 108.

early statues still consisted of only a far from perfect illustration of the golden legend. In contrast, the first centuries of the Christian era saw the flourishing of the Graeco-Buddhist school in Gandhāra, which produced many images of the Buddha and no longer hesitated to present him in human form. Not content with having created a statue, that school also wanted to illustrate the entire life of Śākyamuni on bas-reliefs. Its repertory is much richer than that of the early artists at Bhārhut and Sāñcī and the subjects depicted number nearly one hundred : there are scenes of the birth, childhood and youth, a detailed reproduction of the taking up of the religious life and the Enlightenment, a varied selection of episodes taken from the public ministry and, finally, a representation of the Parinirvāṇa and the events which accompanied it.

Here it is no longer a matter of rough outlines or sketchy representations, but of full and developed designs, taking the depictment to its most concrete detail. Before laying hands on a chisel, the Graeco-Buddhist artists undoubtedly consulted one or other biography of the Buddha in order to refresh their memories and ascertain this or that detail of the scene to be reproduced. It is no less certain that they
738 questioned their employers and tried to meet the demands and preferences of their clients. Alongside the literary tradition recorded in the "Lives" of the period, there was also an oral tradition, publically widespread, which had to be taken into account. There was necessarily much interaction between the two. The artists drew inspiration from the texts, but the texts in turn were influenced by the works created by the sculptors.

An old Indian belief, probably earlier than any carved representation, claims that perfectly enlightened Buddhas and Cakravartin Kings are endowed with the thirty-two physical marks of a "Great Man" (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*). The list of them is attested to in the earliest canonical works, such as the *Mahāpadānasuttanta* (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 17-19; cf. *Mahāvadānasūtra*, ed. WALDSCHMIDT, p. 101 sq.), *Lakkhaṇasuttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 143-4), *Brahmāyusuttanta* (*Majjhima*, II, pp. 136-7), etc.[42]. In the terms of one of those marks, the Buddha is *jālāṅgulihastapāda*, i.e. his fingers and toes are marked with a net. The net in question probably designates the veinous network which grooves the hand, the red lines of which appear when the hand is held towards sunlight.

However, in several lists which I have recorded elsewhere[43], we find another explanation : *jāla*, web, does not mean a veinous network but a

[42] Other references in *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, I, p. 271, n.2.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 274, note.

membrane, and the epithet *jālāṅgulihastapāda* is glossed by the periphrase *rājahaṃsavaj jālāvanaddhāṅgulipāṇipādatā*, "like the royal swan the digits of whose feet are linked by a membrane".

The semantic glide of the term *jāla*, passing from the meaning of network to that of membrane and which would relegate the Buddha to the genus of palmipeds, can be explained by a mistaken interpretation in the sculptures[44]. The technical process of welding the fingers of statues, the hands of which are separate from the body and extended, with the sole aim of making them more solid, led to the Buddha being given
739 webbed hands and feet, and in the end the texts confirmed that whimsical explanation. Again similarly, the turban which adorns the head of a statue was interpreted as being a cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*), and the precious stone set in the middle of the brow passed for a natural tuft of white hair (*ūrṇā*) between the eyebrows.

In order to explain the bas-reliefs, which were difficult to interpret, there was no hesitation in altering the original legend and adding new details to it. Thus, a panel at Loriyān-Tangai[45] representing the Budddha's descent at Sāṃkāśya introduces, to the left of the viewer, a royal personage shielded by an emblematic parasol and seated on a richly caparisoned elephant. This can only be Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, or Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, who came on purpose to Sāmkāśya to welcome the Buddha on his descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven. However, this explanation would be too easy, and a whole series of texts[46] inform us that the enigmatic person is none other than the nun Utpalavarṇā. She had also come to Sāṃkāśya, disguised as a cakravartin king so that she could make her way to the front row and be the first to greet the Buddha. The explanation given here is doubtless only a modification of the original version of the legend caused by this type of bas-relief.

4. *Borrowings from outside sources*. — The early sūtras contain considerable sections of the life of the Buddha repeated in part and

[44] This question has been discussed by A. FOUCHER, J.N. BANERJEA, W.F. STUTTERHEIM and A.K. COOMARASWAMY. Summary of the controversy in *Traité*..., I, p. 273, note.

[45] A. FOUCHER, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I, p. 540, fig. 265.

[46] Aśokāvadāna (Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 23, p. *169c*; T 2042, ch. 2, p. *105b*; T 2043, ch. 3, p. 140*b*; Divya, p. 401); Tsêng i a han, T 125, ch. 28, p. 707*c*; Karmavibhaṅga Comm., ed. S. LÉVI, pp. 159-60. — The Buddha did not at all appreciate the nun's alacrity and declared that Subhūti, who had remained calmly in his cave on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata meditating on universal emptiness, had been the first to greet him : T 125, ch. 28, p. 707*c*; T 198, ch. 2, p. 185*c*; T 694, ch. 1, pp. 792*c*-793*a*; T 1507, ch. 3, pp. 37*c*-38*a*; T 1509, ch. 11, p. 137*a*; T 2087, ch. 4, p. 893*b*.

completed by the Vinayas. If some later Vinayas or those that were closed later, such as that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, added greatly to the legend, the Pāli Vinaya, the most restrained of them all, remains in line with the early biographical sūtras. It might be suggested that the most characteristic events in Śākyamuni's life were already fixed by the end of
740 the Magadhan period, at which time Buddhism did no more than vegetate in the region of the Middle Ganges.

Later, under the Mauryas and Śuṅgas, the Good Law made a spiritual conquest of the whole of India and, in the North-West, its adherents entered into prolonged contact with Western civilizations represented by the Macedonian conquerors, the Seleucid officials and, lastly, the Indo-Greeks in Bactria and the Punjab. The Śaka-Pahlavas who replaced the Indo-Greeks in the Indus basin also considered themselves as representatives of Hellenic culture. That some fusion occurred in the field of ideas and traditions between the Eastern and Western worlds cannot be doubted. Extreme though Indian xenophobia was, it could not prevent the circulation and exchange of ideas. As we remarked above (pp. 441-442), stories from the inexhaustible Greek repertory could not fail to amuse the Indians, no more than could Indian folklore leave the foreigners uninterested.

The exchange of ideas increased even more during the first three centuries of the Christian era, under the Kuṣāṇa dynasty which united under its sceptre Iranian, Indian and Serindian territories and was in constant contact with the Mediterranean West. It was precisely during this period that the "Lives" of the Buddha proliferated which, while repeating earlier facts, embellished the account with new details and unprecedented episodes. Without the slightest concern for historical truth, they invented or welcomed anything that could glorify the person of the Master, both during his last life as well as throughout his former existences.

Some people have suggested that there might be similarities between the many revised, enlarged editions of the life of the Buddha and Western sources. Such-and-such an episode might recall a story by Herodotus[47], a Jewish tale[48], a passage from the canonical or apocryphal Gospels[49], or might translate an ancient myth inspired in our

[47] M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 127 n., 135, 136 n.

[48] K. Mitra, *Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels*, IHQ, XIX, 1943, pp. 225-33; 344-54.

[49] A description and bibliography in E.J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 237-48, 287-8; M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 402-23.

741 Aryan ancestors by the grandiose spectacles of nature or again might emerge from the ancient heritage common to the human species, the original mumblings of which are to be sought among savages, Melanesians or others[50].

Without getting involved in that path, we will note only two things. The biographical fragments incorporated in the early sūtras — which fragments have been analysed above (p. 648) —, do not betray any foreign influence. In contrast, if certain episodes of secondary importance introduced into the Lives of the Buddha at the beginning of the Christian era suggest a parallel with a Western source and if we glimpse the possibility of an influence, the latter, for reasons of chronology, should be credited to the West rather than the East[51].

It is necessary to study each particular case in order to know first whether a parallel exists and, secondly, whether it can be explained only by a borrowing from an outside source.

Nowhere in the canonical sources is there a question of a presentation at a temple. However, according to the *Legend of Aśoka* (*Divya*, p. 391; T 99, ch. 23, p. 166*c*; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 103*c*; T 2043, ch. 2, p. 137*a*), the Bodhisattva, at the time of his birth, was taken to Kapilavastu, to the temple of the gods (*devakula*) in order to pay homage to the god Śākyavardha "Prosperity of the Śākyas"; when he entered, all the deities fell at the Bodhisattva's feet and, because of that, Śuddhodana gave him the name of Devātideva, "god superior to the gods". — In the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1450, ch. 2, p. 108*c*), the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, seeing from afar the Bodhisattva approaching the pagoda, rose from his seat, prostrated himself full length on the ground and bowed his head before the Bodhisattva's feet. — In the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 26), it is the goddess Abhayā "Fearless" who bows down before the Bodhisattva. — The *Lalitavistara* (pp. 118-20) gives more details : No sooner has the Bodhisattva placed the sole of his right foot in the temple than, although inanimate, the images of the gods — namely, those of Śiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Candra, Sūrya, Vaiśravaṇa, Śakra, Brahmā, Lokapāla, etc. — all rose from their places and fell at the Bodhisattva's feet… The deities represented in images all appeared in person and sang a hymn in his honour… That is how thirty-two hundred thousand deities received the call to supreme and perfect Enlightenment. — Finally, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 6, p. 902*a*) was still able to visit the temple in Kapilavastu where the
742 Bodhisattva was presented to the gods in accordance with Śākyan custom. When the infant entered the temple, the stone statue descended from its throne in order to pay homage to him; it returned to its place when the prince left the shrine.

[50] See in A. Foucher, *Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha*, pp. 3-7, a criticism of the positions formerly adopted by the school of comparative mythology on the one hand, and the anthropological school on the other.

[51] Cf. A. Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 20-1, 36, 57, etc.

This legend has been compared with a passage in the *Pseudo-Matthew* concerning the flight to Egypt :

The Virgin and Child entered a town known as Sotinen; and because they knew no one of whom to ask hospitality, they entered the temple which the Egyptians call Capitol. In that temple were placed 365 idols to each of which in turn sacrilegious honour was paid every day of the year. When the blessed Mary entered the temple with the small child, all the idols toppled to the ground... And then was accomplished the word of the prophet Isaiah (XIX, 1) : "Behold the Lord rideth on a swift cloud... and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence"[52].

The presentation of the new-born at a temple, imposed by Jewish law, is not part of the Indian rites specified on the occasion of births. Hsüan tsang tells us that it was a custom of the Śākyas. Nevertheless, we can but think that a presentation at a temple is more appropriate to a Judaeo-Christian text than an Indian one. That being so, to infer a dependence of the latter on the former is but a step. However, before taking this step, it is appropriate to note the basic opposition between the theses face to face. The Indian tradition is unanimous in presenting the Buddha as the "instructor of gods and men" (*śāstā devamanuṣyā-nām*). Although he did not on that account neglect beings in the other destinies, the hell-born, animals and pretas, nor even the hybrid creatures classed in the sixth destiny (Nāgas, Asuras, Amanuṣyas), the Buddha preferred to address the gods and mankind in order to show them the way, teach them what should be done and what should not be done, and what is good and bad, since the gods and mankind are the most capable of understanding and following his advice. Far from fighting the gods, the Buddha wished to convert and lead them to take the threefold refuge in him. His visit to the temple in Kapilavastu had no other aim and effect than to make the guardian deities of the Śākyas acknowledge his superiority and conform to his teachings. Very different
743 is the attitude attributed to the Child-God by the *Pseudo-Matthew* : it is no longer a matter of compromising with the deities, but of destroying the image of false gods and sweeping away the works of pagans.

Among the parallels drawn between the Gospels and the Buddhist texts, the most striking is that of the old man Asita, the "Buddhist Simeon". The text of Saint Luke (II, 25-35) is remarkable for its sobriety :

And behold there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and the

[52] Cf. C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 85; tr. A. Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 55.

Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel". And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, "Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed".

The child Jesus is presented to Yahweh by a temple priest who receives a fee of five shekels (*Numbers*, XVIII, 15-16) and proclaims the redemption of the new-born child of Israel. Simeon, who is not a priest, does not take part in the ceremony. His rôle is that of a mere individual, and his intervention is not requested by the parents of Jesus. While the text of the Gospel informs us of the exact age of Anna the prophetess — eighty-four years —, it is silent about that of Simeon; it presents him merely as a just and devout man awaiting the Messiah and inspired by the Holy Ghost. It was under the impulse of the Holy Ghost that Simeon was in the temple at the time when Joseph and Mary brought the Child to the temple in Jerusalem to perform for him the prescriptions of the law.

On his own initiative, Simeon takes the child in his arms, and blesses God. His first words are a canticle of thanksgiving : Simeon can die in peace now that he has seen with his own eyes the salvation prepared by God before the face of all people, a salvation which is both a light for
744 the Gentiles and, a glory for Israel. The parents are lost in admiration but Simeon's words do not tell them anything they did not know before, for they had been informed by the previous events.

As a second step, Simeon "blesses" (εὐλόγησεν) or congratulates the parents and announces to Mary that the new-born child will be exposed to contradictions — in which Mary will take part —, such contradictions will reveal the profound aspirations of many people and will culminate in the downfall of some and the rise of others. However, it was already known from Isaiah (VIII, 14) that the Lord would be a stumbling-block and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, a gin and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

The episode of Asita narrated by the Buddhist texts only remotely resembles the scene from the Gospel. The numerous sources which mention it have not yet been studied in detail, but J.W. de Jong has

devoted a profound investigation, which is a model of its kind, to three versions of the *Lalitavistara*[53].

The old *Mahāpadānasūtra* presents the drawing up of the horoscope as an obligatory event in the legend of the Buddhas. On the birth of the Bodhisattva, his retinue has the new-born boy's horoscope drawn up in accordance with ancient Indian custom. This is not an astrological process based on the position of the stars at the time of birth, but a physical examination of the child which enables his future to be foreseen. The king alone (Skt. recension)[54], or through the intermediary of brahmins skilled in signs (Pāli version)[55], discovers the thirty-two physical marks of a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*) on his son's body. A man with such marks will become a Universal Monarch if he remains in the world; if he takes up the religious life, he will become a Buddha. Faced with these two eventualities, the brahmins and gods are perplexed.

Several "Lives" of the Buddha claim that on that occasion the aged recluse Asita intervened to fix the family's ideas firmly and predict the future accession of Śākyamuni to Buddahood.

745 In texts translated into Chinese before 450 A.D.[56], Asita goes alone to Kapilavastu; he arrives from the Himālayas or from the kingdom of Śuddhodana. In texts translated into Chinese after 580 A.D.[57], as well as all the Sanskrit and Pāli sources[58], he is accompanied on his journey by his nephew Naradatta, sometimes identified as Mahākātyāyana, the future missionary in Avanti. In that case, he comes, not from the Himālayas, but from the Vindhya mountains situated to the south of Avanti.

[53] J.W. de Jong, *L'épisode d'Asita dans le Lalitavistara*, Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 312-25.

[54] Mahāpadānasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 94, n.2.

[55] Dīgha, II, p. 16.

[56] Hsiu hsing pên ch'i ching, T 184, ch. 1, pp. 464*a* 28-465*a* 11; T'ai tzŭ jui ying pên ch'i ching, T 185, ch. 1, p. 474*a* 4-25; Fo shuo p'u yao ching, T 186, ch. 2, pp. 495*b* 4-496*b* 15; P'u sa pên ch'i ching, T 188, p. 618*a* 26-*b* 6; Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching, T 189, ch. 1, pp. 626*c* 12-627*c* 3; Fo so hsing tsan, T 192, ch. 1, pp. 2*c* 2-3*c* 1; Fo pên hsing ching, T 193, ch. 12, pp. 60*b* 1-61*c* 16; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 29, p. 274*b*; Translations of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, T 374, ch. 27, p. 528*b*, T 375, ch. 26, p. 773*a*.

[57] Fang kuang ta chuang yen ching, T 187, ch. 3, pp. 556*b* 12-557*c* 22; Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 9-10, pp. 693*b* 23-701*a* 19; Chung hsü mo ho ti ching, T 191, ch. 3, pp. 939*c* 12-941*c* 10; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 2-3, pp. 108*a* 18-110*b* 8; T 1451, ch. 20, pp. 298*a* 18-299*c* 7.

[58] Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, I, 81; Lalitavistara, pp. 101-8; Mahāvastu, II, pp. 30-45; Nālakasutta in Suttanipāta, 679-723; Nidānakathā, pp. 54-5.

The Buddhist texts, while not always agreeing over details, describe Asita's venture complacently and rather verbosely[39] :

On the birth of the Bodhisattva, the great ṛṣi Asita perceived a number of marvels, prodigies and miracles. In the sky the Sons-of-the-gods, full of joy, ran hither and thither, waving their sashes. Encompassing the whole of India with his divine eye, Asita observed that in the house of Śuddhodana, in the town of Kapilavastu, a young prince had been born with his body adorned with the thirty-two marks characteristic of a Great Man. Then the great ṛṣi, soaring into the sky as would a swan, flew towards Kapilavastu. Once he had arrived, he withdrew his supernormal power, entered the great town of Kapilavastu on foot and went to the residence of King Śuddhodana. The gate-keeper informed the king of this unexpected visit : "Know, sire, that a very aged ṛṣi is standing at the gate and asks to see the king". Śuddhodana gave the recluse the best of welcomes and asked him why he had come. Thus questioned, Asita replied to the king : "A son has been born to you, O great king, what brings me here is a desire to see him". The king said : "The young prince is sleeping, O great ṛṣi, be
746 patient for a while until he awakens". The ṛṣi said : "Such great men, O great king, do not sleep for long; such virtuous men are accustomed to remain awake".

Thereupon, the Bodhisattva, through condescension for the great ṛṣa Asita, made a sign that he was awake, and King Śuddhodana took the young prince in both hands and presented him to the great ṛṣi Asita. When the latter examined the Bodhisattva and saw that his body was adorned with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, he exlaimed : "Truly it is a wondrous personality that has appeared in this world!" Rising from his seat and bowing, he prostrated himself at the Bodhisattva's feet; then, he walked around him keeping him to the right, took him in his lap and contemplated him.

Thereupon, he began to wail and weep and heave great sighs. On seeing which, King Śuddhodana, shaking all over, said to the great ṛṣi Asita : "Why do you wail and weep and heave great sighs? Let us hope that nothing threatens the child!" Asita replied : "It is not for the young prince that I weep, and nothing threatens him. No, it is for myself that I weep. — And why is that? — It is because, O great king, I am already very old and worn out by age; the young prince Sarvārthasiddha will not fail to be enlightened by supreme and perfect Enlightenment, and once he has become perfectly enlightened, he will set the peerless Wheel of the Law in motion. For the welfare and happiness of the world, including the gods, he will teach the beneficial Law. [Then follows a list of all the categories of beings who, without exception, will benefit from that teaching]. This young prince will cause hundreds of thousands of millions of myriads of millions of beings to cross to the other shore of the ocean of rebirth and will establish them in the Deathless. When I tell myself that I will not see that jewel of a Buddha, then, O great king, I weep and, greatly distressed at heart, I sigh deeply".

King Śuddhodana in turn prostrated himself at the feet of the Bodhisattva

[39] We summarize here the Sanskrit version of the Lalitavistara, ed. S. Lefmann, pp. 101-8, translated in full by A. Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 61-3.

and paid homage to him. Then the great ṛṣi Asita, thanks to his supernormal power, flew away through the air and returned to his hermitage.

The texts listed above (p. 672, nn. 57-8) introduced Naradatta into the episode of Asita. The great ṛṣi was dwelling on his mountain in the company of Naradatta, his sister's son, and it was in his company that he flew to Kapilavastu. The presence of the nephew in question can be noted on the bas-reliefs in Gandhāra. The introduction of this new character into the most recent texts results from an interaction between the Buddhist legend and the ancient Indian tradition. Asita and Nara-
747 datta were already known to the Vedic texts[60] and closely associated by the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 267) which records a conversation between Nārada and Devala Asita on "the origin and destruction of creatures (*bhūtānāṃ prabhavāpyayam*). Asita's visit to Kapilavastu sufficed to give him a place in the Buddhist texts and, in order to confer a similar honour on Nārada, the Vedic sage, various sources had no hesitation in identifying him with the famous Mahākātyāyana, the missionary in Avanti[61].

Nobody would dream of denying the parity of the situations described by the Gospel text on the one hand and the Buddhist sources on the other. In both cases, there are declarations or predictions made by an old man concerning the marvellous future of a new-born child. Once this basic concordance has been accepted, it must be recognized that all the details are radically dissimilar.

Simeon is a person inspired by the Holy Ghost and who, under the impulse of the Spirit (ἐν πνεύματι), goes to the temple in Jerusalem to welcome the Infant Jesus. Seeing God's salvation in that child, he rejoices and thanks the Lord, for now he can die in peace. He announces to Mary that the child will be exposed to contradictions and that his coming will be the downfall of some and the rise of others.

Asita is an aged ṛṣi whose practice of yoga has given him possession of supernormal powers. Discovering with his "divine eye" the birth of the Bodhisattva, he flies through the air (*vihāyasā*) to Śuddhodana's palace in Kapilavastu. The king does not as yet know whether his son, endowed with the thirty-two marks, will be a Universal Monarch or a Buddha. Asita examines the child and, far from rejoicing, bursts into

[60] Cf. MacDonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. Asita and Nārada; Caland, *Jaiminīya-Brāhamaṇa*, s.v. Asita Daivala.

[61] T 191, ch. 3, p. 941*c* 9; T 1450, ch. 3, p. 110*b* 3-4; T 1451, ch. 20, p. 299*c* 6; Mahāvastu, II, p. 43, l.2; III, p. 386, l.8.

tears, because he is too old to hope to be a witness of the future Enlightenment of the young prince. For he knows and predicts that Siddhārtha will one day be a fully Enlightened Buddha and will set the Wheel of the Law in motion. However, that teaching will not culminate in the loss of some and gain of others; it will profit all beings without distinction. Whatever their personal dispositions, gods and humans by the thousands will be established beyond the ocean of rebirth and in the deathless.

More divergent viewpoints could hardly be imagined. If the later introduction of Naradatta into the plot of the story shows that the
748 Buddhist traditions concerning Asita evolved within the Indian framework, no outside influence, that of the Mediterranean world in particular, can be discerned.

A comparative study of Buddhist texts and Christian sources shows that the two traditions do not move on the same level. "If, instead of reasoning in the abstract", wrote A. Foucher, "you compare the corresponding passages and no sectarian partiality clouds your critical sense, you will note that, beneath the apparent conformity in preoccupations or situations, neither the letter nor (which is still more important) the spirit of the two texts, once placed side by side, resemble each other at all. As you continue with your reading, the supposed analogy fades and finally disappears. It was only a fantom which vanished the moment one tried to grasp it; and since this experience is repeated each time, one is forced to conclude that the two traditions are absolutely independent"[62].

With regard to the tales, fables and apologues used to advantage by both India and her immediate or distant neighbours, comparison is easier. Each little story in fact has a "moral" which is sufficient to authenticate it. But how can it be decided which is the borrower and which the lender? Establishing any priority comes up against insurmountable difficulties. One and the same story may have been invented independently by various narrators. It could also have been passed by word of mouth from one end of the world to the other. How can it be recognized after passing through all those intermediaries and how can we be sure we possess all the known versions?

An identical moral can be taught in such diverse ways that we often hesitate to establish a link between the various developments it has provoked. Here, for example, is a story by Herodotus (VI, 129-30) which has been compared to an old Pāli jātaka.

[62] After A. Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 21.

Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, wishing to give the hand of his daughter Agariste in marriage, invited a number of suitors of Greek origin to his court. For a year, he entertained them magnificently and tested them in every way. He did not hide his preference for Hippocleides, a Phyle-member from Athens. During the final banquet when
749 Cleisthenes had to make his choice, the suitors took part in musical competitions and held matches of polite conversation.

Hippocleides, continues Herodotus, held the attention of the public strongly. He asked the flute player to play him a dance tune; the flutist obeyed, and Hippocleides began to dance. He was, I suppose, personally satisfied with his dancing, but Cleisthenes, on seeing that performance, took umbrage at everything that was going on. After stopping for a while, Hippocleides ordered a table to be brought into the hall and, when the table had arrived, he began to perform Laconian miming dances on it, then other Athenian ones; and, in the third place, resting his head on the table, he waved his legs in the air ... When Cleisthenes saw him behaving like that, unable to contain himself, he said : "Son of Teisandros, your dancing has just lost you your marriage". To which Hippocleides replied : "Hippocleides doesn't care!" That is where that expression comes from[63].

The *Naccajātaka* (*Pāli Jātaka*, No. 32, I, pp. 207-8) narrates a story of the same type, but this time in the form of a fable :

During the first cosmic period, the swan Suvaṇṇa, elected king of the birds, invited his daughter to choose a husband. All the birds assembled on the Himavat. The princess examined them in turn and her choice fell on a peacock, because of the bird's magnificent colours. Overcome with joy, the peacock spread his tail and began to dance, shamelessly exposing his nakedness to the eyes of all. The king of the birds, shocked by that lack of modesty, gave his daughter to a young swan.

This fable was related by the Buddha in connection with a young monk who had bared himself before his colleagues. It is depicted, with the name of *Haṃsajātaka*, on a bas-relief at the Bhārhut stūpa (Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. XXVII, 11).

Despite the identity of the situations, a connection between Herodotus' tale and the Indian fable remains doubtful.

However, it happens that the identity of the situations is increased by a close concordance in the details of the account. The *Ucchaṅgajātaka* of the Pāli collection (*Jātaka*, No. 67, I, pp. 306-7) tells how in the kingdom of Kosala, three farmers, busy tilling a field, were taken to be thieves, arrested and led before the king. As the king was about to give

[63] Translation after Legrand, vol. 6, p. 120.

judgement, a woman presented herself at the palace and, in tears, asked to be given protective covering (*acchādana*). The king gave her a cloak
750 (*sāṭaka*). The woman refused it : the protective covering she wanted was not a cloak, but a husband (*sāmika*). Touched by that reply, the king asked what her relationship was with the three prisoners. "The first", she said, "is my husband, the second is my brother and the third is my son". The king declared that he was disposed to pardon one of the three and asked the woman to choose the one she wanted. She answered : "O king, in the course of my life, I could still find a husband and have a son; but, since my parents are dead, another brother would be impossible to find; therefore, give me my brother, O king". Charmed by that reply, the sovereign released the three farmers.

The Indian woman's answer coincides in every detail with that given to Darius by the wife of Intaphernes (Herodotus, III, 119) : "O king, I could have another husband, if the deity wishes it, and other children if I lose these; but my father and mother no longer being in this world, it is quite impossible for me to have another brother". The same reasoning is placed by Sophocles, or an interpolator, in the mouth of Antigone (verses 905-912).

It seems hard to believe that such a circumstantial anecdote could have been invented twice; but it is practically impossible to know which came first. Exegeticists have opted successively for a Greek, Indian, Persian or Perso-Indian origin[64].

The same story, depending on whether it appears in a Western or Indian source, is presented in a different light and is subject to diametrically opposed interpretations.

A small bas-relief, probably from the excavations at Mardān, in Gandhāra, depicts, before the walls of a fortified city, four persons, and a horse mounted on a small chariot with rollers[65]. To the left of the relief, in front of the city gate, a woman is standing with her arms raised to the sky in a sign of distress or astonishment; naked to the waist, she is wearing a double necklet, and heavy bracelets encircle her arms; she is,
751 it seems, wearing a mural crown on her head. The second person is a man of mature age, dressed in a chlamys knotted over his tunic with *caligae* on his feet; with both hands, he is driving a pike into the horse's

[64] Cf. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 136, n. 1.

[65] H. Hargreaves, ARArc. Surv., 1923-24, p. 125; J.P. Vogel, Ann. Bibl. of Indian Arch., II, 1927, pp. 6 sq.; J. Allan, *A tabula iliaca from Gandhāra*, Journ. Hell. St., LXVI, 1946, pp. 21-3; A. Foucher, *Le cheval de Troie au Gandhāra*, AIBCR, Oct.-Dec. 1950, pp. 407-12; O. Hansen, *Ein nicht identifiziertes Gandhārarelief*, Beiträge zur ind. Philol. und Altertumskunde, VII, 1951, pp. 192-7.

breast, with the clear aim of forbidding it entry into the town. The horse occupies the centre of the bas-relief. Between the wall and the horse, one can see a bearded old man, half hidden by the animal's right flank. Finally, to the extreme right of the bas-relief, a young man is standing, pushing at the horse's rump with both hands.

Although the small horse, mounted on a chariot, evokes the idea of a child's toy rather than a terrifying stratagem of war, Hellenists have no hesitation in identifying the Gandhāran bas-relief as a *tabula iliaca,* a servile copy of a Graeco-Roman model. The scene depicted takes place before Troy and the Skaian Gate, and classical memories enable us to identify in turn Cassandra vainly raising her hands to the sky in a gesture of impotence, Laocoön striking the cavernous flanks of the wooden animal, Priam, the old king of Troy, and finally, the perfidious Sinon, left behind by the Greeks to lull the Trojans' trust. Need we recall, in support of this identification, the well-known passage in the *Orationes* of Dio of Prusa (ed. DINDORFF, II, p. 165) in the words of which "the Homeric epic was also sung by the Indians, when they had translated it into their own dialect and language"?

However, the Trojan legend has its Indian counterpart in the legend of the wooden elephant of Pradyota, king of Avanti (*Dhammapada Comm.*, I, pp. 192-3; *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, II, ch. 12). While not denying that the origin of the bas-relief should be sought "in a more or less direct imitation of one of those illustrations of the Homeric epic which were in circulation in the first century of the Christian era in the Mediterranean basin", Indologists believe they can see in it "an Indian plagiarism of the classical legend" (after FOUCHER). In other words, the *tabula iliaca* was transformed into a jātaka. The besieged town was not Troy, but Vārāṇasī, the favourite city of the jātaka literature. The female person who defends the gate is a *nagara-devatā,* the guardian goddess of the city. The bearded old man is Brahmadatta, the king of Vārāṇasi. The young man who is pushing the horse towards the town is the malign Devadatta. As for the main
752 character, who is piercing the horse's breast, he can be none other than the Bodhisattva himself. Since the future Buddha is always victorious, we can justifiably conclude that, unlike the Trojan city, the Indian town easily triumphed over the war stratagem and the famous wooden monster was revealed to be as harmless as a mere child's toy.

This reconstruction of the jātaka, attempted by Indologists, will remain hypothetical as long as no written document can be found to support it. However, it had to be mentioned it here, since once again it

illustrates the skill displayed by the Indians in assimilating foreign legends to the point of making them unrecognizable.

5. *The distant journeys of the Buddha.* — Another cause contributed even more to the development of the legend of the Buddha : the desire of distant regions, which did not come under the influence of the religion until late, to have been visited by the Master as well. To judge from the early sources, the farthest Śākyamuni ever reached in the west was Verañjā, a small place near Mathurā[66]; later, however, many journeys are attributed to him, both in India and abroad.

a. We saw above (pp. 334-335) how Gandhāra claimed to have been the setting of former lives of the Bodhisattva; now it is claimed that Śākyamuni went there in person. Of all the apocryphal journeys attributed to the Buddha, the most notable is the one he is supposed to have undertaken in North-West India[67].

The first part, made in the company of Ānanda, consisted of six stages : Hastinapura (former Kuru capital), Mahānagara, Śrughna (District of
753 Sugh), Brāhmaṇagrāma (on the western border of Madhyadeśa), Kālanagara and finally Rohitaka, on the eastern bank of the Indus. No outstanding event marked this part of the itinerary.

Leaving Ānanda in Rohitaka, the Buddha continued on his way in the company of the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi*, his compulsory bodyguard in the western districts. The second part of the journey was made through Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra, and consisted of no less than sixteen stops. Having crossed the Indus at Udabhāṇḍa (Uṇḍ), the Buddha went through the Shāhkot pass near the "Monastery of the Ṛṣi (Ekaśṛṅga)", ascended the left bank of the Swāt to its source and tamed the dragon Apalāla. Retracing his steps, he reached Dhānyapura or Maṅgalapura (Manglaor), where he converted the mother of King Uttarasena. Four further stages southwards brought him close to Nagarahāra (Jelālābād) : in Pālitakūṭa, he converted the dragons Gopālaka and Uccāṭaka and left his shadow in their cave; that "Cave of the Shadow", as it is called, was

[66] Vinaya, III, pp. 1-11; Dhammapada Comm., II, p. 153; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 172.

[67] On the journey to the North-West, the main sources are the *Legend of Aśoka* (Divya, p. 348; T 99, ch. 23, p. 165*b*; T 2042, ch. 1, p. 102*b*; T 2043, ch. 2, p. 135*b*); the Mūlasarv. Vin. (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 1, pp. xvii-xviii, 1-17; T 1448, ch. 9-10, pp. 37*c*-43*c*; tr. by J. Przyluski, JA, 1914, pp. 495-522); the Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 126*b*, tr. by É. Lamotte, *Traité*, I, pp. 547 sq.; the Avadānakalpalatā, ch. 54-57 (ed. S.C. Das, II, pp. 110-51); the Memoirs of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 858*a*); Sung Yün (T 2092, ch. 5, p. 1020*a*); Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 882*c* sq.). See also BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, pp. 36-43; XLIV, 1951, pp. 152-8; C. Soper, *Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Sculpture*, Artibus Asiae, XII, 1949, pp. 252-83, 314-30; XIII, 1950, pp. 63-85.

a centre of pilgrimage for centuries. Reaching the Indus in short stages, the Buddha also stopped in Nandivardhana, between Jelālābād and Peshāwār; there he converted King Bhavadeva and, in a pool near the town, left an image (*pratimā*) of himself for the dragons Aśvaka and Punarvasuka. At Kharjurikā, a small village south of Peshāwār, the Buddha announced to Vajrapāṇi that "four hundred years after his Nirvāṇa, King Kaniṣka of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty will build on that spot a stūpa which will be known by the name of the Stūpa of Kaniṣka" : this monument was discovered in 1908 in the tumuli at Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī; it contained the famous reliquary of Kaniṣka. Crossing the Indus again, the Buddha returned to Rohitaka, thus ending the second part of his journey.

After three days' rest, he continued on his way in the company of Ānanda and, by stages, reached the town of Mathurā, visiting on the way the localities of Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva : these were probably the two Alexandrian establishments on the Jhelum : Nicaea-on-the-Hydaspes and Bucephala, but the Buddhist tradition connects them with the memory of the legendary king Mahāsammata.

b. In the course of a journey to Kaśmīr, the Buddha won over the ṛṣi Revata (in Chinese, *Li yüeh* or *Li po t'o*)[68]. In honour of his guest, the
754 latter erected a stūpa containing some hair and nail clippings of the Buddha, as well as the large monastery of the Śailavihāra, not far from Biratha, the capital. The Arhat-bhikṣu Revata is well-known in the Kaśmīri legend : he was accused of having stolen an ox and was thrown into prison; one of his disciples freed him and, to punish the Kaśmīrians for such a high-handed accusation, buried their capital under a shower of ash.

c. At the invitation of Pūrṇa and his brother, the Buddha, with five hundred disciples, flew to the port of Śūrpāraka, the capital of Northern Konkan[69]. He stayed in the sandalwood pavilion built specially for him by Pūrṇa; on his return, he converted the dragons of the Narmadā and left the imprint of his feet on the banks of the river.

d. The Buddha's three visits to Ceylon have already been mentioned earlier (p. 123).

[68] On Revata or Revataka, see Divya, p. 399 (cf. T 99, ch. 23, p. 169*a-b*; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 105*a*; T 2043, ch. 3, p. 139*c*); Chiu tsa p'i yū ching, T 206, ch. 1, p. 516*a*; Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, ch. 2, p. 457*b*; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 125, pp. 654*c*-655*b*; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 126*c*; Avadānakalpalatā, ch. 105 (ed. S.C. Das, II, p. 979).

[69] On the journey to South India at Pūrṇa's invitation, see Divya, pp. 46-55; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1448, ch. 3, pp. 14*b* 23-17*a* 21; Majjhima Comm., V, pp. 90-2; Saṃyutta Comm., II, pp. 378-9.

The few journeys recorded here — and the list is not complete — will be enough to familiarize the reader with the literary style. During these various journeys, the Buddha no longer seeks to recruit monks for his order and limits his discourses to the strict minimum. He is more interested in the construction of stūpas and building of monasteries than the conversion of minds; he predicts than preaches, and addresses Nāgas and Yakṣas rather than human beings. He is no longer the śramana Gautama of the early days, but a living advertisement for accompanied pilgrimages.

6. *The lineage of the Śākyas.* — If the new holy lands considered it indispensable for their prestige to grant "citizenship" to the Buddha, the ruling families sought to include him in their genealogical tree and claimed to be blood relations of the Śākyan family.

While brahmanical and Jaina sources attribute an obscure origin to the Mauryas, the Buddhist texts declare that they were related to the Buddha's family. After the massacre of the Śākyas by Virūḍhaka, the
755 Mauryas took refuge in the Himālayan region, where they founded Mauryanagara, the City of Peacocks. Its first king met his death at the hands of a neighbour; his widow fled in disguise to Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra), and it was there that she gave birth to Candragupta[70].

Other ruling families also claimed a blood tie with the Śākyas. When Virūḍhaka, the king of Kosala, set out to wage war against the Śākyas, the latter, who had taken the upāsaka precepts, shut themselves up in Kapilavastu, determined to put up a passive resistance only. However, the Śākyan prince, Śambaka or Śāma, was outside the town when this decision was made. He furiously attacked Virūḍhaka's troops and put them to flight. When he wanted to return to Kapilavastu, the inhabitants repulsed him claiming that, by spilling enemy blood, he had broken the precepts. Śambaka therefore had to leave his country. Taking with him the relics of the Buddha, he went to the land of Bakuḍa where he erected a stūpa which took the name of Śambakastūpa. The population immediately chose him as their king[71].

According to the oral traditions collected in Nepal and Uḍḍiyāna by Hsüan tsang, the resistance offered to Virūḍhaka was not the action of Śambaka alone, but of four Śākyan princes. The four heroes, banished by their compatriots, reached the Snow Mountains and the North-West region. The first was king of *Wu chang na* (Uḍḍiyāna), the second of *Fan*

[70] See above, pp. 218-9.

[71] Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1451, ch. 8, p. 240*a* sq.; Ekottarāgama, T 125, ch. 26, p. 691*c*; Ch'u yao ching, T 212, ch. 3, p. 624*c*.

yen na (Bāmyān), the third of *Hi mo ta lo* (Himatala, in Kaśmīr), the fourth of *Shang mi* (Śāmbī). The first of them, travelling on the back of a wild goose, finally arrived in Uḍḍiyāna, on Mount *Lan pu lu*, near the Dragon Lake (Aushiri valley). He married the daughter of a dragon, assassinated the king of Uḍḍiyāna and ruled in his stead. He had a son, Uttarasena, whose mother was converted by the Buddha and cured of her blindness[72].

In the sixth century of the Christian era, that family still included among its descendants the śramaṇa Vimokṣaprajña. A native of Uḍḍiyāna in North India, he came from the kṣatriya nobility and was a
756 descendant of the Śākya clan[73]. As a missionary in China, he reached Lo yang in 516 and, from 541, worked at Yeh with Prajñāruci.

The glorious lineage of the Sinhalese kings also goes back, at least in part, to the Śākya family. If we believe the legend (*Dpv.*, X, 1, sq.; *Mhv.*, VIII, 18 sq.), the second sovereign Paṇḍuvāsudeva (447-417 B.C.) married the Śākyan princess Bhaddakaccānā, the daughter of Paṇḍu, first cousin of the Buddha. Forseeing the fall of Kapilavastu when it was besieged by Virūḍhaka, Paṇḍu left Nepal and settled with his family on the banks of the Ganges. Seven claimants disputed his daughter's hand. Not knowing to whom to give her, Paṇḍu made her enter a boat with thirty-two companions, some of whom wore the monastic robe. Entrusted to the winds, the boat finally reached Ceylon. Bhaddakaccānā met King Paṇḍuvāsudeva on the island, and he took her to wife. Subsequently, the six brothers of Bhaddakaccānā were reunited with their sister in Ceylon. This legend is possibly a duplicate of the disembarkation in Ceylon of Saṃghamittā and her companions.

THE BODHISATTVA OF THE FORMER LIVES. — It must be clearly recognized that the legend of the Buddha had been so greatly enlarged upon that the devout public was saturated with it. Multiply as it might wonders and miracles, invent or borrow new episodes, the hero it was meant to glorify remained nonetheless a bhikṣu, beardless, shaven headed and wearing the yellow robe, a brother of those innumerable religious who lined the roads, congested the streets and always engaged in seeking public alms. There is no doubt that those monks were examplars of all the virtues, albeit the "passive" virtues of renunciation and recollection, whom the people admired while not being able to imitate them. Here and there, among the considerably enlarged ranks of disciplined bhikṣus, were some black sheep whose disorderly habits,

[72] Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 6, p. 901*c*; ch. 3, p. 883*b*.

[73] K'ai yüan shih chiao mu lu, T 2154, ch. 6, p. 543*b*.

idleness, greed and quibbling were scandalous : in the blessed time of the Buddha, quarrels broke out among the monks in Kauśāmbī, and we know the difficulties Aśoka experienced in restoring harmony to the monks of the Aśokārāma. Among the strictly observant monks, circulated ascetics in rags, clothed in red, out and out vagabonds, penitents and
757 wonder-workers. They sometimes looked "demoniacal" or like "demon-worshippers" (*pisācillika*), living in hollow trees or branches, carrying skulls as alms-bowls[74]. In short, when approached by a religious, one never knew exactly what to do. "What fault have I committed", Kātyāyana asked King Pradyota, "that I am to be killed"? The king of Ujjain replied : "Shaven-headed man, the sight of you brings misfortune, and that is why I wish to put you to death". When the ship that was carrying Fa hsien to Canton was assailed by a violent storm, the brahmins who were on board took counsel : "The presence of this śramaṇa brings misfortune upon us; we should disembark this beggar on the shore of an island in the sea"[75].

Whether favourable or hostile to the monks, the people were particularly aware of disinterested and active deeds of virtue of which they themselves were often the heroes : to the six years of austerities on the banks of the Nairañjanā, they always preferred the charity of a Śibi who gave his flesh for a pigeon, the morality of a Sutasoma who preferred to die rather than break a promise, the patience of a Kṣānti who underwent unjust torture without complaint, the vigour of a Mahātyāgavat who, in order to save his companions, vowed to empty the sea of water with his own hands, the meditation of a Śaṅkha in whose topknot a bird laid its eggs and who remained immobile until the little ones flew away, the wisdom of the minister Govinda who succeeded in dividing Jambudvīpa into seven equal parts[76].

Since people wanted stories in which they could recognize themselves; it was decided to tell them such stories and the religious literature was literally invaded by tales of the *jātaka* (former lives of the future Buddha), of the *avadāna* (feats of the Bodhisattva and great holy ones of Buddhism) and of the *vyākaraṇa* (explanations concerning the future) from which it appears that a present action is both a pledge of the past and a guarantee of the future, and that history is only a continual recommencement and occurs in accordance with the most strict laws of moral determinism. In fact, "actions do not perish even after hundreds

[74] Vinaya, I, p. 152; II, pp. 115, 134.
[75] J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886, p. 113.
[76] On these jātakas, see *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, I, pp. 255-67.

of millions of cosmic periods; encountering the complex of conditions and the favourable time, they fructify for their authors", in the sense
758 that "the maturation of entirely black actions is entirely black, that of entirely white actions is entirely white, that of mixed actions is mixed"[77].

Although rare in early sūtras and the Pāli Vinaya, the jātaka stories progressively invade the Lives of the Buddha (*Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu* and *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*) and the biographical sections of the large Vinayas, such as that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. These stories were soon assembled in special collections compiled in prose, in verse or a mixture of the two. Among the Pāli collections, we must mention the *Jātaka* containing 547 stories of former lives, the *Cariyāpiṭaka* which has 35, the *Apadāna* which narrates the biographies of some 590 disciples (550 men and 40 women). In the same kind of literature, but compiled in Sanskrit, the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra (34 jātakas), the *Avadānaśataka* (10 tens), the *Divyāvadāna* (mostly extracted from the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*), the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (34 legends), the *Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna* (32 stories), and the *Avadānakalpalatā* (107 legends) which is a work by the poet Kṣemendra in the eleventh century. All these texts have been repeated and translated in the Tibetan and Chinese Tripiṭakas which also contain many other texts the originals of which have been lost, such as, for example, in Tibetan, the *Las brgya tham pa* (Karmaśataka), the *Ḥdzaṅs blun* (Damamūka, 51 stories) and, in Chinese, the *Liu tu chi ching* (T 152), the *Shêng ching* (T 154) and other collections to which Edouard Chavannes devoted his great work on the *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois.*

Enthusiasm for the jātakas reached its climax in the middle of the second century B.C.; it was then that they were depicted wholesale on the bas-reliefs of stūpas at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and doubtless Amarāvatī, and that the golden legend attempted to set them in the districts of Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna and the Western Punjab.

In the centuries that followed, this taste persisted, but the number of jātakas painted or sculpted was considerably reduced : the repertory at Sāñcī included no more than half a dozen; that of the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra and its extensions in Mathurā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Goli, Ajaṇṭā and Aurangābād, is hardly any richer. The jātakas which
759 remain known and appreciated are the Viśvantara, Ṣaḍḍanta, Dīpaṃkara, Śyāma, Candra Kinnara, Ekaśṛṅga, Śibi, Śaśa, Vyāghrī, Māndhā-

[77] Stock phrases in the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna, etc.

tar and Sutasoma. The subjects dealt with on the Central Asian frescoes, particularly at Qizil, are much more numerous[78].

III. — SECONDARY FORMS OF THE RELIGION

Religious mentality is complex, especially in India. The deification of the Buddha and his elevation to the rank of "god superior to the gods" was not enough to satisfy all the aspirations of Buddhists. His person was surrounded with a veritable religion consisting of a mythology, a hagiography and a ritual of homage, only the broad outlines of which can be sketched here.

THE GODS OF THE TRIPLE WORLD. — According to the Buddhist concepts mentioned earlier (pp. 32-33), the triple world — that of Desire, Subtle matter and of Formlessness — is inhabited by gods : the Devaloka includes the six classes of gods of the World of Desire; the Brahmaloka contains the seventeen classes of the Brahmā gods distributed in the four Dhyānas; finally, the formless gods inhabit the Ārūpyadhātu.

This religious cosmology, which seems to have been instituted at the time of the most ancient texts, forms the setting in which the Buddha's deeds are played out. The gods take part in this as spectators rather than actors : they surround the Buddha rather than serve him.

As their name indicates, the Caturmahārājika-devas, the lower class of the Kāmadevas, are four in number : Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravana. Their function is that of guardians of the world (*lokapāla*)[79] : each month, they go among mankind to examine their religious conduct and report on this to the Trāyastriṃśa gods[80]. Having been converted by the Buddha in the circumstances related
760 above (pp. 550-551), they were given the mission of protecting the Good Law, Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the east, Virūḍhaka in the south, Virūpākṣa in the west and Vaiśravaṇa in the north[81].

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is the chief of the Gandharvas, the heavenly musicians, the most famous of whom is Pañcaśikha. Virūḍhaka commands the Kumbhāṇḍas, inferior spirits characterized by large stomachs and huge genital organs. Virūpākṣa is king of the Nāgas, serpent or dragon

[78] Cf. A. VON LE COQ and E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, VI, Berlin, 1928.

[79] Dīgha, II, p. 207; III, p. 194.

[80] Dīgha, II, p. 225; Aṅguttara, I, p. 142.

[81] T 2042, ch. 3, p. 112*a*; T 2043, ch. 6, p. 150*b*.

deities, endowed with supernormal powers, colossal strength and capricious dispositions. Vaiśravaṇa, who is identified with Kubera, the god of wealth, holds sway over the host of Yakṣas, a kind of demi-god, spirits of woods and earth, endowed with great power, sometimes beneficient sometimes formidable. Although the Yakṣas set themselves up as protectors of the Buddha and his disciples, their wives, the Yakṣiṇīs, are ogresses who devour children and feed on flesh and blood.

This religious fauna represents an ancient power which was later to be replaced by that of the Caturmahārājikas. Although not fully tamed, these spirits nevertheless found their place in Buddhist texts which delighted in drawing up a list of them[82].

The Trāyastriṃśas, or "Thirty-three gods", form the second class of the Kāmadevas. They live in a palace on the summit of Mount Meru, strongly fortified against incursions by the Asuras; it contains a meeting hall called the Sudharmā, numerous parks, including the Nandana, a miraculous tree, the Pārijāta, and the elephant-king Airāvaṇa. The Buddha stayed there for three months to preach the Law to his mother who had been reborn among the Trāyastriṃśas. The leader of those gods is *Śakra devānām indraḥ* "Śakra, the king of the gods". This Buddhist Indra occupies an important place both in the early sūtras and
761 in the jātaka and avādana literature. He held conversations with the Master which are still famous.

It is in the heaven of the Tuṣitas, the fourth class of Devalokas, that the Buddhas pass their penultimate existence, and it is there that Maitreya, the future Buddha, is residing at present.

The sixth class of the Kāmadevas is that of the Paranirmitavaśavartins, gods who have the use of desirable objects created by others. Their leader, Māra, is sovereign of the World of Desire. As such, he was the sworn enemy of the Buddha and was known to be a tempter of the monks and nuns. He made several assaults on Śākyamuni, sometimes on his own and sometimes with his army and daughters : he contended with

[82] Cf. Mahāsamayasuttanta (Dīgha, II, p. 257 sq.); Āṭānāṭiyasuttanta (Dīgha, III, pp. 194-206); Āṭānāṭikasūtra (ed. H. Hoffmann, Leipzig, 1939); Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī (S. Lévi, *Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, JA, 1915, pp. 20-138). — See the studies by J. Przyluski and M. Lalou, *Notes de Mythologie bouddhique*, HJAS, III, 1938, pp. 40-6; 128-36; M. Lalou, *Gaṇeśa-Vaiśravaṇa*, JA, 1937, pp. 301-2; *Mythologie indienne et peinture de Haute-Asie, I. Le dieu bouddhique de la Fortune*, Art. As., 1946, pp. 97-111; *Le culte des Nāga et la thérapeutique*, JA, 1938, pp. 1-19; *Four Notes on Vajrapāṇi*, Adyar Library Bulletin, XX, pp. 3-4, 287-93. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 2 vol., Washington, 1928-31.

him for the throne of Enlightenment, opposed his teaching and twice tried to tempt him to enter Nirvāṇa forthwith.

The Rūpa- and Ārūpyadhātus are inhabited by the gods of the Brahmaloka. These Brahmās are free from desire and immersed in the joys of meditation which constitutes their one and only nourishment. However, they are not free from illusions and often wrongly believe themselves to be the creators of the universe; however, like everyone else, they are subject to the law of Karma and bound to be reborn. The Buddha and a few disciples occasionally visited the Brahmaloka[83]; in return, certain great Brahmās, such as Sahampati, manifested themselves in the world of mankind. It was at the invitation of Brahmā that Śākyamuni decided to expound his Law for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

THE GODS IN POPULAR DEVOTION. — The distribution of the gods in the spheres of the triple world is the work of scholastics, and its artificial nature escapes no one. Devatās as subtle as the Anabhrakas, or as abstract as those of the Ākāśānantya and the other formless spheres have doubtless never been invoked by anyone. Regarding the other gods — such as those of the Kāmadhātu, nearer to mankind —, the texts are somewhat reticent : they emphasize the Buddha and pay only slight attention to the divine spirits which gravitate around him.

Hence, to get some idea of the place occupied by the gods in everyday life, we have to consult the religious imagery which certainly cannot be doubted. The work has been carried out in a masterly fashion by
762 A. Foucher in volume II of *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra.*

Adherence to the doctrine of the Buddha did not turn believers away from their ancestral cults.

The lower castes continued to worship demons and spirits, which were deeply rooted in popular superstition. Gandharvas, Kumbhāṇḍas, Nāgas and Yakṣas are represented in great numbers on the Gandhāra bas-reliefs. Like their humble worshippers, they are most frequently dressed in draped robes and covered with a single cloak. It is difficult to distinguish one from another or identify them; some, however, emerge from their anonymity and betray characteristic features or attributes. One such example is the Yakṣa Guhyaka Vajrapāṇi, the thunderbolt-bearing spirit and recognized protector of the Buddha; sometimes he comes in the form of a beardless youth, sometimes as an unkempt adult. He appears in the air, ready to hurl his thunderbolt at anyone who

[83] Majjhima, I, p. 326 sq.; Saṃyutta, V, p. 282 sq.

might oppose the Master's undertakings[84]. Unseen by the crowd, he is visible only to the eyes of the Buddha and to his occasional adversary.

At Gandhāra, Vajrapāṇi replaces the gentle Ānanda in looking after the Buddha. He is no longer merely an assistant (*upasthāyaka*), but a guardian spirit, one of those "divine companions" as they were imagined by ancient mythology. We might be inclined to view this as something borrowed from the Graeco-Roman world were it not that we know he had his worship not only in the North-West, but also in Rājagṛha, at the very heart of India. Buddhaghosa identifies him with Śakra[85] and the Sinhalese tradition gives him as the great vanquisher of the Asuras[86]. The adherents of the Mahāyāna make him a bodhisattva and attribute the compilation of Mahāyānasūtras to him[87]. The Tantras, which identify him with Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva, introduce him into their speculations concerning the Ādibuddha. The *maṇḍala* locate him
763 on the north side of Mount Meru, crushing Maheśvara (Śiva) with his right foot, and Umādevī with his left foot[88].

The middle castes, the generous donors who financed the Buddhist establishments, needed other gods than the somewhat disturbing fauna of the Nāgas and Yakṣas. Devotion was preferably directed to minor gods, such as Candra and Sūrya, the gods of the moon and sun, and those Lokāpalas, world-guardians, entrusted by the Buddha to watch over the destinies of the Good Law, at the four cardinal points. These deities were conceived in the image and resemblance of the middle class, they were clad in middle-class clothing, namely the loin-cloth (*paridhāna*, today *dhoṭī*) and the cloak (*uttarīya*, today *chaddar*), skilfully completed in the North-West by a tunic with sleeves.

In the world of the Vaiśyas, bankers and merchants, the god of wealth enjoyed unequalled popularity, and, according to I ching, his image could be found in *every* monastery. However, the Buddhist devotion was addressed less to the Caturmahārājika Vaiśravaṇa, King of Uttarakuru and leader of all the Yakṣas (*sarvayakṣādhipa*), identical to Kubera the god of treasures, than to his army chief (*senāpati*), known to the Buddhist sources as Pāñcika, Pāṇḍuka or Paṇḍaka[89]. His basic attribute

[84] Dīgha, I, p. 95; Majjhima, I, p. 231.

[85] Dīgha Comm., I, p. 264; Majjhima Comm., II, p. 277; cf. Divya, p. 130.

[86] Cūlavaṃsa, ch. 96, 37.

[87] Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka, ed. WOGIHARA, p. 5; Bu-ston, II, p. 101, Tāranātha, p. 62.

[88] M. LALOU, *Four Notes on Vajrapāṇi*, Adyar Library Bulletin., XX, pp. 287-93.

[89] Pāñcika (Divya, p. 447); Pāṇḍuka (Divya, p. 61); Paṇḍaka (Mahāvaṃsa, XII, 21). — Other references in Mūlasarv. Vin. (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 1, p. 24, 1.15; T 1448, ch. 10, p. 45*a* 9; ch. 13, p. 61*c* 20; T 1451, ch. 31, p. 361*a* 8); Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203,

is a pouch or skin which is wide open and spilling coins. On the monuments at Gandhāra, he appears sometimes in the form of a charming young prince, sometimes under the aspect of an adult spirit, bearded, unkempt and more than half naked[90].

Pāñcika is the husband of Hāritī, the "mother of demons". Her conversion to Buddhism, recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XII, 21), is narrated at length in a whole series of Buddhist texts[91]. Originally,
764 Hāritī was an ogress who devoured men's children. One day the Buddha carried off her youngest son, Piṅgala, and hid him in his alms-bowl. The desperate ogress hunted for her child and, when she finally found him, she understood that she should do no more harm to the sons of men. This devourer of children then became a giver of children. She is still invoked in Nepal as the goddess curing smallpox, and the monks are expected to ensure her daily nourishment. Images of her are extremely widespread, the most famous being that at Skarah-Ḍherī, eight miles north of Chārsadda, where the goddess had her stūpa[92]. She carries a standing child in her hand and two others on her shoulders; the plinth is engraved with an inscription, from the year 179 (or 399) of an unknown era, begging the goddess to take smallpox away into the sky (Konow, p. 127).

Pāñcika and Hāritī form the tutelary couple, often represented on the bas-reliefs of Gandhāra, sometimes seated and sometimes standing. "Nearly always, Hāritī lends Pāñcika some of her numerous children and perhaps at the same time, the power to produce them; conversely, she sometimes borrows his pouch and his wealth-giving quality"[93].

While the middle castes invented or adopted special gods formed in their image, the higher castes were content with the ancient Āryan deities, inherited from a millennial tradition and very early on incorporated into Buddhist cosmogony. Whether or not converted to the Good Law, the Kṣatriyas, who are "gods through convention", and the Brāhmaṇas, who are "gods on earth", continued to worship the Mahādevas of the Āryan world, particularly Indra the warrior and Brahmā the priest. Worn out by centuries of brahmanical speculation, those deities had aged and were unable to force upon worshippers that

ch. 9, p. 492*a* 13 (cf. Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 115); Mahāmāyūrī, JA, 1915, vv. 78 and 80 (p. 35 of the off-print).

[90] A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 102 sq.

[91] Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, ch. 9, p. 492*a*; Mo ho mo yeh ching, T 383, ch. 1, p. 1006*c*; Kuei tzŭ mu ching, T 1262, p. 290*c*; Mūlasarv. Vin. T 1451, ch. 31, p. 361*a* sq.

[92] A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 129, fig. 377.

[93] After Id., *ibid.*, II, p. 143.

juvenile devotion with which the fierce Āryan warriors surrounded them in the past. It matters little, the tradition remained, and the great gods were still to appear on the Gandhāra bas-reliefs, decked out in rich costumes and precious jewels which are the prerogatives of their noble
765 worshippers. Since it was not forgotten that before his departure from Kapilavastu, Śākyamuni was also a prince, a god through convention (*saṃvṛtideva*), he was invariably dressed as a deva by the Gandhāran artists when they wanted to depict him prior to his entry into the religious life.

THE BUDDHIST HOLY ONES. — The question of knowing whether or not a holy one exists after death was considered by the Buddha to be among the undeterminate points (*avyākṛtavastu*)[94]. However, he did not hide the fact from us that, once the holy one's body is broken and his life departed, "gods and men will no longer see him"[95]; once he has entered into appeasement, the holy one disappears from all sight : "No one can measure him; there are no words to speak of him; what the mind might conceive vanishes and all ways of speaking vanish"[96]. After his death, the holy one has a right to silence; during his life, he can claim no privileges within the Community, since the Buddha refused to institute an official hierarchy or a supreme spiritual authority in his order : each person had to be his own island and his own refuge[97].

However, there is a wide gap between theory and practice. The Buddha presented himself as a spiritual guide, "he who shows the way", and his disciples made him a "god superior to the gods"; he had included the deities in the cycle of rebirth and reduced them to the rank of subordinates but his disciples remained faithful to the rites of their ancestors and classes. Nothing could prevent the Buddhists from having their own holy ones as well, from writing their histories and even immortalizing a certain number of them; nothing could prevent the communities from preserving the memory of the scholars of the Law whose authority they acknowledged and who had rendered them illustrious.

1. The disciples of the Buddha have been listed in the *Etadaggavagga* of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (I, pp. 23-6) and the *Ekottarāgama* (T 125, ch. 3, pp. 557*a*-560*b*). The chapter contains a list of forty-two bhikṣus, thirteen bhikṣuṇīs, ten upāsakas and ten upāsikās, with an indication of their

[94] See above, p. 48, n. 97.
[95] See above, p. 41, n. 75.
[96] See above, p. 41, n. 76.
[97] See above, pp. 62-65.

dominant feature : Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya is the foremost of the members of
766 the order; Śāriputra, the foremost of the great sages; Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the foremost of those possessed of supernormal powers; Mahā-Kāśyapa, the foremost of those who practise strict observance; Ānanda, the foremost of the learned, etc.

In the commentaries concerning this chapter, there are some fairly detailed biographies of these disciples. The *Manorathapūraṇī*, the commentary upon the *Aṅguttara* compiled in the fifth century by Buddhaghosa, contains seventy-five biographies (I, pp. 124-458); the *Fên pieh kung tê lun* (T 1507, ch. 4, pp. 40*b*-45*b*), a special commentary upon the *Ekottarāgama*, translated into Chinese under the Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.), contains a good twenty biographies.

The *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthā*, the eighth and ninth books of the Pāli Khuddakanikāya, consist of 107 poems in 1,279 stanzas and 73 poems in 522 stanzas respectively placed on the lips of the male and female Elders by anonymous authors. In highly lyrical accents, the Holy Ones celebrate the beauty of their ideal : the renunciation of desire, the destruction of passions, the cessation of suffering and the peace of Nirvāṇa. These poems in Pāli no doubt had their counterparts in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, but the Sthavira- and Sthavirī-gāthā, often mentioned in the Sanskrit Āgamas[98], have not come down to us. The Pāli collection was commented upon and explained in the fifth century of the Christian era by Dhammapāla, a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. The *Paramatthadīpanī* shows in which circumstances the male and female holy ones were led to chant the poems which are attributed to them, and adds to this information a few biographical indications. The latter are most often deduced from the stanzas which they claim to explain, borrowed from apocryphal works or even entirely made up : their historical value is practically nil.

The *Āpadāna*, the twelfth book of the *Khuddakanikāya*, is a verse composition in which 550 Theras and 50 Therīs tell of some of their former lives and their final accession to Arhatship. These narratives betray the influence of the popular and lay sphere since, instead of explaining their winning of holiness through the observance of the practices of the eightfold path, these monks and nuns seek the cause for
767 it in pious actions which they performed in their previous existences, by offering flowers, water, fruits and fans to the Buddhas of the past who, in exchange, gave them the "prediction". There exists a commentary upon the *Apadāna* called the *Visuddhajanavilāsinī*[99]; its author and date

[98] See above, pp. 161-162.

[99] Edited by C.E. GODAKUMBURA, Pāli Text Society, London, 1954.

are unknown, but it betrays a strong influence of Sanskrit erudition, particularly in the grammar.

In Sanskrit a composition, similar but not identical to the Pāli *Apadāna*, is the *Pañcaśatasthavirāvadāna*, "Deeds of five hundred Elders". Shortly before the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, five hundred disciples flew through the air to the shores of Lake Anavatapta[100] and there, in the presence of the Master, they, each in turn, described in verse their deeds in their former existences or, to use their expression, the "weave of actions" (*karmaploti*) which finally led them to holiness. In fact, they do not all speak and only the explanations supplied by thirty of them are retained. The Avadāna anthology was translated into Chinese in 303 A.D. by Dharmarakṣa with the title of *Fo wu po ti tzŭ tzŭ shuo pên ch'i ching* (T 199); it was incorporated, with some additions, into the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 1, pp. 162-218; Narthang *Dulva*, II, pp. 505*a*-557*b*; Peking *Dulva*, FTBN, vol. 95, pp. 260*a*-291*a*; T 1448, ch. 16-18, pp. 76-94)[101].

From among the host of disciples, the post-canonical literature isolated certain groups; the most famous, at least in Central Asia and China, is that of the "Ten Great Disciples" consisting in order of Śāriputra, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Mahā-Kāśyapa, Subhūti, Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaṇīputra, Aniruddha, Mahā-Kātyāyana, Upāli, Rāhula and Ānanda. This is an iconographical group which appears in particular in the caves of Tunhuang. It is mentioned in literature in a collection of twelve sūtras, collated and translated under the title of *Kuang ting ching* (T 1331, ch. 8, p. 517*c*) by Śrīmitra, the crown prince of Kučā, who worked in Nankin
768 from 317 to 322 A.D. The *Fan i ming i chi* (T 2131, ch. 1, pp. 1063*a*-1064*a*), a twelfth century compilation, devotes a notice to the ten great disciples.

2. Most of the great disciples followed their Master into Nirvāṇa, and the tradition claims that, immediately after the Buddha's decease, a number of Arhats living on mountain tops, in watercourses, fountains and ravines, considering that they had done "what they had to do", entered Nirvāṇa by the thousands[102]. It was only with great difficulty that Mahā-Kāśyapa persuaded five hundred Arhats to continue living in order to participate in the council of Rājagṛha and compile the texts.

[100] This assembly at Lake Anavatapta is also mentioned in the Ekottarāgama, T 125, ch. 29, pp. 708*c*-710*c*; P'u sa pên hsing ching, T 155, ch. 1, p. 112*b*; Divya, p. 150; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 45, p. 384*b*-*c*; Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 6, p. 899c.

[101] A critical edition and French translation of these sources are found in M. Hofinger, *Le congrès du lac Anavatapta*, I, Louvain, 1954.

[102] J. Przyluski, *Le concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 3-4, 27, 57-8, 206-7.

However, these too, sooner or later, submitted to the lot common to mortal humanity.

There were, however, some exceptions, and the Sanskrit sources mention the case of an Arhat whose Nirvāṇa will be delayed until the end of time, as long as the Law survives on earth.

There were references earlier (pp. 206-207, 210), to Mahā-Kāśyapa, guardian of Śākyamuni's robe which he was to hand over to Maitreya, the future Buddha. Hiding in the depths of Mount Kukkutapāda, Kāśyapa, clothed in the Blessed One's *pāṃśukūla*, is plunged in *nirodhasamāpatti*, but will awaken at the end of time, on the arrival of Maitreya, in order to accomplish his mission.

Another Arhat, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, the Kauśāmbī missionary, must also remain on earth as long as the Good Law persists. As a punishment for his faults, particularly his greed and ill-considered prodigies (above, p. 323), he is banished from Jambudvīpa but continues his ministries on foreign continents, in Apara Godānīya, Pūrva Videha or again Uttarakuru (on Mount Gandhamādana, to the north of Lake Anavatapta)[103]. As long as his nourishment is provided, he appears willingly to those who call upon him : to the emperor Aśoka in order to describe the beauty of the Tathāgata to him[104]; to Vasubandhu to explain the Hīnayānist doctrine of emptiness to him[105].

769 Two centuries after the Buddha's decease, his disciple Kuṇḍopadhānīya intervened effectively to destroy the treasures of the Śuṅga king, Puṣyamitra, who was persecuting Buddhism and massacring the monks (above, pp. 389-390).

Finally, although the Pāli tradition[106] has him die before his father Śākyamuni and his teacher Śāriputra, Rāhula is especially qualified to be the inheritor and continuer of his father's work.

Based on these isolated cases, the idea arose that some Arhats, in punishment for a former fault or in the expectation of a future mission, enjoyed prolonged life which still allowed them some activity. They were soon to be considered as the recognized protectors of the Dharma, along with the Caturmahārājikadevas upon whom this rôle normally devolved. They will remain here on earth without entering Nirvāṇa. At the time of the "counterfeit religion" (*pratirūpaka dharma*), and during persecutions,

[103] On this localization, see S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat*, JA, 1916, p. 112 of the off-print.

[104] See the Legend of Aśoka : Divya, p. 400; T 99, ch. 23, p. 169*b*; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 105*b*; T 2043, ch. 3, p. 139*c*.

[105] Cf. J. Takakusu, *The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha*, T'oung Pao, V, 1904, p. 273.

[106] Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 549; Sāratthappakāsinī, III, p. 213.

they will be the witnesses of the faith; they will cause images of the Buddha or of monks to appear; they will utter words in the air, produce gleams of light, give consistency to dreams, etc. When Maitreya descends on earth, they will finally be permitted to enter Nirvāṇa.

At first, these Arhat protectors of the Law were four in number and later increased to eight, sixteen and eighteen.

a. Four Arhats in the *Ekottarāgama* (T 125, ch. 44, p. 789*a*), the *Mi lê hsia shêng ching* (T 453, p. 422*b*) and the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* (T 1465, p. 902*a*) : 1. Mahākāśyapa, 2. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, 3. Kuṇḍopadhānīya, 4. Rāhula.

b. Eight Arhats in the lists in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, I, pp. 64 and 111). The first lists contains : 1. Śāriputra, 2. Maudgalyāyana, 3. Mahākāśyapa, 4. Subhūti, 5. Rāhula, 6. Nanda, 7. Bhadrika, 8. Kaphiṇa. — In the second list : 1. Śāriputra, 2. Maudgalyāyana, 3. Gavāṃpati, 4. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, 5. Pilindavatsa, 6. Rāhula, 7. Mahākāśyapa, 8. Ānanda[107].

c. Sixteen Arhats, in the Mahāyāna texts such as the *Mahāyānāvatāra* (T 1634, ch. 1, p. 39*b*), and the *Nandimitrāvadāna* (T 2030, p. 13*a*) : 1. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, 2. Kanakavatsa, 3. Kanakaparidhvaja, 4. Subinda, 5. Nakula, 6. Bhadra, 7. Kālika, 8. Vajraputra, 9. Śvapāka, 10. Panthaka, 11. Rāhula, 12. Nāgasena, 13. Iṅgada, 14. Vanavāsi, 15. Ajita, 16. Cūḍapanthaka[108].

770 d. Eighteen Arhats, in the Chinese sources studied by S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, *Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi*, JA, 1916, pp. 136-66 of the off-print.

In the first lists, the Arhats, according to their own legends, all appear to be specially marked out to play the rôle of protectors of the Law which devolved upon them. Conversely, in the last lists, the reasons which determine their choice escape us, since alongside the great disciples there appear a number of unknown persons. In their case, the function has absorbed the personality : these Arhats are no more than figureheads, mere divine spirits scattered to all points of the compass. The Mahāyāna, which took these sixteen Arhat protectors into its mythology, was often to replace them by sixteen bodhisattvas of Indian origin, promoted to the same function and designated by the name of *Ṣoḍaśasatpuruṣa*, "the sixteen worthy persons"[109]. These were lay bodhisattvas designated, not by their own or clan names, but by the title of their function : the vaiśya Bhadrapāla of Rājagṛha, the prince Ratnākara of Vaiśālī, the merchant's son Śubhagupta of Champā, the vaiśya Sārthavāha of Śrāvastī, the brahmin Naradatta of Mithilā,

[107] Cf. N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, p. 3, n.1.

[108] I adopt here the reconstructions by S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat*, l.c., p. 9.

[109] Mahāratnakūṭa, T 310. ch. 17, p. 91*c* 14-15; ch. 111, p. 623*b* 13-14; Aparimitāyuḥsūtra, T 360, ch. 1, p. 265*c* 16; Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇasūtra, T 463, p. 480*b* 7; Viśeṣacintābrahmaparipṛcchā, T 585, ch. 1, p. 1*a* 14; T 586, ch. 1, p. 33*b* 9; T 587, ch. 1, p. 62*b* 12; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 3, 1.10.

etc.[110]. Led by Bhadrapāla, they precede the countless hosts of bodhisattvas who come from the Buddha fields in foreign regions, and who have as their leaders Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, etc. We have here reached the intersection point of the Hīna- and Mahāyāna, and can see how the long-living Arhats invented by the Hīnayānists have opened the way to the countless and depersonalized throng of bodhisattvas honoured by the Mahāyāna.

3. We referred above (pp. 206-212) to the five Masters of the Law who, during the Magadhan period and at the beginning of the Mauryan age, transmitted the sacred trust of the doctrine to one another. Although unknown to the Sinhalese tradition, the legend of the five Masters was firmly implanted on the Indian mainland.

The time of Aśoka was marked by the dispersion of the Saṃgha throughout the whole of India and the formation of the Buddhist
771 schools and sects. Each one had its own particular masters and scholars. However, the latter, in order to have themselves recognized as orthodox, claimed they were the direct successors of the five Masters of the Law, whose authority remained uncontested.

The Sarvāstivādins made their Dhītika a sixth master of the Law, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins added a further two of their scholars, Kṛṣṇa and Sudarśana. The son of a brahmin from Ujjayinī, Dhītika received ordination at the hands of Upagupta and, after the latter's death, reached the land of the Tukhāras where he converted King Menander (Tāranātha, pp. 22-4). Born into a wealthy family of sailors from Bengal (Aṅga), Kṛṣṇa fought the personalist heresy of the bhikṣu Vatsa in Kaśmīr and revived the religion in the island of Siṃhala or Ceylon (Tāranātha, pp. 43-5). Sudarśana, the son of a kṣatriya noble from Bharukaccha, succeeded Kṛṣṇa as head of the Community of the Four Quarters; in the region of Sindh, he overcame the Yakṣiṇī Hiṅgalācī, converted many unbelieving Nāgas and Yakṣas to the Law and, in the southern region and the neighbouring islands, went on a fruitful preaching tour (Tāranātha, pp. 45-7). It should be recalled however, that the information collected by the Tibetan historian contains so many problems of chronology that it is hardly worth believing.

A Sthavirian tradition[111] explains the Sarvāstivādin scission in the following way. During the two centuries that followed the Nirvāṇa, seven masters succeeded one another : the five Masters of the Law, followed by Pūrṇa and Mecaka. Until then there had been no schism.

[110] Cf. Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 7, p. 111*a*.
[111] Cf. P. Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 53-4.

However, while the first five masters had mainly propagated the sūtras, Pūrna and Mecaka, neglecting fundamentals and propagating secondary matters, made the Abhidharma their principal teaching. At the beginning of the third century after the Nirvāṇa, Kātyāyanīputra, the well-known author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* (above, pp. 184-185), held the Abhidharma in high esteem and founded the school of the Sarvāstivāda. On four occasions the Sthaviras called upon the Sarvāstivādins to abandon their reformative theses, but they met with refusal. It was then that, in order to move away from those innovators, the Sthaviras transferred their residence to the Snow Mountains where they took the name of Haimavata.

772 Among the Indian masters who contributed to the formation of the Indo-Chinese school of Yoga or Dhyāna, we should mention Saṃgharakṣa, Dharmatrāta, Buddhasena and Buddhabhadra. Saṃgharakṣa was a native of Śurāṣṭra; he was born there in the second century A.D.; he was well-travelled and reached Gandhāra where King Candana Kaniṣka made him his master. He composed, among other works, a *Yogācārabhūmi*, at present known through two Chinese translations (T 607, made by An Shih kao between 148 and 170; T 606, carried out by Dharmarakṣa in 284)[112]. — Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena seem to have taught in Kaśmīr around the beginning of the fifth century; Dharmatrāta composed a *Yogasamasanasūtra*, lost today[113]; Buddhasena wrote a *Yogācārabhūmi* which was translated into Chinese (T 618) by Buddhabhadra in about 413[114].

The masters we have just mentioned were also connected, through one or two intermediaries, with the first five Masters of the Law.

Here, to illustrate this description, are six lists of the Ācāryas :

1. *Śāriputraparipṛcchāsūtra* (T 1465, p. 900*a*) : Mahāsāṃghika list, claiming authority from the first five Masters of the Law.

2. *Aśokasūtra* (T 2043, ch. 7, p. 152*c*) : Sarvāstivādin list, adding one scholar (Dhītika) to the first five masters.

3. *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411*b-c*) : Mūlasarvāstivādin list, adding three scholars (Dhītika, Kṛṣṇa and Sudarśana) to the first five masters.

4. *San lun hsüan i* (T 1852, p. 9*b*) by Chi tsang (549-623 A.D.) : Sthavirian list, adding three scholars (Pūrṇa, Mecaka and Kātyāyanīputra) to the five masters.

[112] See P. Demiéville, *La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṃgharakṣa*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1954, pp. 339-436.

[113] Lin, *AM*, pp. 344-6, 349, 351; P. Demiéville, BEFEO, XLIV, 1954, p. 362.

[114] Id., *ibid.*, pp. 315, 341-51.

T 1465	T 2043	T 1451	T 1852	T 618	T 2145
Mahākāśyapa	Mahākāśyapa	Mahākāśyapa	Mahākāśyapa	Mahākāśyapa	
Ānanda	Ānanda	Ānanda	Ānanda	Ānanda	Ānanda
Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika
Śāṇavāsin	Śāṇavāsin	Śāṇavāsin	Śāṇavāsin	Śāṇavāsin	Śāṇavāsin
Upagupta	Upagupta	Upagupta	Upagupta	Upagupta	Upagupta
	Dhītika	Dhītika	Pūrṇa	Vasumitra	Fu-je-mi-le[115]
		Kṛṣṇa	Mecaka	Saṃgharakṣa	Fu-je-le[116]
		Sudarśana	Kātyāyanīputra	Dharmatrāta	Dharmatrāta
				Pu-je-mi-to-le[117]	Buddhasena
					Bhadra[118]

[115] Puṇyamitra or Prajñāmitra. [116] Cf. Lin, *AM*, p. 349, note. [117] Puṇyamitra or Prajñāmitra? [118] Bhadra or, more likely, Bhuddhabhadra, who introduced the text of the Yogācārabhūmi into China (cf. Lin, *AM*, p. 349, note).

5. *Yogācārabhūmi* (T 618, p. 301*a*) by Buddhasena : a list linking four further scholars with the five masters.

6. In the *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* (T 2145, ch. 9, p. 66*c*), a preface by Huei kuan (early fifth century) to the *Yogācārabhūmyaśubhabhāvanā-sūtra* : a list connecting five further scholars with the first masters.

774 4. The five Masters of the Law are again found at the head of the lists of patriarchs set out in some Mahāyānist sūtras, such as the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (T 383, ch. 2, p. 1013*b-c*)[119] and the general histories of Buddhism compiled by Chinese authors : *Kao sêng chuan* "Biographies of Eminent Monks" (T 2059, ch. 3, p. 345*b*), published by Huei chiao between 519 and 544; *Li tai san pao chi* "Chronicle of the Three Jewels" (T 2034), completed in 597 by Fei Chang fang; *Fo tsu t'ung chi* "General Memoirs on the Buddha and the Patriarchs" (T 2035, ch. 5, p. 169*a*), compiled by Chih p'an (1269-1271); *Fo tsu li tai t'ung tsai* "General Annals of the Buddha and the Patriarchs" (T 2036, ch. 3-6, pp. 496*b*-525*a*), brought out by Nien ch'ang at the end of the Mongol period (1344).

As it appears in its present form, the *Fu fa tsang yin yüan chuan* (T 2058) is an apocryphal work compiled in China in the sixth century and based on Indian documents partly extant (*Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Aśokāvadāna*) and partly lost. It contains the history of twenty-four patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to the bhikṣu Siṃha[120].

In order not to be too incomplete, we should also mention two Sarvāstivādin lists — without appended biographies — of Arhats and Bodhisattvas, incorporated by Sêng yu (435-518 A.D.) into his catalogue, the *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* (T 2145) : the first list (ch. 12, p. 89*a-b*) contains fifty-three names; the second (ch. 12, pp. 89*c*-90*a*), fifty-four.

The Chinese documentation on the Indian origins is of poor quality and without historical interest. However, the Indian biographers of the fourth and fifth centuries were scarcely better informed about earlier facts. The separate "Lives" of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and Deva (T 2046-48) compiled by Kumārajīva, and that of Vasubandhu (T 2049) written by Paramārtha are of little value.

These sources draw a portrait of the "patriarch" which only faintly
775 recalls the traditional "Master of the Law". The patriarch is more like a

[119] This passage contains a prediction concerning the first fifteen centuries of Buddhism : the first is dominated by the activity of the five masters (from Mahākāśyapa to Upagupta) and their successor Pūrṇa; then come, from century to century, Śīlananda, Nīlotpalākṣa(?), Gomukha, Ratnadeva(?), Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna.

[120] This history has been translated into English by J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, 2nd ed., London, 1893, pp. 60-86. — On this work, see H. Maspero, *Sur l'authenticité du Fou fa-tsang yin-yuan tchouan*, Mélanges S. Lévi, Paris, 1911, pp. 129-49.

wonder-worker than a sage, and his conduct is far from irreproachable. Generally poor and badly dressed, he owes his prestige to the subtlety of his mind and the power of his wonder-working. He penetrates the secrets of the doctrine and reads his disciples' thoughts. He can, thanks to his supernormal powers, move through the air, walk on water, provoke rain, transmute metals, predict the future and defy the sword and poison. However, he places his intelligence and powers at the service of the Good Law which he champions. A patriarch is necessarily chosen by his predecessor; once designated, he enjoys uncontested authority.

MAITREYA THE BUDDHIST MESSIAH. — The sixteen Arhats just referred to constitute an excellent field of merit. The wholesome roots which kings, ministers and ordinary people will plant in it will certainly come to maturity. "Thanks to the might of those excellent roots, at the time when the Tathāgata Maitreya realizes complete enlightenment, one will acquire with great excellence human body and, at the third assembly of that Buddha, with a calm and believing heart, one will renounce the rules of household life; one will leave the world to be homeless; with purity one will cut off beard and hair; one will dress in the religious robe; one will become a member of the holy company; through the power of previous vows, one will then reach Nirvāṇa" (*Nandimitrāvadāna*, T 2030, p. 14*c*).

That Buddha of the future whose coming is awaited like a Messiah is Ajita Maitreya "the Compassionate Invincible One"; homage to him in India and beyond met with unexpected spectacular success. Buddhist literature makes frequent allusions to him and devotes whole works to him. The vast amount of information it supplies about him is involved and often contradictory. However, even if we have to give up the attempt to establish a chronology of Indian messianism, there is nothing to prevent us from trying to make a systematic classification of the sources which mention him.

1. *Ajita and Maitreya, disciples of Bāvari.* — The *Pārāyaṇa* (*Suttanipāta*, Ch. V, vv. 976-1149) dates from the very dawn of Buddhist literature. It is one of the few sources of the Nikāyas and Āgamas, which frequently refer to it. In this ancient work, Ajita and Maitreya play only and unobtrusive part. They belonged to the group of the
776 sixteen disciples of Bāvari who were converted by the Buddha.

Bāvari was a brahmin ascetic who went to Śrāvastī in Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Deccan) and settled on the banks of the River Godāvarī, in a hermitage near the posessions of King Assaka and Alaka. The ascetic, who enjoyed revenues from a neighbouring village, offered up a great sacrifice and distributed all his goods as charity. A brahmin with a fierce expression came to see him and demanded five

hundred pieces of money from him. Reduced as he himself was to total indigence, he could not satisfy him. Enraged by this refusal, the brahmin cursed him and announced that his head would burst into seven pieces. Bāvari, much disquieted, was reassured by a deity who told him that the malevolent brahmin did not even know the meaning of the words "head" and "bursting of the head". — "Who does know the meaning then?" asked Bāvari. — "The Buddha", replied the goddess, "the Buddha who has just appeared in the world". Wishing to verify that fact, Bāvarī sent to the Buddha his sixteen disciples, the first two of whom were Ajita and Tissa-Metteyya (Tiṣya-Maitreya). After a long journey which took them from Andhra country to Vaiśālī, the sixteen disciples met the Buddha and greeted him in their teacher's name. They noted with satisfaction that Śākyamuni possessed the characteristic marks of a Great Man. The sixteen disciples, beginning with Ajita, each asked the Buddha a question in turn, and he answered them. According to the commentary, at the end of the conversation, they all became Arhats except Piṅgiya, Bāvari's nephew, who only became an *anāgāmin*. He returned to his uncle and told him what had happened. He was still speaking when the Buddha appeared in all his glory before the uncle and nephew; Bāvarī became an Arhat and Piṅgiya in *anāgāmin*.

In the *Pārāyaṇa* (v.1019), the ascetic Bāvari is 120 years old and possesses three of the marks of a Great Man. This information is confirmed by the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 4, p. 92*a* 9; ch. 29, p. 273*a* 25) which lists those marks : the *ūrṇā*, the tongue covering the face and the cryptorchis. While the *Pārāyaṇa* makes Bāvarī a brahmin from Śrāvastī who moved to the Deccan, the *Hsien yü ching* (T 202, ch. 12, p. 432*c* 1-2) gives him simply as a great teacher from the area of Pāṭaliputra. The *A lo han chü tê ching* (T 126, p. 832*a* 4) emphasizes his moral qualities : the Śrāvaka who is endowed with great generosity is Bāvari.

For the *Pārāyaṇa*, Ajita and Maitreya are, with fourteen others, pupils (*māṇava*) of Bāvari, but their origins are not specified.

Ajita was the son of a brahmin from Śrāvastī, the first assessor of the king of Kosala (*Theragāthā Comm.*, I, p. 73 sq.); he was also Bāvari's
777 nephew (*Apadāna*, I, p. 337, v.28; *Aṅguttara Comm.*, I, p. 335).

With regard to Maitreya, the sources hesitate between a northern and southern origin : "At the time of the Buddha, the son of the brahmin Kapāli was called Maitreya; his body was golden-coloured, and had thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks" (*Pu shih jou ching* (T 183, p. 457*c*). — "Maitreya was born in the kingdom of Vārāṇasī (Banaras), in the village of Kapāli, into the family of the great brahmin Bāvari" (*Kuan Mi lê*, T 452, p. 419*c* 14-15). — "Maitreya was the son of a brahmin from South India" (*Chu wei mo chieh ching*, T 1775, ch. 1, p. 331*b* 9). — in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. D.T. SUZUKI, p. 527, 11.8-9; T 278, ch. 60, p. 782*c* 12; T 279, ch. 79, p. 438*a* 28-29; T 293, ch. 38, p. 835*c* 10-11),

Maitreya declares to the young Sudhana : "I was born in Dakṣiṇāpatha, in the land of the Mālaṭas, in the village of Kūṭagrāmaka".

2. *Maitreya receives the prediction.* — According to a prediction by Śākyamuni, it is universally accepted that the next Buddha will be Maitreya. The prediction appears in the Nikāyas and Āgamas : "When man's life-span has reached 80,000 years, the Lord Maitreya will be born in the world, holy and perfectly enlightened" (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 75-6; *Dīrgha*, T 1, ch. 6, p. 41*c* 29; *Ekottarāgama*, T 125, ch. 44, p. 788*b* 1). It is accepted by all sects (cf. *Milinda*, p. 159; *Visuddhimagga*, ed. WARREN, p. 367; *Jñānaprasthāna*, T 1543, ch. 27, p. 898*c* 17-18; *Vibhāṣā*, T 1545, ch. 135, p. 698*b*; *Kośa*, IX, p. 269).

The *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* describe at length and in detail the coming of the future Buddha. These texts are special in that Śākyamuni issues his prediction in the abstract, without any reference to anyone present in the assembly. The prediction applies to the future Maitreya, not otherwise specified. There is never any question of his codisciple Ajita.

In the future, when human longevity has reached 80,000 years, there will be in Ketumatī (the future name of Vārāṇasī) a cakravartin king named Śaṅkha. He will possess the seven jewels of a Cakravartin and will rule the land as far as the ocean borders. That king's chaplain will be the brahmin Brahmāyus (var. Subrahman), and the brahmin's wife will be Brahmāvatī. Radiating benevolence (*maitreṇāṃśena sphuritvā*), she will give birth to a son who will be called Maitreya "Benevolent One". Like his father, he will teach brahmanical mantras
778 to 80,000 students. However, at the spectacle of the frailty of human things, he will withdraw into the forest and radiating benevolence, will attain the supreme knowledge; from then on, he will be called *Maitreya samyaksaṃbuddha*. That same day, the seven jewels of the king of Vārāṇasī will disappear. King Śaṅkha and his wife Viśakhā, followed by an immense crowd of subjects, will take up the homeless life under the guidance of Maitreya. Surrounded by the crowd of converts, Maitreya will go to Mount Gurupādaka (var. Kukkuṭapāda), near Rājagṛha. The mountain will open, disclosing the skeleton of the bhikṣu Kāśyapa. Maitreya will place it in his left hand and explain that this minute skeleton is that of Kāśyapa, a disciple of Śākyamuni, who lived at a time when the human life-span did not exceed one hundred years. That Kāśyapa was the foremost of those who were content with little and professed strict observance; after the decease of Śākyamuni, he had collated the doctrine. This revelation causes astonishment among those assembled, and they all attain Arhatship.

These *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, which do not vary much one from another, are extremely numerous. Some of them have been incorporated into the *Āgama* and *Vinaya*, others were the subject of separate publications. The following is a list of them which makes no pretence at being complete :

1. *Ekottarāgama*, T 125, ch. 44, pp. 787c-789b.

2. *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* : *Divyāvadāna*, Ch. III, pp. 60-2; T 1448, ch. 6, pp. 24c 28-25b 10.

3. *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, Sanskrit text, Tibetan version and French translation by S. LÉVI, *Maitreya le Consolateur*, Études d'Orientalisme (Mélanges R. Linossier), II, Paris, 1932, pp. 381-402.

4. Five *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, in Chinese translation : i. T 453, simply an extract from the *Ekottarāgama* above, placed under the name of the translator Dharmarakṣa, who worked between 265 and 313. — ii. T 457, translated by an unknown hand at the time of the Eastern Chin (317-420). — iii. T 456, translated by Kumārajīva in 402 (German version by K. WATANABE, in E. LEUMANN, *Maitreyasamiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten*, II, Strasbourg, 1919, pp. 255-80). — iv. T 454, the Chinese translation of which is imputed by a doubtful tradition to Kumārajīva (German version by K. WATANABE, in E. LEUMANN, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 227-36). — v. T 455, translated by I ching in 701 (German version by K. WATANABE, in E. LEUMANN, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 237-54).

5. *Maitreyasamitināṭaka*, a dramatic work, perhaps based on an Indian model, written by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra of Nakridis in Agnean (the language of Karašahr)[121] and translated into Turkish by Prajñārakṣita. The
779 Agnean fragments have been published by E. SIEG and W. SIEGLING, *Tocharische Sprachreste*, I, pp. 107, 119, 125 sq., 155 sq., 164 sq., 254 sq., Leipzig, 1921. The fragments in Old Turkish have been analyzed by F.W.K. MÜLLER and E. SIEG, in SBA, 1905, p. 958; 1916, p. 395 sq.; they have now been edited by A.-M. VON GABAIN, *Maitrisimit*, Wiesbaden, 1957, with an introduction by H. SCHEEL.

6. *Maitreyasamiti* in the Khotanese language, copied, on the order of the lady Pharṣavatā (in Skt., Paruṣapadī) of the noble family of the Ksysars (Kaisars), by a scribe assisted in his work by the bhikṣu Puṇyabhadra, who served to jog his memory. Chapter XXIII of the *Maitreyasamiti* has been published by E. LEUMANN, *Maitreyasamiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten*, I, Leipzig, 1919.

3. *Ajita, the future Cakravartin, and Maitreya, the future Buddha.* — Another category of sources, partly known to the preceding ones, presents the prediction in a more lively and dramatic light. Maitreya is present in the assembly when Śākyamuni announces to him that he will be the next Buddha and as proof gives him the tunic made of golden

[121] Cf. W.B. HENNING, *The Name of the "Tokharian" Language*, Asia Major, New Ser., I, part II, 1949, pp. 158-62 : The name of Twgry found in the Uighur colophons of Buddhist texts and which appears to be applied to the language of Karašahr (ancient kingdom of Agni, A-chi-ni for Hsüan tsang) has caused that language to be confused by many authors with *Tocharian*, the language of Tocharestan (former Bactria). This opinion seems to be confirmed by an indication in the colophons of the Uighur *Maitrisimit* of *N'krydyš* (= Nagaradeśa = Jelālābād in Eastern Afghanistan) as the homeland of the author of the text in *Twgry* which served as a basis for the Uighur text (F.W.K. MÜLLER). But the reading should be corrected to *"Knydyš* = Agnideśa, the "land of Agni". *Twgry* is indeed the language of Agni, Agnean, not Tocharian (*Bibl. bouddhique*, XXI-XXIII, No. 507).

thread which his aunt Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī had just offered to the Saṃgha. This time, Ajita, Maitreya's co-disciple, is not forgotten : Śākyamuni announces to him that on the coming of Maitreya, he will be King Śaṅkha of Ketumatī.

The episode of the golden tunic is well-known to the canonical sources, but it is narrated by them without any reference to Maitreya. The Buddha is in the Nyagrodhārāma in Kapilavastu. Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī approaches him and offers him a pair of new robes which she has woven with her own hands. The Buddha refuses : "Give them to the Saṃgha, Gautamī : when one gives to the Saṃgha, I am honoured and the Saṃgha is honoured". This little story is told in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅgasutta* (*Majjhima*, III, p. 253; T 26, ch. 47, pp. 721*c*-722*a*; T 84, p. 903*b*-*c*) and the *Mahīśāsaka Vin.* (T 1421, ch. 29, p. 185*b*-*c*), and reproduced in the *Milinda*, p. 240.

Part of the Maitreyan literature made wide use of it in the sense indicated above. Here are some references :

780 a. A Maitreyan sūtra which is not included in the Pāli Nikāyas is the *Pūrvāparāntakasūtra* "Sūtra of the beginning and the end". Its Sanskrit title is known from two quotations in the *Karmavibhaṅga* (ed. S. LÉVI, pp. 39 and 67). It is also cited in the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, v.2 (*Sṅon daṅ phyi mthaḥi mdo*) and the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 1, p. 57*c* 25 (*Pên mo ching*). We know it through two Chinese versions : 1. the *Shuo pên ching* incorporated in the *Madhyamāgama* (T 26, No. 66, ch. 13, pp. 508*c*-511*c*); 2. the *Ku lai shih shih ching* (T 44, pp. 829*b*-830*c*), dated from the dynasty of the Eastern Chin (317 to 420).

The Buddha is in the Mṛgadāva in Vārāṇasī. Addressing the monks, he praises the merits of alms-giving. In order to support his Master's theme, Aniruddha narrates his own avadāna : having given a bowl of food to a Pratyekabuddha, he enjoyed immense advantages during successive rebirths. Aniruddha concludes his account with a series of stanzas (p. 509*b*) which are the same as those in the *Theragāthā* (vv.910-919).

The Buddha speaks again in order to make a prediction : when human longevity reaches 80,000 years, there will be in Vārāṇasī a powerful cakravartin king named Śaṅkha. Ajita, present in the assembly, expresses a wish to be that king Saṅkha (p. 510*a* 3-4) and is promised it shall be so (p. 510*b* 7-9).

The prophecy continues : when human longevity reaches 80,000 years, the Buddha Maitreya will appear in the world. Venerable Maitreya, also present in the assembly, expresses a wish to be that Buddha (p. 510*c* 10-13), and the Master accedes to his desire (p. 511*a* 14-15).

The Buddha then asks Ānanda to give him the tunic of golden thread (offered to the community by Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī). Ānanda obeys. The Buddha takes the tunic and gives it to Maitreya : "Here, Maitreya, take from the hands of the Tathāgata this tunic of golden thread which was given to the Buddha, the

Dharma and the Community. Why? Because the Tathāgatas, who are free of attachment and perfectly enlightened, are the protectors of the world; they seek to ensure benefit, welfare, security and joy" (p. 511*b*). Maitreya accepts the tunic.

b. The Chinese version (but not the Tibetan) of the *Hsien yü ching*, compiled in about 445, contains a similar account, based on both the *Pārāyaṇa* and the *Pūrvāparāntakasūtra*. The narrative is entitled *Bāvarisūtra* (T 202, No. 57, ch. 12, pp. 432*b*-436*c*)[122].

In Vārāṇasī King Brahmadatta is ruling; his prime minister begets a marvellously handsome son who is named Maitreya because his mother, at the time she
781 was pregnant with him, had shown herself to be kind and compassionate. That child grows up and his reputation for wisdom becomes so great that the king, fearing a future rival, sends for him intending to have him killed; in order to save him, he is sent to his uncle Bāvari who, in the kingdom of Pāṭaliputra, was a revered master and always surrounded by five hundred disciples. The child makes great progress in his studies; to celebrate this, Bāvari decides to hold a banquet; he sends one of his disciples to invite the young man's father to the feast; that disciple dies on the way and is reborn as a deva.

The banquet takes place; a brahmin named Raudrākṣa arrives late; he demands the gift of five hundred gold pieces which has been made to all the other guests and, since Bāvari is unable to give them to him, declares to him that in seven days time his head will burst into seven pieces. Bāvari is gripped with fear, but a deva, who is none other than his former disciple, comes to console him and informs him that the brahmin is powerless and that the Buddha alone deserves to be trusted.

Bāvari then sends sixteen of his disciples to the Buddha; among them is Maitreya. Maitreya and his companions all become śramaṇas, and the Buddha visits old Bāvari and after that King Śuddhodana.

The Buddha's aunt and foster-mother, Mahāprajāpatī, offers the Buddha a golden tunic which she has woven herself. The Buddha refuses Gautamī's gift and advises her to present it to the Community, since she will win more merit by doing so. Mahāprajāpatī then goes among the monks with that garment; she offers it to them beginning with the oldest, but none of them dares accept it. When Maitreya's turn comes, he accepts the garment; then, having put it on, he enters the town of Vārāṇasī to seek alms (p. 434*a*).

He receives food from a pearl-stringer who, while listening to his teachings, neglects his craft and loses an important sum. However, the gain that craftsman obtains, by listening to an explanation of the Law, is infinitely greater; to prove this, Aniruddha recounts his avadāna.

Then follows the Buddha's prophecy : when human longevity has reached 80,000 years, there will appear (in Vārāṇasī) a cakravartin king named Śaṅkha and the Buddha Maitreya, the son of Śaṅkha's chaplain (p. 435*c*). Venerable Maitreya, present in that assembly, expresses the wish to be that figure Buddha;

[122] Translation taken from the summaries by P. Demiéville in E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*, IV, p. 209, and by S. Lévi, *Maitreya le Consolateur*, p. 362.

his co-disciple Ajita makes a wish to be King Śaṅkha (pp. 435*c*-436*a*). Then follows another return to the past to explain Maitreya's merits : he was formerly Dharmaruci.

c. The essential elements of this story are again found in the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 178, pp. 893*c*-894*b*) which brings out its moral significance. A twofold prediction by the Buddha; the bhikṣu Ajita expresses the wish to be the cakravartin king Śaṅkha and the bodhisattva Maitreya expresses the wish to be the Buddha Maitreya; the Buddha has Ānanda
782 gives him the gold-coloured tunic offered to the Saṃgha by Mahāprajāpatī and compels Maitreya to accept it. By wishing to be a Cakravartin, Ajita seeks to benefit himself; by wishing to be a Buddha, Maitreya wants only the welfare of others; that is why the Buddha censures the former and congratulates the latter.

d. The *Tsa pao tsang ching* (T 203, No. 50, ch. 4, pp. 470*a*-471*a*), translated in 472 by Chi chia yeh and T'an yao, contains a story entitled "Mahāprajāpatī gives the Buddha the robe made of gold thread; the story of the pearl-stringer". E. Chavannes has made a French translation of this (*Cinq cents contes,* III, pp. 46-53). The story follows closely that in the *Hsien yü ching,* but there is no mention of Ajita.

e. However, Maitreya and Ajita are clearly distinguished in the Chinese *Dharmapada,* translated in 383 with the title of *Ch'u yao ching* (T 212, ch. 6, p. 643*b* 27-28) by Chu Fo nien : "Of the sixteen brahmacārins with naked bodies, fourteen entered Parinirvāṇa and two did not : Maitreya and Ajita".

4. *Maitreya called Ajita (Invictus).* — In conclusion, in a final series of sources, apparently later than the preceding ones, no difference is made between Ajita and Maitreya : Ajita becomes the personal name (*nāman*) and Maitreya the family (*gotra*) name of one and the same person, Ajita-Maitreya, i.e. Mithras Invictus. These are some references :

a. *Mahāvastu,* I, p. 51 : The Buddha declares : "Just as I am now, after me that bodhisattva Ajita will be a Buddha in the world, with Ajita as his personal name (*nāmena*), and Maitreya as his family name (*gotreṇa*), in the royal town of Bandhumā". — *Ibid.,* III, p. 246 : Ajita, in a family of brahmins, where many treasures have been piled up, will renounce plentiful desires and that brahmin will take up the mendicant life. Then, in a prosperous family, enriched with a good state of mind, he will be Maitreya on this earth in the future".

b. In the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (ed. F. Max Müller, §40) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ed. Kern, p. 309, 11.1-2), the Buddha always addresses the bodhisattva Maitreya by calling him Ajita.

c. The *Kuan Mi lê p'u sa* (T 452) is a kind of *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* translated by Ching shêng in about 455. We read in it (p. 418*c*) :

The Buddha was residing in Śrāvastī, at the Jetavana... In the assembly, there was a Bodhisattva named Maitreya who listened to the Buddha's words. While doing so, he acquired a hundred myriads of millions of *dhāraṇīmukha*. He
783 then rose from his seat, adjusted his garment and, with joined hands, stood before the Buddha. Then Upāli also rose from his seat and, having prostrated himself, said to the Buddha : "Formerly, the Bhagavat said, in the Vinaya and the Basket of Sūtras, that Ajita in turn would be a Buddha. The Ajita here present is still only a worldling (*pṛthagjana*) and has not yet cut off the defilements. Where will this man be reborn, after his death? Today, although he has taken up the homeless life (*pravrajita*), he does not cultivate the *dhyāna* and *samāpatti* and has not cut off the passions (*kleśa*). The Buddha predicted that this man would doubtless would be a Buddha. After his death, in which country will he be reborn?" — The Buddha said to Upāli : "Listen and reflect carefully! The Tathāgata knows everything exactly. Today, in this assembly, I have said that the bodhisattva Maitreya will win supreme and perfect Enlightenment. The man here present will die in twelve years; he will assuredly be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven... [After staying there for millions of myriads of years], he will be reborn here on earth, in Jambudvīpa, as it is said in the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*".

d. In his commentary upon the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T 1775, ch. 1, p. 331*b* 8-9), Sêng chao, a disciple of Kumārajīva, remarks : "Maitreya is his family name (*hsing*); Ajita is his personal name (*tzŭ*)".

e. The *Anāgatavaṃsa* is a Pāli poem of a hundred and fifty stanzas recited by the Buddha at Śāriputra's request. Its date is unknown, and its author was a thera Kassapa from Coḷa country. It deals with the former existences of Metteyya under the three Buddhas Sumitta, Metteyya and Muhutta, under twenty-seven Buddhas and finally at the time of the Buddha Gotama. In that last period, Metteyya was the prince Ajita, son of Ajātasattu (*JPTS*, 1886, p. 34). Here again, Ajita and Metteyya are not differentiated. Verse 43 (*ibid.*, p. 46) defines his identity : *Ajita nāma nāmena Metteyyo* "Metteyya, called Ajita".

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Maitreya, as the Buddha of the future, always finds a place in Buddhism. His name and antiquity suggest a connection with the Vedic Mitra and the Iranian Mithra, a sovereign god, but also a social and obliging deity, with a beneficent and judicial aspect[123].

From the outset, he appears in the long list of the Buddhas of the past

[123] See L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, I, p. 318.

and future who preceded or will follow Śākyamuni. Maitreya is no
784 different from his colleagues, he will be a Buddha like all the others.

The *Pārāyaṇa* places a certain Maitreya or Tiṣya-Maitreya at the time of Śākyamuni and makes him a pupil of Bāvari. With fifteen other companions, including Ajita, he is converted by Śākyamuni and attains Arhatship. The author does not as yet establish any relationship between the student Maitreya and the Buddha of the future.

However, from among the whole lineage of the Tathāgatas, it was naturally Maitreya who was to awaken interest and hold the attention. Once Śākyamuni was in Nirvāṇa, it was from his immediate successor that the coming of the golden age of mankind was to be expected. The *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* endeavoured to describe the marvellous events and mass conversions which will mark the coming of Maitreya into his world.

These predictions, however, remained too impersonal and abstract. In order to present them in a more lively and realistic way, it was claimed that they were made by Śākyamuni concerning his contemporaries. By his very name, Maitreya, Bāvari's disciple, was clearly named as beneficiary. In a whole series of texts, of which the *Pūrvāparāntakasūtra* is the most characteristic, a solemn assembly was devised during which Śākyamuni formulated his predictions regarding Maitreya and his companion Ajita. Handing over to Maitreya the golden tunic which Mahāprajāpatī had offered to the Saṃgha, Śākyamuni announces to him that he will later be the Buddha Maitreya; Ajita, his companion, receives the assurance that, at the same date, he will be the Cakravartin Śaṅkha.

Finally — if there ever was a final point — Ajita and Maitreya were fused into one and the same person : Ajita-Maitreya. This fusion is not in the least surprising if we note, as did J. Filliozat, that *Maitreya*, the "Benevolent", is derived from *maitrī*, "benevolence", and that the property of *maitrī* is to render its possessor invulnerable and *ajita*, "unsubdued"[124].

Through his name, Maitreya the unsubdued, the Buddha of the future, became a counterpart or replica of the Iranian god Mithra — Sol
785 Invictus[125] and was drawn into the great movement of messianic

[124] J. FILLIOZAT, *Maitreya l'Invaincu*, JA, 1950, pp. 145-9.

[125] The application of the epithet Invincible to Maitreya might be explained by Iranian influence : cf. J. PRZYLUSKI, *La croyance au Messie dans l'Inde et dans l'Iran*, RHR, t. C, 1929, pp. 1-12; *Un dieu iranien dans l'Inde*, RO, VII, 1931, pp. 1-9; S. LÉVI, *Maitreya le Consolateur*, l.c., p. 360 — For M. ABEGG, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, Berlin 1928, Indian messianism is independent of Iranian eschatology.

expectation which, under various symbols, pervaded the whole of the East at the end of the pre-Christian era. The syncretism which was dominant culminated, in the Manichaean texts in Uighur, in a vast synthesis in which were fused "Mithras Invictus", "Jesus the Son of God" and "Maitreya-Ajita".

Belief in Maitreya flourished particularly in Central Asia until the advent of Islam[126]. The sources collected by the various archaeological missions are plentiful : statues and frescoes, historical texts, documents concerning the founding of temples and monasteries, formulas of donations, religious and literary texts such as the *Maitreyasamiti*, confessions of sins, Manichaean fragments and, finally, hymns to Maitreya, and they all attest to the presence of a new god around whom were crystallized the aspirations of the Eastern world.

From this belief was born a Buddhism which was almost exclusively a religion of pure devotion (*bhakti*), a monotheism. It was no longer in line with the earlier orthodoxy. The adherent no longer acquired merit with a view to a good rebirth in the world of the gods or of mankind; the ascetic no longer trained in the eightfold path in order to acquire an incomprehensible Nirvāṇa. The doctrine of the maturations of actions was, if not forgotten, at least minimized. The only means of salvation was henceforth divine compassion, considerate and efficacious.

Devotion to Maitreya was common to the two Vehicles — and this is why we speak of it here.

Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 858*a*) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 884*b*) saw, on the borders of the Himālayas and the Darel, a colossal statue of Maitreya erected some three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa by Madhyāntika. "According to an ancient tradition", remarks Fa hsien, "śramaṇas from India began to carry the holy books of the Buddha across the river (Indus) from the time when the image of Maitreya was erected. That image was in fact erected about three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa. Therefore, it can be said that the diffusion of the doctrine can be attributed to the influence of that image".

786 As with Śākyamuni before his Enlightenment, Maitreya is the bodhisattva most often depicted on monuments by the Graeco-Buddhist school : at times he appears standing, while at others he is seated in Indian or European style, wearing a topknot as a coronet (*jaṭāmukuṭin*) and holding in his left hand the water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) of the brahmins[127]. Elsewhere, in Sāñcī, Konkan and Bengal, the golden-centred frangipani flower (*nāgapuṣpa*) is his main characteristic. His image is

[126] For details, see W. Baruch, *Maitreya d'après les sources de Sérinde*, RHR, CXXXII, 1946, pp. 67-92.

[127] A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, figs. 418-422.

particularly widespread on the borders of India and Iran, especially on the site of Bāmyān[128].

As evidenced by the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* (above, pp. 389-391), Maitreya took part in the persecution of Puṣyamitra in order to save the Buddhist texts from total destruction : he transported them to the Tuṣita heaven and, once the danger was over, had them brought back among mankind.

Ceylon did not remain behind in the cult paid to Maitreya. The holy Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita did not practise *vipassanā* and delayed his accession to holiness in the hope of seeing him before he died (*Visuddhimagga*, ed. WARREN, p. 38). The last thought of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (104-80 B.C.) was for the Tuṣita heaven where the bodhisattva Maitreya is enthroned, and it was in that heaven that he was reborn (Mhv., XXXII, 71-5). King Dhātusena (513-522 A.D.) embellished an image of Maitreya with royal ornaments and placed a guard round it within a radius of seven *yojana* (*Cūḷavaṃsa*, XXXVIII, 68). Statues of Maitreya were erected by Dappula I, Parakkamabāhu I and Kittisirirājasīha. In Anurādhapura, Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 865*c*) heard a monk who had come from India reciting from the top of a pulpit a prophecy concerning Śākyamuni's alms-bowl. Formerly in Vaiśālī, the *pātra* is now in Gandhāra. It would pass from country to country and finally reach the Tuṣita heaven where Maitreya would receive it. The *pātra* would disappear and the Law of the Buddha would deteriorate. Human life-span would be reduced to five years. However, men would be penitent, and life would gradually be prolonged until it lasted for 80,000 years. At that time, the Buddha Maitreya would appear on earth, set turning the Wheel of the Law and convert the three assemblies. Fa hsien wanted to note down that prophecy, but the speaker explained to him that it was not a sūtra, but merely a recitation he had learned by heart.

787 According to the evidence of Hsüan tsang, recorded by his pupils Tao shih (in T 2123, ch. 1, p. 6*c*-7*a*) and K'uei chi (in T 1772, ch. 1, p. 277*c*; T 1964, p. 106*c*), the wish to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven, Maitreya's paradise, was common to the two Vehicles, while only the Mahāyānists believed in the Sukhāvatī, Amitābha's paradise. The Tuṣita heaven is located in the World of Desire and is relatively easily reached; the Sukhāvatī is a Pure Land and very difficult to accede to.

Maitreyism was developed further in the Mahāyāna, but to speak of it here would be a digression from the subject we have assigned ourselves. Maitreya appears in it as a god of light[129], a consoler receiving the

[128] O. BRUHL, *Les récentes fouilles en Afghanistan*, RAA, VIII, pp. 116-19.

[129] See C. SOPER, *Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Sculpture*, Art. As., XII, 1949, pp. 252-83; 314-30; XIII, 1950, pp. 63-85.

"confession of sins"[130], and a guide of spirits after death[131]. Above all, he is an inspirer, the support of masters of the Law in their doubts and crises of discouragement : entering into absorption, the scholars can ascend to the Tuṣita heaven to see Maitreya and receive his clarifications; if necessary, Maitreya himself descends to earth, there to recite texts. Aware too of what they owe him, it was not unusual for certain scholars to attribute the paternity of their own works to the "Master Maitreya" (Maitreyanātha). It goes without saying that this master was in no way a historical person[132].

Great minds, such as the Chinese master Hsüan tsang, lived in perpetual communion of mind and heart with Maitreya. We will conclude with an adventure which happened to Hsüan tsang during his travels in India, and which is narrated in his biography (T 2053, ch. 3, p. 234*a*), and summarized as follows by P. Demiéville[133] :

Hsüan tsang was decending the Ganges when he was attacked by brigands, who decided to sacrifice him to Durgā; they prepared a *maṇḍala* where they intended to cut his throat, and were already brandishing their knives. Hsüan tsang asked them for a moment in
788 which to meditate and "pass away in joy". The master of the Law concentrated his mind on the palace of the Tuṣitas. He thought of the bodhisattva Maitreya and made the aspiration to be reborn near him in order to worship him and receive the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* from him... Then it seemed to him in his imagination that he ascended Mount Sumeru then, having passed beyond the first, second and third heaven, that he could see the palace of the Tuṣitas, with the bodhisattva Maitreya on his sublime terrace of jewels, surrounded by his assembly of *deva*. At that moment, his heart was filled with joy; the *maṇḍala* and the brigands were all forgotten... A storm saved him, but Maitreya always remained an object of particular veneration for him.

What else is there in common between this Maitreyan mysticism and the cold reality of the sage of Kapilavastu? That sage who declared :

All accumulations end in ruin;
All elevations end in downfall;
Unions end in separation;
Life ends in death.

*

[130] On these formulas of confession, see W. Baruch, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6.

[131] Cf. M. Lalou, *Les chemins du mort dans les croyances de Haute-Asie*, RHR, Jan.-Mar. 1949, pp. 42-8.

[132] All these matters have been dealt with in detail by P. Demiéville, in BEFEO, XLIV, 1954 : *Maitreya l'inspirateur* (pp. 376-87), *Le paradis de Maitreya* (pp. 387-95).

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 388.

789 # ADDENDA

New edicts of Aśoka and the bilingual inscription of Kandahār.

Three new edicts of Aśoka have been discovered in recent times :

1. The inscription at Gujarrā, in the district of Datia in Vindhaya Pradesh. Discovered in 1953 by Lal Chand Sarma, it was identified as an Aśokan edict by Dr. B. Ch. Chabra and published with a facsimile by D.C. SIRCAR, *Gujarrā Inscription of Aśoka,* Epigraphia Indica, XXXI, 1956, pp. 204-10. It is the first of the Minor Inscriptions on rock, various recensions of which have been noted above (p. 225). It begins with the words *Devānāṃpiyasa Piyadasino Asokarājasa,* and is therefore the second recension known until now in which the name of Aśoka is given, the first being the Maski recension (cf. BLOCH, p. 145). From the grammatical point of view, we note the verb **smi* (Skt. *asmi*) instead of *sumi* attested to at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Maski and Gāvīmāṭh. The other peculiarities conform to the linguistic habits of the Aśokan administration : the termination in *-e* in the nominative masculine singular, and in the nominative and accusative neuter singular; the ending in *-mīna* of the middle present participle and the old infinitive endings in *pāpotave* and *ārādhayitave.*

2. The inscription at Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the taluk of Pattikoṇḍa in the district of Kurnool. Discovered in 1946, this inscription was published by D.C. SIRCAR, *Rājula-Maṇḍagiri Inscription of Aśoka,* Epigraphia Indica, XXXI, 1956, pp. 211-18. It consists of fifteen very mutilated lines, derived from the first two Minor Inscriptions on rock. This new recension is practically identical to that of Yerraguḍi, discovered in the same district in 1929 (see BLOCH, pp. 145-51).

3. The bilingual Graeco-Aramaic inscription of Kandahār in Afghanistan. This sensational discovery dates from the early months of 1958 and has already been the subject of two Italian publications : U. SCERRATO, *An Inscription of Aśoka discovered in Afghanistan : the*
790 *bilingual Greek-Aramaic of Kandahār,* East and West, IX, 1958, pp. 4-6; *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka* (la prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistān). *Testo, traduzione e note a cura di* G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI *e di* G. LEVI DELLA VIDA *con prefazione di* G. TUCCI *e introduzione di* U. SCERRATO (Serie Orientale Roma, XXI), Rome, 1958.*

Greek script was known in Iran from the end of the fourth century B.C. until the time of the Sassanids; however, under the Achaemenids it consisted as yet of only unimportant scribblings. The oldest text is an

epitaph of a Greek, Nicocles of Sinope, possibly prior to Alexander's conquest[1]. The bilingual inscription at Kandahār is the only Aśokan edict compiled in Greek as well as the first Greek inscription found in Afghanistān.

On the other hand, the importance of Aramaic, both as a language and a script, during the first six centuries of the pre-Christian era and the first centuries of the new era, has long been recognized[2]. Under the Achaemenids, alongside the Old Persian noted in cuneiform characters, Aramaic, used by specialized scribes, served as the universal language in the Near and Middle East. Aramaic texts have been discovered in Egypt[3], Lydia[4], Iran[5] and Transcaucasia[6].

Even in India, the influence of Aramaic was shown by the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and the presence of some inscriptions in Aramaic language and script.

791 The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet[7], a derivative of the Aramaic script, was used in North-West India, from the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D., for writing down Indian texts in Prākrit and Sanskrit. It served to note down the edicts of Aśoka promulgated in Shābāzgaṛhī (District of Peshāwār) and Mānsehrā (District of Hazāra) in the third century B.C. It then appeared on the inscriptions[8] and coins of Yavana, Śaka-Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa dynasts who succeeded one another in West India. It was again used in manuscripts[9] and archival documents[10] in Central

[1] See F. CUMONT, *Inscriptions grecques de l'Iran*, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Perse, XX, 1928, pp. 77 sq.; C. HUART and L. DELAPORTE, *L'Iran Antique et la Civilisation iranienne*, Paris, 1943, p. 24.

[2] G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, Strasbourg, 1896, pp. 20-1.

[3] E. SACHAU, *Aram. Pap. u. Ostraka*, 1911; A.E. COWLEY, *Aram. Pap. of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1923; H.H. SCHAEDER, *Iran. Beiträge*, 1930.

[4] Aramaeo-Lydian bilingual; cf. F. SOMMER and P. KAHLE, *Kleinasiat. Forsch.*, 1927, pp. 18-86.

[5] Aramaic inscription on the tomb of Darius (E. HERZFELD, *Altpersische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1938, p. 12); papyrus of Avroman in Aramaic script (E.H. MINNS, Journ of Hellenic Stud., XXXV, 1915; H.S. NYBERG, *Monde Oriental*, XVII, pp. 182 sq.).

[6] Inscription of Mtskheta, near Tiflis (G. TSERETHELI, *A bilingual Inscription from Armazi*, 1941; M.N. TOD, Journ. of Roman Stud., 1944, pp. 82 sq.; H.W. BAILEY, JRAS, 1943, pp. 1 sq.; H.S. NYBERG, Eranos, XLIV, 1946, pp. 228 sq.).

[7] See the notice devoted by J. FILLIOZAT to the Aramaeo-Indian script in C. FOSSEY, *Notices sur les caractères étrangers anciens et modernes*, nouv. ed. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1948, pp. 235-42. H.W. BAILEY, *A Problem of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*, Cambr. Or. Series, II, 1950, pp. 1-3.

[8] Cf. S. KONOW, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*. (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II, part 1), Calcutta, 1929.

[9] Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, above, p. 568, n. 46.

[10] The Niya documents, see above, p. 569, n. 48.

Asia during the first centuries of the Christian era. Finally, the most recent fragments in Kharoṣṭhī script have been found in the region of Kučā, mixed with documents from the seventh century.

However, North-West India has not only given us Indian texts in writing derived from Aramaic, but has also supplied some inscriptions in the Aramaic language and script.

The first is a mutilated inscription found in 1915 at Taxila-Sirkap by Sir John Marshall[11]. It consists of a dozen lines and was composed in honour of a high official named Rōmēdōtē, who owed his advancement to the patronage of the viceroy or governor Priyadarśī. In all likelihood, this was Aśoka, who was governor of Taxila before his accession to the throne (see above, pp. 223, 239).

A second Aramaic inscription, of eight mutilated lines, was discovered in Lampaka (Laghmān), at Pūl-i-Darunteh, near Nagarahāra (present-
792 day Jelālābād)[12]. This is an edict of Devānāṃpriya (Aśoka), in Aramaic script and language, with a few terms borrowed from Middle Indian and which are found again in particular on the 5th, 9th and 13th rock Edicts, as well as the 3rd and 5th pillar Edicts.

The third inscription in Aramaic language and script is the bilingual edict of Kandahār, in Afghanistan. According to the traditional interpretation, Kandahār represents Alexandria of Arachosia[13]. It is true that, on the basis of the evaluations of the ancient bematists, Droysen and Tarn[14] located the metropolis of Arachosia in Ghazni and identified Kandahār with the Alexandropolis near Sakastene recorded by Isodorus of Charax in the *Stationes Parthicae*, 18 and 19. However, E. Bazin-Foucher[15], on geographical grounds, protested at that "fantastic

[11] L.D. Barnett, *An Aramaic Inscription from Taxila*, JRAS, 1915, pp. 340-2; A.E. Cowley, *The First Aramaic Inscription from India*, JRAS, 1915, pp. 342-7; Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918, pp. 75-6 (2nd ed., Delhi, 1936, p. 90); E. Herzfeld, *A new Asokan Inscription from Taxila*, EI, XIX, 1928, pp. 251-3; F.C. Andreas, *Erklärung der aramäischen Inschrift von Taxila*, NGWG, phil. hist. Kl. 1932, pp. 6-17; Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, I, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 15, 164-5.

[12] H. Birkeland, *Eine aramäischen Inschrift aus Afghanistan*, Acta Or., XVI, 1938, pp. 222-33; F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, I, Halle a. S., 1947, pp. 125-42; W.B. Henning, *The Aramaic Inscription of Aśoka found in Lampāka*, BSOAS, XIII, 1949, pp. 80-8.

[13] J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 3rd. ed., Leipzig, 1927, p. 430, n.3; H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, Berlin, tab. II Dk; G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque*, IV, Paris, 1938, pp. 123, 162, 245.

[14] J.G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III, 2, Gotha, 1878, pp. 217 sq.; W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd. ed., Cambridge, 1951, pp. 62, 93, 320, 470-1; *Alexander the Great*, II, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 234, 249.

[15] *JA*, Jul.-Sept., 1938, p. 514.

error" and A. Foucher[16], after a new scrutiny of the matter, saw mediaeval Kandahār as a successor to Alexandria of Arachosia. The discovery of the bilingual edict at Shar-i-Kuna proves the existence of a Greek settlement near Kandahār.

We have already given an outline of the history of Arachosia. Organized as a satrapy by Alexander the Great, it was governed successively by Menon from 330 to 325 (p. 111), and by Sibyrtius, host and friend of the historian Megasthenes, from 325 to 316. Sibyrtius succeeded in retaining his post during the three successive partitions of the satrapies, by Perdiccas in 323 (p. 113), Antipater in 321 (p. 113) and Antigonus in 316 (p. 116). In 311, Arachosia and the other higher satrapies passed into the hands of Seleucus I Nicator (pp. 116) but the latter, after his unsuccessful attack against Candragupta, had to surrender it, at least in part, to his adversary (pp. 116-118). For more than a
793 century, from approximately 304 to 200, Arachosia lived within the orbit of the Indian empire of the Mauryans. The two Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka, that of Pūl-i-Darunteh in Lampaka and that of Kandahār in Arachosia, probably marked the western limit of the Mauryan empire. In about the year 200, shortly before the collapse of that empire, Arachosia fell into the hands of the Greek king of Bactria, Euthydemus of Magnesia (p. 372).

The bilingual edict of Kandahār is dated in the tenth elapsed year after the consecration of Aśoka, i.e. according to the calculation adopted here, the year 228 after the Nirvāṇa = 258 B.C. It would therefore be the oldest Aśokan edict known until now and would antedate by two years the first two inscriptions at Barābar, in 256 B.C., and by four years that of the fourteen great rock Edicts of 254 B.C. (see above, pp. 225-226). It was in the tenth year of his reign that Aśoka, inspired with extreme zeal, set out for the Enlightenment, initiated the Dharma tour (*dharmayātra*) with audiences, preachings and the distribution of gold to the religious and the old : 256 nights passed in that tour (see above, pp. 226-227).

We reproduce here the Greek text of the bilingual edict, as read and translated by G. Pugliese Carratelli :

δέκα ἐτῶν πληρη [...]ων βασι[λ]εὺς
Πιοδασσης εὐσέβεια[ν ἔδ]ε[ι]ξεν τοῖς ἀν-
θρώποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου εὐσεβεστέρους
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησεν καὶ πάντα
εὐθηνεῖ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν · καὶ ἀπέχεται

[16] A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1947, pp. 202, 217 (n.17), 244, 366-7.

βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐμψύχων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὅσοι θηρευταὶ ἢ ἁλιεῖς
βασιλέως πέπαυνται θηρεύοντες · κα[ί]
εἴ τινες ἀκρατεῖς πέπαυνται τῆς ἀκρα-
σίας κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνήκοοι πατρὶ
καὶ μητρὶ και τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρὰ
τὰ πρότερον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λῷιον
καὶ ἄμεινον κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα
ποιοῦντες δίαξουσιν.

"Compiutisi (?) dieci anni (di regno, o dalla consacrazione), il re Piodasses (Piyadassi) ha fatto conoscere la (dottrina della) pietà agli
794 uomini, e da questo momento ha reso più pietosi gli uomini e tutto prospera per tutta la terra; e il re si astiene da(ll'uccidere) gli esseri animati, e gli altri uomini e quanti ⟨sono⟩ cacciatori e pescatori del re hanno desistito dal cacciare; e se alcuni ⟨erano⟩ intemperanti han posto freno all'intemperanza quant'era in loro potere; e, obbedienti al padre e alla madre e agli anziani, in confronto al passato anche per l'avvenire più gradevolmente e meglio (=meglio e piu felicemente che per il passato anche nell'avvenire), in tutto così agendo, vivranno".

The Greek text, translated from an original in the Prākrit of the Aśokan administration, abounds in stock phrases but does not correspond to any known edict. It is clearly one of those rescripts of the Dharma "in abridged form" (*saṃkhittena*) to which the 14th R(ock) E(dict) refers (Bloch, p. 133).

As in all the edicts, the "ten elapsed years" (δέκα ἐτῶν πληρωθέντων) are counted from the date of the consecration. See, for example, the 8th R.E. *dasavassābhisitte* (Bloch, p. 112).

Βασιλεὺς Πιοδασσης (pronounced vasilefs Piodassis) hides an original *Piyadassi lājā* with the *r* dropped in *Piyadassi*, and the *r* treated as *l* in *lājā* as at Kālsī and Dhauli, in contrast to the edicts of the North-West (Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā) which have *Priyadraśi raja* (Bloch, p. 110).

εὐσέβεια is a good rendering of the Indian and Aśokan concept of *dhamma* "Law of a religious nature". The conjecture ἔδειξεν, with the meaning of "made known", corresponds to the expression *dhammānuṣatthi* (Bloch, p. 125) or *dhaṃmānusāsanam* (Bloch, p. 100) of the edicts. τοῖς ἀνθρώποις can render *jana* as well as *munisā* (Bloch, p. 110, lines 17 and 18).

Taken absolutely, the comparative εὐσεβεστέρους can correspond to the expression *dhaṃmayutta* "attached to the Law" (Bloch, p. 103). καὶ

πάντα εὐθηνεῖ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν "and everything prospers throughout the whole earth" refers, in this context, to the flourishing state of the Dharma all over the world, that *dhaṃmavaḍḍhi* spoken of by the edicts (BLOCH, pp. 103, 167, 168, 169, 172).

As Pugliese Carratelli notes, the expression ἀπέχεται ἐμψύχων recalls the title of a minor work by Porphyrus περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων. This abstention (from the flesh) of animals is none other than *pānānaṃ*
795 *avihisā* presented by the 4th R.E. as one of the forms of the practice of the Dharma (BLOCH, p. 99). The slaying of ἔμψυχα or *pānāni* for religious or culinary reasons is strictly regulated by the 1st R.E. (BLOCH, pp. 90-3), then radically forbidden by the 2nd and 5th P(illar) E(dicts) (BLOCH, pp. 162, 165-7). Following the example of the king, continues the bilingual edict, "other men and all the huntsmen (θηρευταί) and fishermen (ἁλιεῖς) of the king ceased hunting". This phrase is not found word for word in the edicts, but the 8th R.E. condemns the hunts (*migaviyā* = Skt. *mṛgayā*) formerly held by the kings (BLOCH, p. 111), and the 5th P.E. forbids the killing on certain dates of creatures in the fishing-grounds (*kevaṭṭabhoga* = Skt. *kaivartabhoga*) (BLOCH, p. 166).

The continuation of the Greek text, καὶ εἴ τινες ἀκρατεῖς πέπαυνται τῆς ἀκρασίας κατὰ δύναμιν, is understood by Pugliese Carratelli as : "and if a few of them were intemperate, they restrained their intemperance as much as it was in their power to do". Intemperance, he remarks, indicates the absence of *sa(ṃ)yama* "control of the senses". It is true that, taken absolutely, the terms ἀκρασία (or ἀκράτεια) and *asaṃyama* can mean intemperance, and when the 13th R.E. recommends *sa(ṃ)yama* among other virtues such as security, equanimity and gentleness, it obviously means mastery of the senses (BLOCH, p. 129). However, ἀκρατής can also designate a person who uses something to excess (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, XII, 111 : ἀκρατὴς οἴνου, who uses wine to excess). In the present context, ἀκρατής probably means "using the flesh of animals to excess", and ἀκρασία means lack of abstinence *Sa(ṃ)yama* has precisely that restricted meaning on the 9th R.E. (BLOCH, p. 115) : *sādhu pānānaṃ* (or *pānesu*) *saṃyame*, "It is good to refrain (from the flesh) of living beings". We can therefore understand the Greek phrase as : "And if a few were lacking in abstinence (or sobriety), they put an end to that lack of abstinence as much as possible".

καὶ ἐνήκοοι πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων can only mean : "obeying their father, their mother and their elders". Taking into account the inversion of the Indian order "mother-father", this phrase is the word for word translation of the recension at Shāhbāzgaṛhī on the

4th R.E., *matapituṣu vuḍhanaṃ suśruṣa*, "obedience to father and mother and the elders" (BLOCH, p. 99). As Pugliese Carratelli remarks, the Indian redaction may have exerted an influence on the change of case, genitive (πρεσβυτέρων) instead of dative.

796 The last three lines are the only ones which really cause a problem. G. Tucci (p. VI) wonders whether, in the Greek παρὰ τὰ πρότερον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, there is not an echo of the *hidalokiko paralokiko* of the R.E. Nos. 11 and 13. He is perfectly right and, for my part, I see, in the two comparatives λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον, a rather crude attempt to render the expression *hitasukham*. The separate edict of Kaliṅga includes in two places (BLOCH, pp. 137, 141) a phrase which may clarify the Greek text : *athā pajāye icchāmi hakaṃ kiṃti savvena hitasukhena hidalokikapālalokikena yūjjevū ti tathā savvamunissesu pi icchāmi* : "Just as I desire that my children be endowed with all welfare and happiness in the present world and the world to come, so do I desire this for all men". We can therefore understand the Greek phrase in the following way : "Acting thus (ταῦτα ποιοῦντες), during the former ⟨existence⟩ and the future ⟨existence⟩ (παρὰ τὰ πρότερον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ = *hidaloke pāraloke*), they will live (διάξουσιν) in the best and happiest way in everything (λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον κατὰ πάντα = *savvena hitasukhena*)".

I am not competent to discuss the Aramaic part of the Kandahār inscription. The language is imperial Aramaic with a few terms taken, not from Middle Indian as in the inscription at Pūl-i-Darunteh, but from Iranian. These foreign words are printed in italics in the translation by G. Levi Della Vida which I reproduce here :

"[1] Nell'anno 10 fu fatta la *giustizia* (o : *conversione?*) di Nostro Signore il re Priyadarš, secondo rettitudine ben diretta. [2] Da poco tempo egli ha abolito il male per tutti gli uomini et tutti gli *esseri viventi*(?), [3] e in tutta la terra e anche *dapertutto*(?). E anche coloro che *si occupano*(?) del pasto per Nostro Signore il re [4] uccidono poco; questo affinché tutti gli uomini cacciatori e pescatori vedano [5] quegli uomini *proclamare* così; coloro che sono *insani*(?), quelli cacciano; chi [6] *è devoto* e *obbediente* a sua madre e a suo padre e agli uomini *anziani* [7] secondo che essi lo hanno ammonito, [7-8] costui accrescerà fortemente per tutti gli uomini la (buona) sorte e l'incolpabilità da parte di tutti, con accrescimento e aumento".

The present notes were written before a series of articles appeared in the Journal Asiatique, 1958, fasc. 1, pp. 1-48 : D. SCHLUMBERGER, L. ROBERT, A. DUPONT-SOMMER, E. BENVENISTE, *Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Aśoka*.

797 Here, for the record, is the translation established by those scholars (*loc. cit.*, pp. 33-4) :

Greek	Aramaic
Ten years having elapsed, King Piodasses showed Piety to men.	Ten years having elapsed (?), it came about that our lord Priyadarśi the king made himself promoter of the Truth.
And since then, he has made men more pious, and everything prospers throughout the earth.	Since then, evil has diminished for all men, and he has caused all misfortunes (?) to disappear, and all over the earth (there is) peace (and) joy.
And the king abstains from living beings, and other men and all the huntsmen and fishermen of the king have ceased to hunt.	And, moreover, (there is) this with regard to food : for our lord the king, only a few (animals) are killed; on seeing this, all men have ceased (to kill animals); even (?) those who take fish (= fishermen), such men are subject to a prohibition.
And those who were not masters of themselves have ceased, as much as it is in their power to do so, not to master themselves.	Similarly, those who were unrestrained, have ceased to be unrestrained.
And they have become obedient to their father and mother and old people, which is the reverse of what was the case before.	And (there is) obedience to one's father and mother and to old people in conformity with the obligations imposed on every one by destiny.
And henceforth, by acting in that way, they will live in the best and most profitable way in everything.	And there is no judgement for all pious men. That (= the practice of the Law) has been profitable for all men and will continue to be profitable.

798 For the last two lines of the Greek text, we retain the translation proposed above, p. 717. By observing the prescriptions of Aśoka, men will ensure for themselves a better life (destiny) in this world and in the next.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAI : — B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 2d ed., Harmondsworth, 1956.
AB : — Ars Buddhica.
ABAW : — Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Klasse.
ABORI : — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.
Act. Or. : — Acta Orientalia Hungarica, Budapest.
AI : — Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Calcutta.
AIBCR : — Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Reviews.
AIBM : — Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Mémoires.
AJA : — American Journal of Archaeology.
Allan, CCAI : — Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, London, 1936.
Amarāvatī : — C. Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum), Madras, 1942.
Anal. Boll. : — Analecta Bollandiana. Brussels.
An. Bibl. Ind. Arch. : — Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology. Kern Institute. Leiden.
Arrian, *Anab.* : — Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, ed. A.G. Roos, Leipzig (Teubner), 1907-1928.
Arrian, *Ind.* : — Arrien, *L'Inde*, éd. P. Chantraine, Paris (Les Belles Lettres). 1927.
AR ArchSurv. : — Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Art. As. : — Artibus Asiae. Ascona.
ASAWL : — Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.
ASI : — G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, 2 vol., Paris, 1914.
BAFAO : — Bulletin de l'Association française des Amis de l'Orient.
Bareau : — A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon, 1955.
Barua : — B. Barua et K.G. Sinha, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926.
Beal, *Romantic Legend* : — S. Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, London, 1875.
BEFEO : — Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.
Bhārhut : — A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879.
Bloch : — J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1950.
BMFA : — Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts. Boston.
BMMA : — Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.
Bodh-Gayā : A. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bodh-Gayā* (Ars Asiatica, N°XVIII), Paris, 1935.
BSOAS : — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
Buddhistic Studies : — *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. by B.C. Law, Calcutta, 1931.
Bu-ston : — Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, transl. by E. Obermiller, 2 vol. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, N°18, 19), Heidelberg, 1931-1932.
Chavannes, *Contes* : — É. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, 4 vol., Paris, 1910-1934.

CHI : — *Cambridge History of India*, ed. by E. RAPSON, I, Cambridge, 1922.
CORDIER : — P. CORDIER, *Catalogue du Fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IIIᵉ partie, Paris, 1915.
CSHI : — *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, ed. by H.H. DODWELL, 1934, The pre-Muslim period by J. ALLAN.
DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes* : P. DEMIÉVILLE, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques d'après Paramārtha*, MCB, I, 1931-32, p. 15-64.
Dpv. : — Dīpavaṃsa, ed. and transl. by H. OLDENBERG, London, 1879.
EC : — Epigraphia Carnatica. Bangalore.
EI : Epigraphia Indica. Calcutta.
ERE : — Encycylopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by J. HASTINGS, 12 vol., Edinburgh, 1908-1921.
Études Asiatiques : — Études Asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2 vol., Paris, 1925.
EW : — East and West. Quartely Review published by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Roma.
EZ : — Epigraphia Zeylanica. Oxford.
FGrH : — F. JACOBY, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin, 1923 et suiv.
FHRI : — Fontes Historiae Religionum Indicarum, coll. B. BRELOER et F. BOEMER, Bonnae, 1939
FLEET : — J.F. FLEET, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III), Calcutta, 1888.
FTBN : — *Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.
GGA : — Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GIIK : — A.K. COOMARASWAMY, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1927.
Gilgit Man. : — Gilgit Manuscripts ed. by N. DUTT and others, 3 vol., Srinagar, 1939-1950.
HCIP : — *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed. by R.C. MAJUMDAR : I. *The Vedic Age*, 2d ed., London, 1952; II. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 2d ed., Bombay, 1953; III. *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954.
Herodotus : — Hérodote, *Histoires*, ed. and transl. by Ph.-E. LEGRAND, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1932 ff.
HIEA : — J. FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2 vol., London, 1910.
HJAS : — Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
HLS : — L. RENOU, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Paris, 1956.
Hôbôgirin : — Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises (Chief editor : P. DEMIÉVILLE), Paris, 1929.
IABH : — P. BROWN, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), 3rd ed., Bombay, 1956.
IC : — Indian Culture. Calcutta.
IHQ : — Indian Historical Quarterly. Calcutta.
Ind. Ant. : — Indian Antiquary. Calcutta.
Inde Classique : — L. RENOU, J. FILLIOZAT and others, *L'Inde Classique*, 2 vol., Paris, 1947-1953.
ISS : — Indian and Iranian Studies presented to G.A. GRIERSON (= BSOS, VIII, 2-3).

JA : — Journal Asiatique. Paris.
JAOS : — Journal of the American Oriental Society. Baltimore.
JASB : — Journal of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBAS : — Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.
JBBRAS : — Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBHU : — Journal of the Benares Hindu University.
JBRS (formerly JBORS) : — Journal of the Bihar Research Society. Patna.
JCBRAS : — Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JDLC : — Journal of the Department of Letters. Calcutta University.
JIH : — Journal of Indian History. Trivandrum.
JISOA : — Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JORM : — Journal of Oriental Research. Madras.
JPTS : — Journal of the Pāli Text Society. London.
JRAS : — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.
Justin : — Justin, *Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée*, ed. and transl. by É. CHAMBRY, Paris, s.d.
KERN, *Manual* : — H. KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Grundriss d. IA Phil.), Strassburg, 1896.
KONOW :— S. KONOW, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I), Calcutta, 1929.
Kośa : — Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, transl. and ann. by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, 6 vol., Paris, 1923-1931.
LALOU : — M. LALOU, *Répertoire du Tanjur*, Paris, 1933.
LIN, AM : — LIN LI-KOUANG, *L'Aide-Mémoire de la Vraie Loi*, Paris, 1949.
LUDERS : — H. LUDERS, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400* (Epigraphia Indica, X).
MAJUMDAR : — N.G. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions*, in J. MARSHALL and A. FOUCHER, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Calcutta, 1940, vol. I, p. 263 ff.
MASUDA : — J. MASUDA, *Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools*, Asia Major II, 1925, p. 1-78.
Mathurā : — J.Ph. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā* (Ars Asiatica, N° XV), Paris, 1930.
Mbv : — Mahābodhivaṃsa ed. by S.A. STRONG, London, 1891.
MCB : — Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Bruxelles.
Mél. Linossier : — *Études d'Orientalisme publiées à la mémoire de* R. LINOSSIER, 2 vol., Paris, 1932.
Mhb : — Mahābhārata (Bombay ed.).
Mhv : — Mahāvaṃsa, ed. by W. GEIGER, London, 1908.
MIRASHI : — V.V. MIRASHI, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. IV), Ootacamund, 1955.
Mmk : Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ch. of the Rājavyākaraṇa, ed. by R. SANKRTYAYANA, in P. JAYASWAL, *An Imperial History of India*, Lahore, 1934.
MPS : Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Text in Sanskrit..., herausg. von E. WALDSCHMIDT, Berlin, 1950.
MṬ : — Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā ed. by G.P. MALALASEKERA, London, 1935-36.
MÜLLER, FHG : C. and Th. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris, 1841-1870.
Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : — A.H. LONGHURST, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, N° 54), Delhi, 1938.

NAWG : — Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.
NGGW : — Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NIA : — New Indian Antiquary.
NKGWG : — Nachrichten der K. Gesselschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
OAZ : — Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
OC : — Transactions (Verhandlungen, Actes) of International Congresses of Orientalists.
OLZ : — Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
P. : — *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kāli Age*, ed. by F.E. PARGITER, Oxford, 1913.
PBA : — Proceedings of the British Academy.
Periplus : — Périple de la Mer Érythrée, ed. by J. FRISK, Göteborg, 1927.
PG : — MIGNE, Patrologie grecque.
PHAI : — H. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th. ed., Calcutta, 1950.
PL : — MIGNE, Patrologie latine.
Pliny : — Pliny the Elder, *Histoire naturelle*, ed. C. MAYHOFF, Leipzig (Teubner), 1892-1909.
Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* : — Plutarque, *Vie d'Alexandre*, ed. LINDSKOG-ZIEGLER, Leipzig (Teubner), 1914 sq.
PO : — The Poona Orientalist.
Polybius : — Polybius, *Histories*, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Leipzig (Teubner), 1882-1904.
Ptolemy : — *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde*, ed. L. RENOU, Paris, 1925.
PTS : — Pāli Text Society.
Quintus-Curtius : — Quinte-Curce, *Histoire*, 2 vol., ed. and transl. by H. BARDON, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1947-1948.
RAA : — Revue des Arts Asiatiques. Paris.
Rājat : — Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, tr. by A.M. STEIN, 2 vol., Westminster, 1900.
RAYCHAUDHURI : — H. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th. ed., Calcutta, 1950.
RH : — Revue historique.
RHR : — Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RO : — Rocznik Orjentalistyczny. Kraków-Lwów.
ROCKHILL, *Life* : — W.W. ROCKHILL, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1884.
RUB : — Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles.
Sāñcī : — J. MARSHALL and A. FOUCHER, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, 3 vol., Delhi, 1940.
SBAW : — Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
SBE : — Sacred Books of the East, 50 vol., ed. by F. Max MÜLLER, Oxford, 1879-1900.
Siddhi : — Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. La Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang, transl. and ann. by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, 2 vol., Paris, 1928.
Sp : — Samantapāsādikā, ed. by J. TAKAKUSU and M. NAGAI, 7 vol., London, 1924-47.
Strabo : — Strabo, *Geography*, ed. A. MEINEKE, Leipzig (Teubner), 1852.
T : — Taishô Issaikyô, ed. J. TAKAKUSU and K. WATANABE, 55 vol., Tôkyô, 1924-1929.

Tacitus : — Tacite, *Annales*, ed. and transl. by H. GOELZER, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1921 ff.
Tāranātha : — Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus, transl. by A. SCHIEFNER, St. Petersburg, 1869.
Taxila : — J. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, 3 vol., Cambridge, 1951.
TOCS : — Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society.
TP : — T'oung Pao. Leiden.
VBA : — Visva-Bharati Annals. Santiniketan.
WALLESER, *Sekten* : — M. WALLESER, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927.
Watters : — T. WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vol., London, 1904-1905.
WINTERNITZ, *Literature* : — M. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, II. Buddhist Lit. and Jaina Lit., Calcutta, 1933.
WZKM : — Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienne.
YP : — Yugapurāṇa ed. by D.R. MANKAD, Vallabhvidyanagar, 1951.
ZDMG : — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAWG = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, dritte Folge.

A Ant. Hung. = Acta Antiqua Hungarica, Budapest.

AWLM = Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Mainz.

CRAI = Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres, Paris.

DAWB, 10 = Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung.

I I J = Indo-Iranian Journal, 's Gravenhage.

Indianisme et Bouddhisme = *Indianisme et Bouddhisme. Mélanges offerts à Mgr. E. Lamotte*, PIOL, 23, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980.

Indological and Buddhist Studies = L.A. Hercus, F.B.J. Kuiper, T. Rajapatirana, E.R. Skrzypczak (eds.), *Indological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Faculty of Asian Studies, Canberra, 1982.

IsMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.

JAAR = Journal of the American Academy of Religion.

JAAS = Journal of Asian and African Studies.

JIABS = Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.

JOIB = Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda.

NAWG = Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse.

PIOL = Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve.

Publ. EFEO = Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

SII = Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Reinbeck.

Studies in Pâli and Buddhism = A.K. Narain (ed.), *Studies in Pâli and Buddhism. A Memorial Volume in Honour of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*, Delhi, 1979.

Symp. II = H. Bechert (ed.), *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition* (Symposien für Buddhismusforschung, II), AAWG, n°117, Göttingen, 1980.

WZKSO = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ost-asiens, Wien.

FOREWORD

The following bibliographical notes do not claim to be exhaustive, neither always up to date. Nevertheless, we hope they will supply the students of Buddhism with some new information.

The notes are indicated by one or several asterisks inserted into E. Lamotte's text, and are quoted according to the paging of the French edition, followed, in brackets, by the reference to the pagination of the English translation.

E. Lamotte died on May 5, 1983. A detailed account of his exceptional personality, career and work can be found in H. DURT, *E. Lamotte (1903-1983)*, BEFEO, 74 (1985), p. 1-28.

p. V * [= V] This situation has completely changed, and the works devoted to the history of Buddhism are numerous. Among them, the following studies should be mentioned: BAREAU, A., *Le Bouddhisme indien*, in: *Les Religions de l'Inde*, vol. III, Paris (Payot), 1966, p. 9-243; CONZE, E., *Buddhist Thought in India*, London, 1962; HIRAKAWA, A., *Indo Bukkyōshi*, vol. I, Tōkyō (Shunjūsha), 1974. ⟨History of Buddhism in India; Early Buddhism, Buddhism of the Sects and Early Mahayana⟩; vol. II, Tōkyō, 1979; KANAKURA, Y., *Hindu-Buddhist Thought in India*, Yokohama (Hokke Journal Inc.), 1980; NAKAMURA, H., *Indian Buddhism. A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, first ed., Osaka-fu, 1980 (Intercultural Research Institute Monograph, 9); 2nd ed., New Delhi, 1987; WARDER, A.K., *Indian Buddhism*, New Delhi, 1970; 2nd rev. ed., 1980.

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p. 10 * [= 9] The most complete study in this field nowadays is: DELOCHE J., *La circulation en Inde avant la révolution des transports*, 2 vols., Paris, 1980 (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 122).

p. 13, n. * [= 13] See now: H. BECHERT, *The Date of the Buddha reconsidered*, in: Indologica Taurinensia, vol. I, Turin, 1982, p. 29-36.

p. 16, n. * [= 15] A. Bareau has devoted years of research to the historical data concerning the life of the Buddha in the legendary traditions and has expounded the results of his investigations in the following studies: *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, vol. I: *De la quête*

de l'éveil à la conversion de Śāriputra et de Maudgalyayana, Paris, 1963 (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 53); vol. II: *Les derniers mois, le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles*, Tome 1, 1970 (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 77(,1); Tome 2, 1971 (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 77(,2); *La jeunesse du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, BEFEO, 61 (1974), p. 199-274; *Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha*, BEFEO, 61 (1974), p. 275-299; *Les récits canoniques des funérailles du Buddha et leurs anomalies: nouvel essai d'interprétation*, BEFEO, 62 (1975), p. 151-185; *Le Buddha et Uruvilvā*, in Indianisme et Bouddhisme, p. 1-18; *Un personnage bien mystérieux: l'épouse du Buddha*, in: Indological and Buddhist Studies, p. 31-59; *En suivant Bouddha*, Paris, 1985; *Le retour du Buddha à Kapilavastu dans les textes canoniques*, in: G. GNOLI & L. LANCIOTTI (eds.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, IsMEO, Rome, 1986. See also SCHUMANN, H.W., *Der historische Buddha*, Düsseldorf, 1982.

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= 73] *de la Marche Héroïque*, p. 231-233, note 266; ID., *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*, Louvain, 1962, p. 158 (the aspiration to become a *puṇyakṣetra* is condemned by the Mahāyāna followers); J. VAN DEN BROECK, *La Saveur de l'Immortel (A-p'i-t'an Kan Lu Wei Lun)*, PIOL, 15, Louvain, 1977, p. 85-89 (different kinds of gifts).

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p. 86 * M. WIJAYARATNA, *Le moine bouddhiste selon les textes du Theravāda*, p. 177 ff.
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p. 89 * This point of view is now disputed. See G. SCHOPEN, *Mahāyāna in Indian*
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p. 169, * n. [= 154] Quoting all editions, translations and catalogues of Central Asian manuscripts published since 1958, is not feasible. For example, we have listed the following general works: BAILEY, H.W., *Khotanese Texts*, vol. IV, Cambridge, 1961; vol. V, *ibid.*, 1963; vol. VI, *ibid.*, 1967; WALDSCHMIDT, E., *Von Ceylon bis Turfan* (AAWG, 8), Göttingen, 1967; ID. (ed.), *Sanskrit Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band 10, I-V, Wiesbaden, 1965-1985 (catalog, facsimile); EMMERICK, R.E., *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, Tokyo (The Reiyukai Library), 1979.

See also BECHERT, H., *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Versammlungen*, I, DAWB, Berlin, 1961; B. PAULY, *Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie, Mission Pelliot*, JA, 249 (1961), p. 333-410; TRIPATHI, C.B. (ed.), *Nidānasaṃyukta*, DAWB, Berlin, 1962; COUVREUR, W., *Nieuwe fragmenten van het Catuṣpariṣat-, Mahāparinirvāṇa-, Mahāsudarśana- en Mahāvadānasūtra (mit deutscher Zusammenfassung)*, in: Orientalia Gandensia, Jaarboek, IV (1967), p. 167-173; ID., *Sanskrit-Tocharese en Sanskrit-Koetsjische trefwoordenlijsten van de Dīrghāgama (Dīghanikāya) (mit deutscher Zusammenfassung)*, in: Orientalia Gandensia, Jaarboek, IV (1967); MC KENZIE, D.N., (ed.), *The Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Action in Sogdian* (SOAS Oriental Series, 22), London, 1970; KLOPPENBORG, R., *The Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, Leiden, 1973; H.

BECHERT, *On a Fragment of Vimānāvadāna, a Canonical Buddhist Sanskrit Work*, in: *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht-Boston, 1974, p. 19 ff.; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *The Rāṣṭrapālasūtra in Sanskrit Remnants from Central Asia*, in: Indianisme et Bouddhisme, p. 359 ff.; ID., *Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relations to the Chinese Āgama*, in Symp. II, 1980, p. 136-174; YUYAMA, A., *Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, I, Tokyo (The Reiyukai Library), 1981; M.I. VOROBYEVA-DESJATOVSKAJA, *Remnants in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī Script from Soviet Central Asia*, in: BONGARD-LEVIN, G.M. (ed.), *Istoria i Kultura Centralnoj Azii*, Moscow, 1983, pp. 69-96; G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN, *Buddhist Texts from Central Asia*, in: *Actes du XXIXe Congrès des Orientalistes, Paris, 1973: Inde Ancienne*, vol. I, Paris, 1976, p. 50 ff.; M.I. VOROBYEVA and G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN, *Indian Texts from Central Asia* (Central Asian Collection of the Manuscript Fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, USSR), in: G. GNOLI & L. LANCIOTTI (eds.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, IsMEO, Serie Orientale Roma, 56, vol. 1, Rome, 1986; G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN and E.N. TYOMKIN, *Fragment of the Śaka Version of the Dharmaśarīrasūtra from N.E. Petrovsky Collection*, I I J, 11 (1968-1969), 3, p. 269-280.

p. 171 * [= 156] BOLLEE, W.B. (ed.), *The Pādas of the Suttanipāta with Parallels from the Āyāraṅga, Sūyagada, Ūttarajjhāyā, Dasavejāliya and Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, SII Monographien, Band 7, Reinbeck, 1981; ID. (ed.), *Reverse Index of the Dhammapada, Suttanipāta, Thera- und Therīgāthā Pādas with Parallels*..., SII Monographien, Band 8, Reinbeck, 1983.

p. 172 * [= 157] BROUGH, J., *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London Oriental Series, 7), London, 1962; BERNARD, F. (ed.), *Udānavarga*, Göttingen, 1965-1968; ID., *Zum Titel des sogenannte «Udānavarga»*, in ZDMG 1969, Suppl. I, Wiesbaden, p. 872-881; L. SCHMITHAUSEN, *Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavarga*, WZKS, 14 (1970), p. 47-124; WILLEMEN, Ch., *Dharmapada. A Concordance to Udānavarga, Dhammapada and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature* (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Bouddhiques, 3), Bruxelles, 1974; ID., *The Chinese Udānavarga*, translated and annotated (MCB, 19), Bruxelles, 1978; SHUKLA, N.S., *The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dharmapada*, Patna, 1979; NAKATANI, H., *Udānavarga. Edition critique du manuscrit sur bois de Subasi*, Paris, 1978; K. MIZUNO, *Dharmapadas of various Buddhist Schools*, in: Studies in Pāli and Buddhism, p. 255-267.

p. 181 * [= 165] New editions and translations: ROSEN, V.A., *Der Vinayavibhaṅga. Zum Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādin*, DAWB, Berlin, 1959; JAYAWICKRAMA, N.A., *Inception to Discipline*, London, 1962 (partial translation of the historical introduction to the *Sp.*); BAPAT, P.V. & HIRAKAWA, A., *Shan-Chien-p'i-p'o-sha, a Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā*, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1970; ROTH, G., *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, Patna, 1970; GNOLI, R. (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, being the 17th and last section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, IsMEO, Serie Orientale Roma, 59, 1-2, Rome, 1977-1978; ID. (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu, being*

the 15th and the 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, IsMEO, Serie Orientale Roma, 50, Rome, 1978.

Studies: HIRAKAWA, A., *A Study of the Vinaya Piṭaka*, Tokyo, 1960; A. BAREAU, *La construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les Vinayapiṭaka*, BEFEO, 50 (1962), p. 229-274; MISRA, G.S.P., *The Age of Vinaya*, New Delhi, 1972; Ch.S. PREBISH, *Recent Progress in Vinaya Studies*, in: Studies in Pāli and Buddhism, p. 297 ff. (with an exhaustive bibliography); HOLT, J.C., *Discipline: the canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapiṭaka*, Delhi, 1981.

p. 182 * [= 166] JINANANDA, B. (ed.), *Upasampadājñaptiḥ* (Tibetan Sanskrit Work Series, 6), Patna, 1961; H. SAKURABE, *The Pravrajyā- and Upasampadā-karmavācanā as found in various texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XII (1964), 2, p. 496-504; EMMERICK, R.E., *The Tumshuqese Karmavācanā Text*, Akademie der Wissenschaft und Literatur, Wiesbaden, 1985.

p. 188 * [= 172] The Historical value of this tradition is now admitted. See J.J. NATTIER & Ch.S. PREBISH, *Mahāsāṃghika Origins: the Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism*, History of Religions, 16 (1977), p. 237-272.

p. 191 * [= 174] New translation: STACHE-ROSEN, V., *Upālipariprcchāsūtra: ein Text zur Buddhistischen Ordensdisziplin*, AAWG, 140, Göttingen, 1984.

p. 192 * [= 175] New translation: SHIH, R., *Biographie des Moines Eminents (Kao seng tchouan) de Houei-Kiao, traduites et annotées* (Bibliothèque du Museon, 54), Louvain, 1968.

p. 202 * [= 184] Regarding the date of the *Kathāvatthu*, see S.N. DUBE, *The date of the Kathāvatthu*, East and West, new series, 22 (1972), 1-2, p. 79-86; K.R. NORMAN, *Māgadhisms in the Kathāvatthu*, in: Studies in Pāli and Buddhism, p. 279-287; ID., *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 103-105.

p. 210 * [= 191] D.W. CHAPELL, *Early Forebodings of the Death of Buddhism*, Numen, 27 (1980), 1, p. 122-154.

p. 233 * [= 213] Regarding the Mauryan period, see now BONGARD-LEVIN, G.M., *Indija Epoxi Maur'ev*, published by the Orientalist Institute of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, Editions Nauka, Moscow, 1973; and ID., *Mauryan India*, New Delhi, 1985.

p. 245, * n. [= 223] New studies concerning Aśoka and his reign: R. CHOUDARY, *Some Aspects of Buddhism as gleaned through Aśokan Inscriptions*, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Special Issue Buddha Jayanti, vol. II, Patna, 1959, p. 421-427; THAPAR, R., *Aśoka and the Decline of the Maurya*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961; GOKHALE, B.G., *Aśoka Maurya*, New York, Twayne Publishers, 1966; TSUKAMOTO, K., *Ashoka ō* (King Aśoka), Kyōto, Heirakuji Shoten, 1973; G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN, *Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia*, Soviet Indology Series, 7, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1977, p. 69-78: *Some Basic Problems of the Mauryan Empire*, and p. 109-122: *Megasthenes' Indica and the Inscriptions of Aśoka*; S.J. TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer. A Study of Buddhism*

and Polity in Thailand against a historical Background, Cambridge, 1976, 2nd ed., 1977, p. 54-72 and p. 159-178; A.K. WARDER, *Indian Buddhism*, rev. ed. 1980, p. 243-271; A. BASHAM, *Aśoka and Buddhism: a re-examination*, JIABS, 5 (1982), p. 131-143; G. FUSSMAN, *Quelques problèmes aśokéens*, JA, 262 (1974), p. 369-389; ID., *Pouvoir central et régions dans l'Inde ancienne: le problème de l'empire maurya*, in: Annales (Economie Sociétés Civilisations) 1982, fasc. 4, p. 621-647.

[p. 245, ** n. [=224]] In this field of research, E. Lamotte's account is now outdated, since numerous new epigraphical findings have been published:

— M R E:

1– new version of Ahraurā (Mirzapur District, Uttar Pradesh), probably mentioning a homage to the relics of the Buddha, and discovered in 1961. First published in *Bhāratī* (Research Bulletin of the College of Indology, Varanasi), I, 5 (1961-1962), p. 97-105. Concerning this inscription, see D.C. SIRCAR, *Aśokan Studies*, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979, p. 72-82; regarding its interpretation, see A.K. NARAIN, *«Our Buddha» in an Aśokan Inscription*, JIABS, 1 (1978), 1, p. 57-64; K.R. NORMAN, *Notes on the Ahraurā Version of MRE I*, I I J, 26 (1983), 4, p. 277-292 (with an exhaustive bibliography).

2– new version of Bahāpur (south-east of Delhi), discovered in 1966. See M.C. JOSHI & B.M. PANDE, *A newly discovered Inscription of Aśoka at Bahāpur, Delhi*, JRAS 1967, p. 96-98; K.R. NORMAN, *Notes on the Bahāpur Version of Aśoka's MRE*, JRAS 1971, p. 41-43; D.C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 82-85.

3– new version of Pāngurāriā (Sehore District, Madhya Pradesh), discovered in 1976, and located on a hillside studded with remains of thirty monasteries and of a big stūpa. See D.C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 94-103.

4– new version of Niṭṭūr (Bellary District, Karnataka), discovered in 1977, and mentioning the name (Aśoka) of the king, using the same royal title as in the Gujarrā and Maski inscriptions. See D.C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 123-128.

5– new version of Udegolaṃ (3 miles from Niṭṭūr), discovered in 1978. See D.C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 129-131.

— P E (Pillar Edicts) :

Very recent discovery is to be mentioned, *i.e.*, a fragment of PE IV, engraved on a schist slab, from unknown origin, but probably from the North-West. The most interesting feature is that the text is written in Brāhmī script, which is less used in those regions than Kharoṣṭhī. See M. TADDEI, *Una nuove iscrizione di Aśoka dal Nordovest*, in: *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, edited by G. GNOLI and L. LANCIOTTI, IsMEO, Serie Orientale Roma, 56, part 3 (forthcoming). The contents of this article were kindly communicated to us by the author before its publication.

— Greek and Aramaic-Iranian translations :

1– a Greek translation of Major Rock Edicts XII and XIII has been discovered in 1963 at Kandahār (Afghanistan). See D. SCHLUMBERGER & L. ROBERT, *Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Aśoka*, in: CRAI 1964, p. 126-140; E. BENVENISTE, *Edits d'Aśoka en traduction grecque*, JA, 252 (1964), p. 137-157; D. SCHLUMBERGER & E. BENVENISTE, *A new Greek inscription of Aśoka at Kandahār*, in: EI, 37, p. 193-200; J. HARMATTA, *Zu den griechischen Inschriften des Aśokas*, A. Ant. Hung., 14 (1966), p. 75-85; K.R. NORMAN, *Notes on the Greek Version of Asoka's Twelfth and Thirteenth Rock Edicts*,

JRAS 1972, 2, p. 11-18; A. Christol, *Les édits grecs d'Aśoka: étude linguistique*, JA, 271 (1983), p. 25-42.

2– an Indo-Aramaic bilingual inscription, displaying successively a transcription of some passages of PE VII, using the Aramaic alphabet and followed by the translation into Aramaic. See E. Benveniste & A. Dupont-Sommer, *Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Aśoka provenant de Kandahār*, JA, 254 (1966), p. 437-465.

C. Caillat, *La séquence SHYTY dans les inscriptions indo-araménnes d'Aśoka*, JA, 254 (1966), p. 467-470; S. Shaked, *Notes on the new Aśoka Inscription from Kandahār*, JRAS 1969, p. 118-122.

3– The inscriptions from the Laghmān valley: see A. Dupont-Sommer, *Une nouvelle inscription araméenne d'Aśoka trouvée dans la vallée du Laghmān (Afghanistan)*, CRAI 1970, p. 158-173; H. Humbach, *Die aramäische Aśoka-Inschrift von Laghmān Fluss*, in: Indologen-Tagung 1971, Verhandlungen der Indologischen Arbeitstagung im Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin 7-9 Oktober 1971, herausgegeben von H. Härtel und V. Moeller, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1973; Id., *Eine weitere aramäoiranische Inschrift der Periode des Aśoka aus Afghanistan* (von G. Djelani Davary und H. Humbach), Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz, 1974, 1; G. Ito, *Asokan Inscriptions, Laghman I and II*, in: Studia Iranica, 8 (1979), 2, p. 175-184.

New editions and translations of the Edicts:

Nikam, N.A. and Mc Keon, R. (transl.), *The Edicts of Aśoka*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1959, reprint 1978; Basak, R.G., *Aśokan Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1959; G. Pugliese Carratelli (transl.), *Gli Editti di Aśoka*, Filosofia e Communità Mondiale, Firenze, 1960; Eggermont, Ph. and Hoftyser, J. (eds.), *The moral Edicts of King Aśoka*, Textus Minores, XXIX, Leiden, 1962; Tsukamoto, K., *Ashoka ō hibun* (Aśoka's Inscriptions), Tōkyō, 1976; Schneider, U., *Die Grossen Felsen-Edikte Aśokas, Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Analyse der Texte*, Wiesbaden, 1978; Sircar, D.C., *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Publications Divisions, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, 1967 and 1975; Id., *Aśokan Studies*, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979; Mukherjee, B.N., *Studies in Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, Indian Museum Reprint Series, 1, Calcutta, 1984.

p. 245, * n. [=224]** Studies of Aśokan Indian inscriptions, see L. Alsdorf, *Zu den Aśoka-Inschriften*, in Indologen-Tagung 1959, Göttingen, 1960, p. 58 ff.; Id., *Contributions to the Study of Aśoka Inscriptions*, in: S.K. De Felicitation Volume, Poona, 1960, p. 249 ff.; Id., *Aśokas Separatedikte von Dhauli und Jaugada*, AWLM, 1962, 1, Wiesbaden, 1962; Id., *Der Schluss von Aśokas dreizehntem Felsedikt*, in: *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de L. Renou*, Paris, 1968, p. 23 ff.; A.J. Festugiere, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka et l'idéal du roi hellénistique*, in: *Études de religion grecque hellénistique*, Paris, 1972, p. 210-225; G. Fussman, *Quelques problèmes aśokéens*, JA, 262 (1974), p. 379-397; K.L. Janert, *Studien zu den Aśoka Inschriften, I/II*, NAWG, Göttingen, 1959; Id., *About the Scribes and their Achievement in Aśoka's India*, in: *German Scholars on India*, vol. I, Varanasi, 1973, p. 141-145; R. Lingat, *Encore «ayāya saṃbodhiṃ»*, JA, 255 (1967), p. 195-198.

A. METTE, *Zum Stil der Aśoka Inschriften*, in: *Festgābe für K. Hoffmann*, I, München, 1985, p. 145-159; K.R. NORMAN, *Notes on the Aśokan Rock Edicts*, I I J, 10 (1967), p. 160-170; ID., *Notes on Aśoka Fifth Pillar Edict*, JRAS 1967, p. 26-32; ID., *Lexical Variations in the Aśokan Rock Edicts*, in: Transactions of the Philological Society 1970, p. 121 ff.; ID., *Aśoka and Capital Punishment: Notes on a Portion of Aśoka's Fourth Pillar Edict*, JRAS 1975, p. 16-24; ID., *Aśokan Silā-thaṃba-s and Dhaṃma-thaṃba-s*, in: *Ācāraya-Vandanā, Dr Bhandarkar Centenary Volume*, Calcutta, 1982, p. 314 ff.; F.R. ALLCHIN & K.R. NORMAN, *Guide to the Aśokan Inscriptions*, in South Asian Studies, I (1985), pp. 43-50; S. SANI, *Interpretazione e ricostruzione del testo nelle iscrizioni di Aśoka*, in: *Problemi di lingua e di cultura nel campo indoeuropeo*, Pisa, 1983, p. 193-204; U. SCHNEIDER, *Zum Stammbaum der grossen Felsinschriften Aśokas*, in: Indologen-Tagung 1971, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 224 ff.; ID., *On the Seventh Rock-edict of Aśoka*, JOIB, 25 (1976), p. 236-240; K.R. NORMAN, *The Inscribing of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts*, in: POLLET, G. (ed.), *India and the Ancient World, History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650*. Professor P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 25), Leuven, 1987, pp. 131-139.

p. 258, * n. [=236] See T. TSUKAMOTO, *A study of the seven Dharmaparyāya mentioned in the Aśoka Edict and his Policy of Dharma*, in: Bukkyô kenkyû, I, 1970, p. 29-47; U. SCHNEIDER, *The Calcutta-Bairāṭ Edict of Aśoka*, in: Indological and Buddhist Studies, p. 491-498.

p. 260 * [=238] See L. ALSDORF, *Aśokas Schismen-Edikt und das dritte Konzil*, I I J, 3 (1959), p. 161 ff.; H. BECHERT, *The Importance of Aśoka's so-called Schism-Edict*, in: Indological and Buddhist Studies, p. 61 ff.; N.A. JAYAWIKRAMA, *A Reference to the Third Council in Aśoka's Edicts?*, in: University of Ceylon Review, 17 (1959), p. 61-72.

p. 261, * n. [=239] New translation: STRONG, J., *The Legend of King Aśoka. A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983. Important review by J.W. de Jong, in: I I J, 29 (1986), 1, p. 70-74; YAMAZAKI, G., *The Legend of Aśoka. A critical Study*, Tokyo, 1979 (in Japanese).

p. 266 * [=243] See A. WAYMAN, *Aśoka und Upagupta Mogaliputtatissa*, in: *K.P. Jayaswal Commemoration Volume*, Patna, 1981, p. 300-307; STRONG, J., *The Buddhist Avadānist and the Elder Upagupta*, MCB, 22 (forthcoming).

** [=244] See J. STRONG, *The Legend of the Lion-Roarer: a study of the Buddhist Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja*, Numen, 26 (1979), p. 50-88.

p. 267 * [=244] Some of these identifications are now disputed. See D. SCHLINGLOFF, *Aśoka or Māra? On the Interpretations of some Sāñchī Reliefs*, in: Indological and Buddhist Studies, p. 441-456.

p. 269 * [=246] Concerning this episode, see G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN, *The Kuṇāla Legend*, in: *Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia*, p. 161-170; Ph. EGGERMONT, *The Emperor Aśoka and the Tiṣyarakṣitā Legend*, in: Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica, 11 (1980), p. 165-178.

p. 271 * [= 248] See G.M. Bongard-Levin, *The Historicity of the Ancient Indian Avadāna-s*, in: *Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia*, p. 123-139.

p. 272 * [= 249] The Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā* has been studied and translated by Durt, H., *La version chinoise de l'introduction historique de la Samantapāsādikā*, 3 vols., Ph.D. Dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1970; Bapat, P.V. and Hirakawa, A., *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha: A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of the Samantapāsādikā* (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, 10), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1970.

p. 277 * [= 253] The existence of an Aśoka's legend in the Burmese *Lokapaññati* has been highlighted by E. Denis, *La Lokapaññati et la légende birmane d'Aśoka*, JA, 264 (1976), p. 97-116; Id., *La Lokapaññati et les idées cosmologiques du Bouddhisme ancien*, 2 vols., Lille, Atelier de reproduction des thèses, chapter XIV, 6, vol. I, p. 141 ff. This legendary version includes features from both the Pāli and Sanskrit traditions, together with original episodes mostly concerning, on the one hand, protective devices built inside the first stūpa containing the Buddha relics, and on the other, the worship festival organized by Aśoka.

p. 285, * n. [= 261] See J. Wolski, *Le problème de la fondation de l'état gréco-bactrien*, in: Iranica Antiqua, 17 (1982), p. 131-146; Altheim, F. and Rehork, J., *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasien*, Darmstadt, 1969.

p. 291 * [= 266] Concerning Ceylon, see Bechert, H., *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1966-1973.

p. 300 * [= 274] C.S. Prasad, *Theravāda and Vibhajjavāda: a critical study of the two appellations*, IsMEO, East & West, new series, 22 (1972), 1-2, p. 101 ff.

** [= 274] The whole problem has now been treated at length, and new solutions have been proposed. See J.J. Nattier and CH.S. Prebish, *Mahāsāṃghika Origins: the Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism*, in: History of Religions, 16 (1977), p. 237-272.

p. 337 * [= 308] Concerning this problem, see A. Dupont-Sommer, *Essènisme et Bouddhisme*, CRAI 1980, p. 698-715; J. Filliozat, *Aśoka et l'expansion bouddhique*, in: *Présence du Bouddhisme*, France Asie, 153-157, Saïgon, 1959, p. 369-373; E. Lamotte, *Aśoka et les missionnaires bouddhiques*, in: Studia Missionalia, 12 (1962), p. 35-48; M. Philonenko, *Un écho de la prédication d'Aśoka dans l'Epître de Jacques*, in: *Studia W. Widengren oblata*, vol. I, Numen suppl. 21-22, Leiden, 1972, p. 254-265; D.A. Scott, *Ashokan Missionary Expansion of Buddhism among the Greeks*, Religion, 15 (1985), p. 131-142.

p. 340 * [= 310] Concerning the stūpa in general, see J. Irwin, *The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis: the Archaeological Evidence*, in *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, 2 vols., edited by M. Taddei, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor, 6, Naples, 1979, vol. II, p. 799-845; Dallapiccola, A.L. (ed.), *The stūpa. Its religious, historical and architectural significance*, in

collaboration with S. ZINGEL-AVE LALLEMANT (Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung, 55), Wiesbaden, 1980; BENISTI, M., *Contribution à l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gaya et de Ratnagiri* (Publications de l'EFEO, 125), Paris, 1981; P. HARVEY, *The Symbolism of the Early Stūpa*, JIABS, 7 (1984), 2, p. 67-93; SNODGRASS, A., *The Symbolism of the Stūpa*, New York, 1985.

[p. 341 * [=311] See P. SUDHI, *An Encyclopaedic Study of Circumambulation*, in: Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, 65 (1984), Poona, 1985, p. 205-226.

[p. 348 * [=317] The subject of the *gandhakuṭī* has been neglected by scholars in the past. See now J. STRONG, *Gandhakuṭī: the Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha*, History of Religions, 16 (1977), p. 390-406.

[p. 352 * [=321] See KUMAR, D., *Archaeology of Vaiśali*, New Delhi, 1986.

[p. 355 * [=324] According to J. Irwin, this pillar remained *in situ*. See J. IRWIN, *The Prayāga Bull-pillar: another Pre-Aśokan Monument*, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, edited by H. HÄRTEL, Berlin, 1981, p. 313-340; ID., *The Ancient Pillar Cult at Prayāga (Allahabad): its Pre-Aśokan Origins*, JRAS 1983, 2, p. 253-280.

[p. 366 * [=334] The excavations conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swāt, have led to the discovery of a very important monastic complex of Mauryan origin, located at Butkara and comprising a sacred precinct, dominated by a great stūpa, and enclosing a great number of minor stūpas, vihāras and columns. See *Reports and Memoirs* of the Centro di Studi e Scavi Archaeologici in Asia, IsMEO, Rome, vols. I-IV, more particularly, vol. III, 1-6: FACCENNA, D., *Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan), 1956-1962*, Rome, 1980-1981; and for a concise account, FACCENNA, D., *A Guide to the Excavations in Swāt (Pakistan) 1956-1962*, Department of Archaeology of Pakistan and IsMEO, Rome, 1964, p. 27-52; p. 56-62.

[p. 391 * [=356] The fire altar built on this occasion has been discovered. See J.M. VERPOORTEN, *Archéologie et philologie védique. L'agnicayana dans les textes et sur le terrain*, in *Archéologie et philologie dans l'étude des civilisations orientales*, edited by A. THEODORIDES, Louvain, 1986, p. 166 ff.

[p. 405 * [=369] Regarding the writing of sūtras, see K. MIZUNO, *Buddhist Sūtras. Origin, Development, Transmission*, Tokyo, 1982, p. 160 ff.

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p. 424, * n. [= 386] See A. BAREAU, *Bouddhisme antique et martyre*, in: *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à H.-Ch. Puech*, Paris, 1974, p. 7-15; K.L. HAZRA, *King Pusyamitra and Buddhism*, The Mahabodhi, 82 (1974), 8, Calcutta.

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p. 443 * [= 404] General works on Buddhist iconography: see BHATTACHARYA, B., *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1958; KIRFEL, W., *Symbolik des Buddhismus*, Stuttgart, 1959.

p. 452 * [= 423] See V. DEHEJIA, *Early Buddhist Rock-Temples, a Chronological Study*, London, 1972, p. 35-36 and p. 186-1898 (dates of the inscriptions of Bhārhut and Sāñcī: from about 120 to 80 B.C.); SHIZUTANI, M., *Indo Bukkyō himei mokuroku* (Catalogue of Indian Buddhist Inscriptions), Kyôto, 1979. Valuable information can also be gleaned from G. SCHOPEN, *Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions*, I I J, 21 (1979), 1, p. 1-19.

p. 465 * About the *Milindapañha*, see now T. POBOZNIAK, *Genesis of the Milindapañha*, in: *Sanskrit and World Culture* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 18), Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p. 508 ff.

p. 469 * n. [= 427] See M. BUSSAGLI, *Osservazioni sulla persistenza delle forme ellenistiche nell'arte del Gandhāra*, in: Rivista dell' Istituto Nazionale di Archaeologia e Storia dell' Arte (Rome), 5-6 (1956-1957), p. 149-247; D. SCHLUMBERGER, *Descendants non méditerranéens de l'art grec*, in: Syria, 1960, p. 131-166; p. 253-318; ID., *The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India*, in: Proceedings of the British Academy, 47 (1961), p. 77-95; F. COARELLI, *The painted cups of Begram and the Ambrosian Iliad*, East & West, 13 (1962), p. 317-335; M. TADDEI, *Il mito di Filottele ed un episodio della vita del Buddha*, in: Archaeologica Classica, 15 (1963), p. 198-218; G. GNOLI, *The Tyche and the Dioscuri in Ancient Sculptures from the Valley of Swāt*, East & West, 14 (1964), 1-2, p. 29-37; P. BERNARD, *Aï Khanum on the Oxus: a Hellenistic city in Central Asia*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 53 (1967), p. 71-95; SCHLUMBERGER, D., *L'Orient hellénisé. L'art grec et ses héritiers dans l'Asie non méditerranéenne*, Paris, 1970; B.A. LITVINSKI and I.R. PICHIKIYAN, *The Temple on the Oxus*, JRAS 1981, 2, p. 133-167, especially p. 153 ff.,

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M., *The Gandhāra Style and the Evolution of Buddhist Art*, London, 1968; K.W. Dobbins, *Gandhāra Buddha Images with Inscribed Dates*, East & West, 18 (1968), p. 281-288; J.E. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *Gandhāra and Mathurā: their cultural relationship*, in: P. Pal (ed.), *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leyden, 1972, p. 27-43; Id., *New Evidence with regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image*, in H. Härtel (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, Berlin 1981, pp. 377-400; J.C. Harle, *A Hitherto Unknown Dated Sculpture from Gandhāra: a Preliminary Report*, in: South Asian Archaeology 1973, edited by J.E. Lohuizen-De Leeuw and J.M.M. Ubaghs, Leiden, 1974, p. 128-135; Snellgrove, D.L. (ed.), *The Image of the Buddha*, Warminster, 1978; Bussagli, M., *L'Arte del Gandhāra*, Torino, 1984; Sharma, R.C., *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, Delhi, 1984; A.K. Narain (ed.), *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, New Delhi, 1985 (articles by A.K. Narain, J.C. Huntington & J. Cribb); G. Fussman, *Un Buddha inscrit des débuts de notre ère*, BEFEO, LXXIV (1985), pp. 43-45.

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p. 662 * n. [= 598] Yoshimoto, S., *Abidaruma Shisō* (The thought of Abhidharma), Kyôto, 1982, pp. 9-164 (Development of Sarvāstivāda thought).

p. 666 * n. [= 601] See J. Van den Broeck, *La Saveur de l'Immortel*, p. 16-21.

p. 689 * [= 622] See G. Nagao, *On the Theory of Buddha-body*, Eastern Buddhist, 6 (1973), p. 25-53; L.R. Lancaster, *An early Mahāyāna sermon about the body of the Buddha and the making of images*, Artibus Asiae, 36 (1974), p. 287-291; F.E. Reynolds, *The Several Bodies of the Buddha: Reflections on a Neglected Aspect of Theravāda Tradition*, History of Religions, 16 (1977), p. 374-389; J. Dantinne, *La Splendeur de l'Inébranlable (Akṣobhyavyūha)*, PIOL, 29, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983, p. 175-180: note (ay).

p. 693 * [= 625] See J. Dantinne, *La Splendeur de l'Inébranlable*, p. 40 and note 198 (career of the Bodhisattva); p. 123-130 (energy of the Bodhisattva, irreversibility, the four conducts, the Perfections, the thought of Enlightenment).

p. 695 * [= 628] Regarding the ten stages (*bhūmi*) and the career of the Bodhisattva, see E. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque*, p. 44 ff.; p. 155-158; p. 160-168.

p. 698 * [= 630] See J. Strong, *The Transforming Gift: an Analysis of Devotional Acts of Offering in Buddhist Avadāna Literature*, History of Religions, 18 (1979), p. 221-237.

p. 701 * [= 633] Concerning the worship of images and stūpas, mention must be made of a «pre-stūpa» form of the relics cult. See G. Schopen, *Two Problems*..., p. 18 ff.; for a general survey, see A. Hirakawa, *The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas*, Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyō Bunkō, 22 (1963), p. 57-106; D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 20-52; V. Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*..., p. 71-113; G. Nagao, *The Architectural Tradition in Buddhist Monasticism*, in: *Studies in the History of Buddhism*, ed. by A.K. Narain, Delhi, 1980, p. 194-195; B.G. Gokhale, *Bhakti in Early Buddhism*, JAAS, 15 (1980), 1-2, p. 17-25; J. Dantinne, *La Splendeur de l'Inébranlable*, p. 44-45; p. 227: note (ac).

p. 714 * [= 645] About the expression *devātideva*, see A. Iwamatsu, *On Tianzhong-tian. A Study of its Sanskrit Original and the Origin of devātideva*, in: Tōhō (The East), 1 (1985), p. 201-219.

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687] *Buddha's Virtues*, History of Religions, 17 (1978), p. 156 ff.; G.H. Malandra, *Māra's Army: Text and Image in Early Indian Art*, East & West, n.s., 31 (1981), p. 121-130; P.E. Karetzky, *Māra, Buddhist Deity of Death and Desire*, East & West, n.s., 32 (1982), p. 75-92; R.S. Bucknell and M. Stuart-Fox, *The Twilight Language*, London-New York, 1986, p. 10-11; p. 124-125; p. 184-185.

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INDEX

INDEX OF TECHNICAL TERMS

We have listed every Indian word followed by a French translation in Mgr. LAMOTTE's work. This index is compiled according to the Sanskrit alphabetical order adopted in Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

Each item includes:

The Indian term. We have made no distinction between Pâli, Sanskrit or Prâkrit forms.

Mgr. LAMOTTE's French rendering, quoted according to the pages and lines of the French edition.

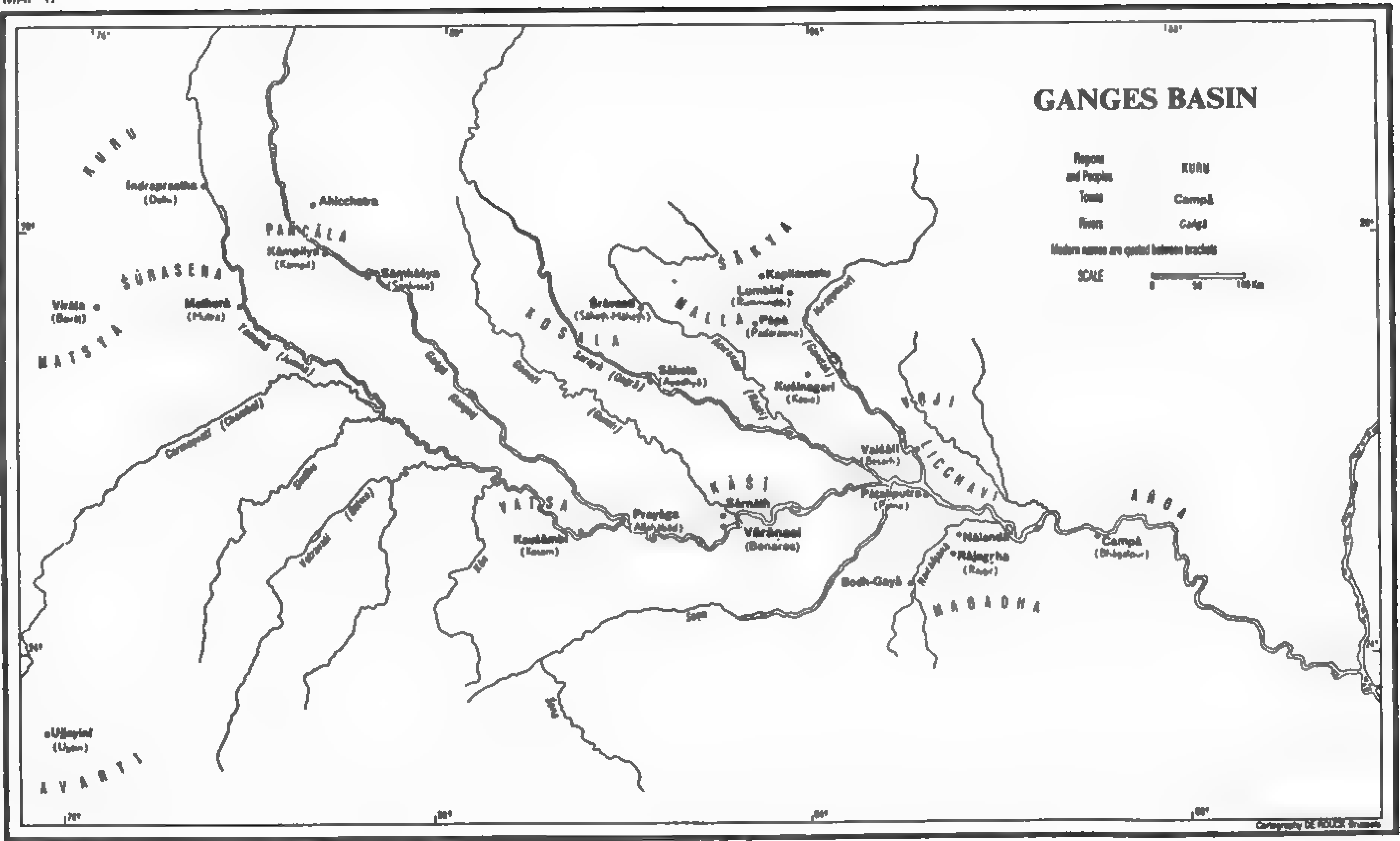
Our English translation, quoted according to the pages of the French edition.

In some cases, an English translation closer to the etymological meaning, or more in accordance with the trends of modern Buddhist terminology appears between brackets.

We would remind the reader that the page numbers of the French edition are noted in the margin of the English text.

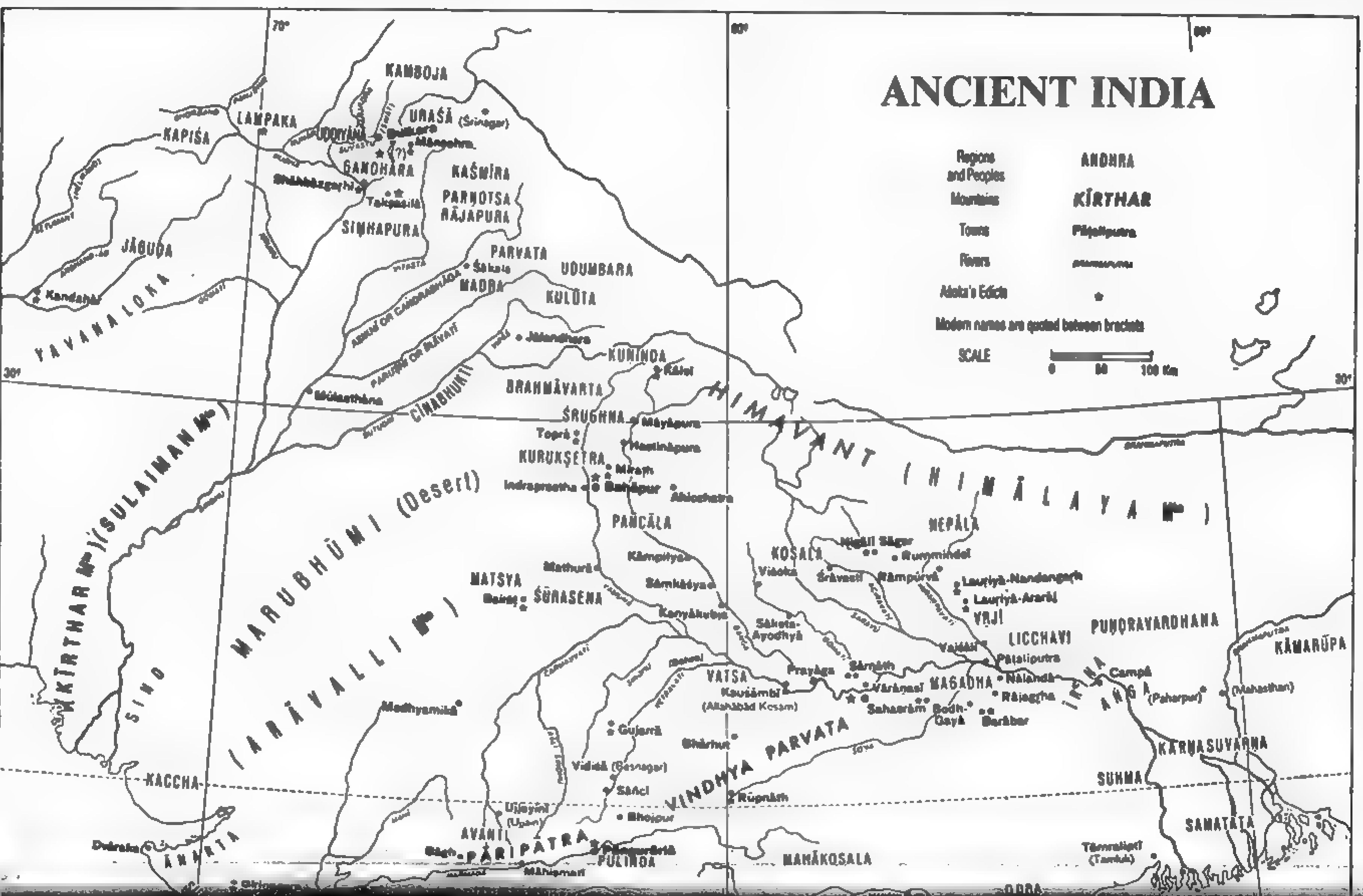


MAP 1.



GANGES BASIN
Regions and Peoples
KURU
Towns
Campā
Rivers
Gaṅgā
Modern names are quoted between brackets
SCALE
KURU
Indraprastha
(Delhi)
Ahicchatra
PAÑCĀLA
Kāmpilya
(Kampil)
Sāṅkāśya
ŚŪRASENA
Mathurā
(Muttra)
Virāṭa
MATSYA
KOSALA
Śrāvastī
Sāketa
(Ayodhyā)
MALLA
ŚĀKYA
Kapilavastu
Lumbinī
Pāvā
Kuśinagarī
VṚJI
LICCHAVI
Vaiśālī
(Besarh)
Pāṭaliputra
(Patna)
KĀŚI
Sārnāth
Vārāṇasī
(Benares)
Prayāga
VATSA
Kauśāmbī
(Kosam)
Nālandā
Rājagṛha
Bodh-Gayā
MAGADHA
AṄGA
Campā
Gaṅgā
Sarayū
Soṇa
Ujjayinī
(Ujjain)
AVANTI
Cartography DE ROUCK Brussels

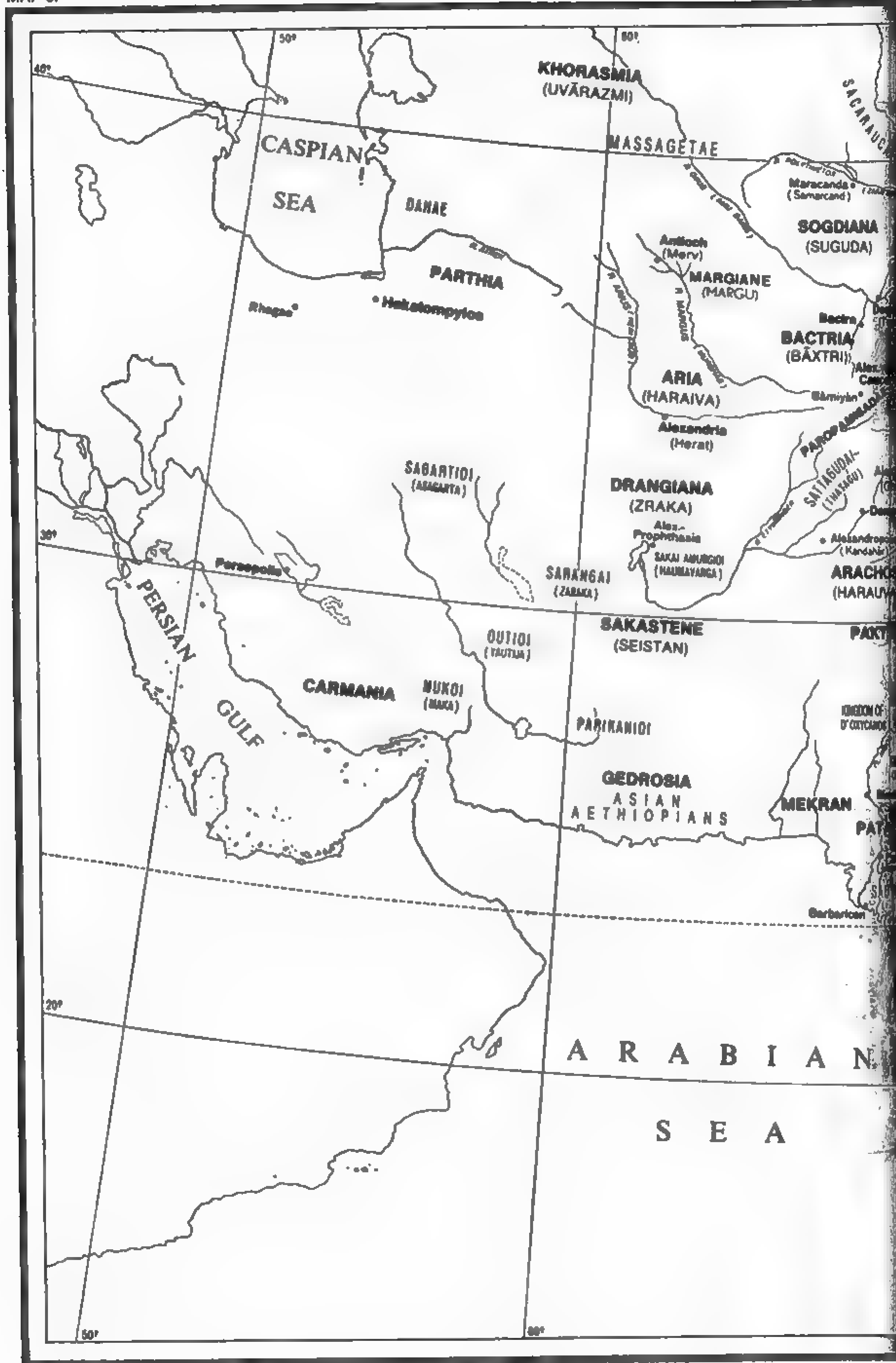
MAP 2.


ANCIENT INDIA
Regions and Peoples
ANDHRA
Mountains
KĪRTHAR
Towns
Pāṭaliputra
Rivers
Aśoka's Edicts
Modern names are quoted between brackets
SCALE
0
50
100 Km
70°
80°
90°
30°
KAMBOJA
LAMPAKA
KAPIŚA
URAŚĀ
(Śrīnagar)
UḌḌIYĀNA
GANDHĀRA
KAŚMĪRA
PARṆOTSA
RĀJAPURA
Takṣaśilā
SIṂHAPURA
JĀGUḌA
Kandahār
YAVANALOKA
PARVATA
Śākala
MADRA
UDUMBARA
KULŪTA
Jālandhara
KUNINDA
Kālsī
BRAHMĀVARTA
Mūlasthāna
CINABHUKTI
ŚRUGHNA
Māyāpura
Toprā
Hastināpura
KURUKṢETRA
Mīraṭh
Indraprastha
Bahāpur
Ahicchatra
PAÑCĀLA
(SULAIMAN Mts)
KĪRTHAR Mts
MARUBHŪMI (Desert)
SIND
(ARĀVALLI Mts)
MATSYA
Bairāṭ
ŚŪRASENA
Mathurā
Kāmpilya
Sāṃkāśya
Kanyākubja
HIMAVANT (HIMĀLAYA Mts)
NEPĀLA
KOSALA
Nigālī Sāgar
Rummindeī
Viśoka
Śrāvastī
Rāmpūrvā
Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh
Lauṛiyā-Arāraj
VṚJI
LICCHAVI
PUṆḌRAVARDHANA
KĀMARŪPA
Sāketa-Ayodhyā
Vaiśālī
Pāṭaliputra
Prayāga
Sārnāth
Vārāṇasī
MAGADHA
Nālandā
Rājagṛha
Campā
AṄGA
(Paharpur)
(Mahasthan)
VATSA
Kauśāmbī
(Allahābād Kosam)
Sahasrām
Bodh-Gayā
Barābar
Madhyamikā
Gujarrā
Bhārhut
VINDHYA PARVATA
KARṆASUVARṆA
KACCHA
Vidiśā (Besnagar)
Sāñcī
Rūpnāth
SUHMA
SAMATAṬA
Ujjayinī
(Ujjain)
Bhojpur
AVANTI
PĀRIPĀTRA
PULINDA
MAHĀKOSALA
Tāmralipti
(Tamluk)
Dvārakā
ĀNARTA
Māhiṣmatī
ODRA



PAŚCIMA
PAYODHI
PŪRVA - SĀGARA
PITENIKA
Kānheri
Kalyāṇa
(Bombay)
Kārli
Bhājā
Bedsā
Nānāghāt
Junnar
Pratiṣṭhāna
(Paithan)
DAKSIṆĀPATHA
RĀṢṬRIKA
SAHYĀDRI PARVATA
KALIṄGA
Jaugada
Puri
Ganjam
Kaliṅgapatam
Sālihuṇḍām
Ramireddipalli
ANDHRA
Guntupalle
Jagayyapeṭa
Alluru
Bezwada
Amarāvatī
Nāgārjunikoṇḍa
Dhānya-
-kaṭaka
Ghaṇṭaśālā
Guḍivāḍa
Masulipatam
Bhaṭṭiprolu
Maski
Rājula-Maṇḍagiri
Yerraguḍi
Gāvimaṭh
Pālkiguṇḍu
Brahmagiri
Siddāpura
Jaṭiṅga-
-Rāmeśvara
Vanavāsa
KANARA
MALAYA PARVATA
COḶA
Kāñcī
DRĀVIḌA
10°
MĀLAKŪṬA
KERALA
PĀṆḌYA
Mahātittha
Mt. Missaka
Uruvelā
Anurādhapura
Pulatthinagara
TĀMRAPARṆĪ LAṄKĀ
or SIṂHALADVĪPA
Mahiyaṅgaṇa
Mt. Sumanakūṭa
ROHAṆA
Mahāgāma
70°
80°
90°
Cartography DE ROUCK Brussels

MAP 3.



50°
60°
40°
30°
20°
KHORASMIA
(UVĀRAZMI)
MASSAGETAE
CASPIAN
SEA
DAHAE
PARTHIA
Rhagae
Hekatompylos
Maracanda
(Samarcand)
SOGDIANA
(SUGUDA)
Antioch
(Merv)
MARGIANE
(MARGU)
Bactra
BACTRIA
(BĀXTRI)
ARIA
(HARAIVA)
Alexandria
(Herat)
Bāmiyān
SAGARTIOI
DRANGIANA
(ZRAKA)
Alex.-
Prophthasia
SARANGAI
Persepolis
PERSIAN
GULF
OUTIOI
SAKASTENE
(SEISTAN)
CARMANIA
MUKOI
PARIKANIOI
GEDROSIA
ASIAN
AETHIOPIANS
MEKRAN
Barbaricon
ARABIAN
SEA

IRAN AND INDIA

Regions MEKRAN

Peoples SATTAGUDAI

Towns Madhyamikā

Foreign names are quoted between brackets

SCALE

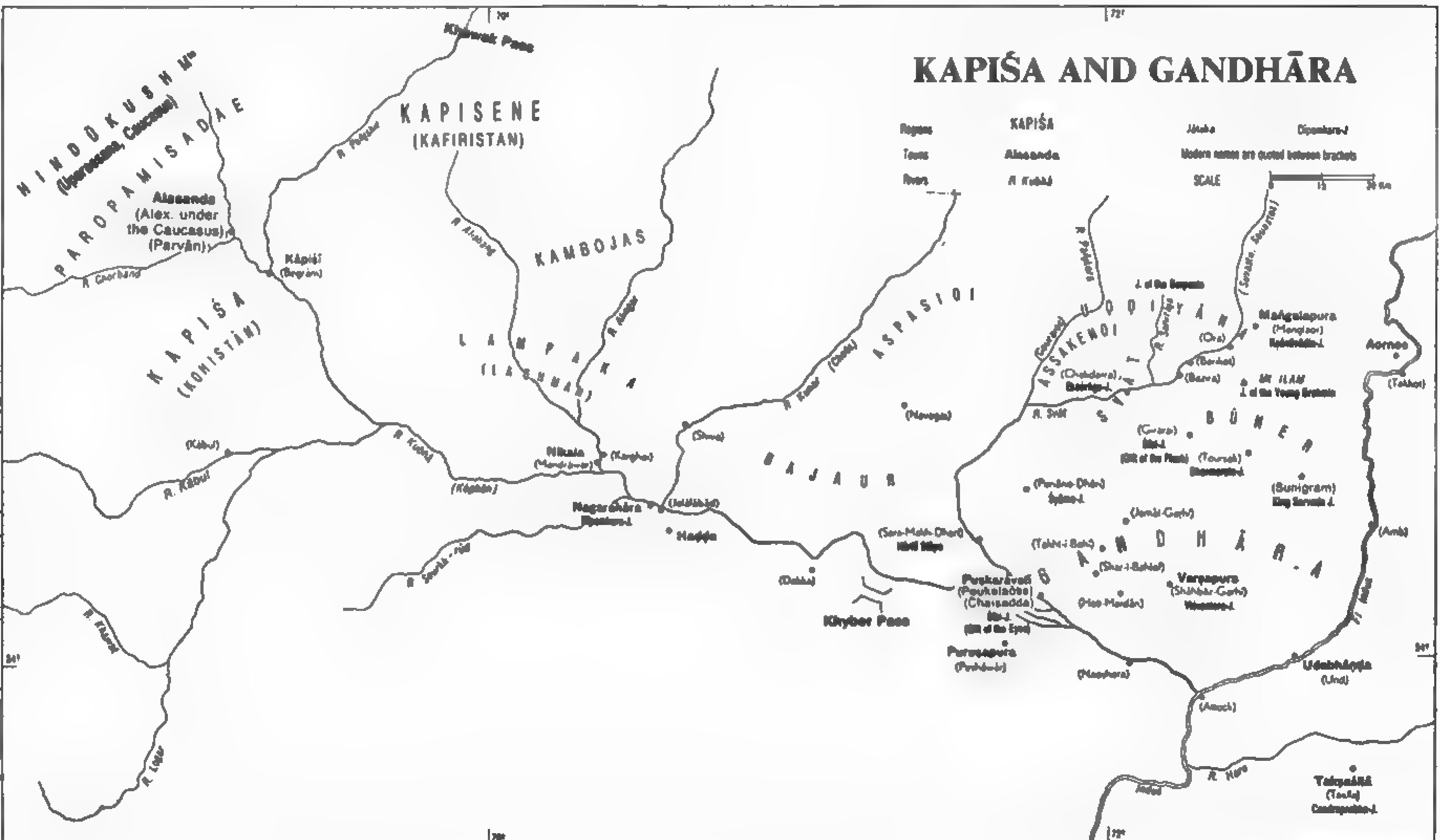


80°
90°
40°
30°
20°

JAXARTES
(Chodjend)
UDDIYĀNA
GANDHĀRA
ASSAKENOI
KINGDOM OF ARSAKES
KINGDOM OF ABHISARES
Puskarāvatī
KINGDOM OF PŌRUS
KINGDOM OF TAXILA
GLAUSAI
Taxila
Bucephala
Sākala
ADRASTAI
Sangala
KATHAIOI
SIBAI-AGALASSEIS
KSUDRAKA-MALLOI
ABASTANOI-XATHROI
OSSADIOI
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
Mathurā
(Methora)
(Modoura)
Sāketa
(Sageda)
Pāṭaliputra
(Palibothra)
R. CHAMBAL
Madhyamikā
Kauśāmbī
Bhārhut
R. SON
Bodh-Gayā
AVANTI
(MALVA)
Vidiśā
(Besnagar)
Sāñcī
Tāmralipti
(Tamalites)
(GUJARAT)
LARIKE
Ujjayinī
(Ozene)
SAURASTRENE
(KATHĀWĀR)
Bharukaccha
(Barygaza)
DOSARENE
Tosali
(Tosale)
Śūrpāraka
(Souppara)
Nāsikā
Pratiṣṭhāna
(Baithana)
BAY OF BENGAL
Kalyāṇa
(Calliena)
Tēr
(Tagara)
Dantapura
(Paloura)
MAISŌLIA
Kaṇṭakaśaila
(Kantakossula)
Vanavāsa
(Banabasi)

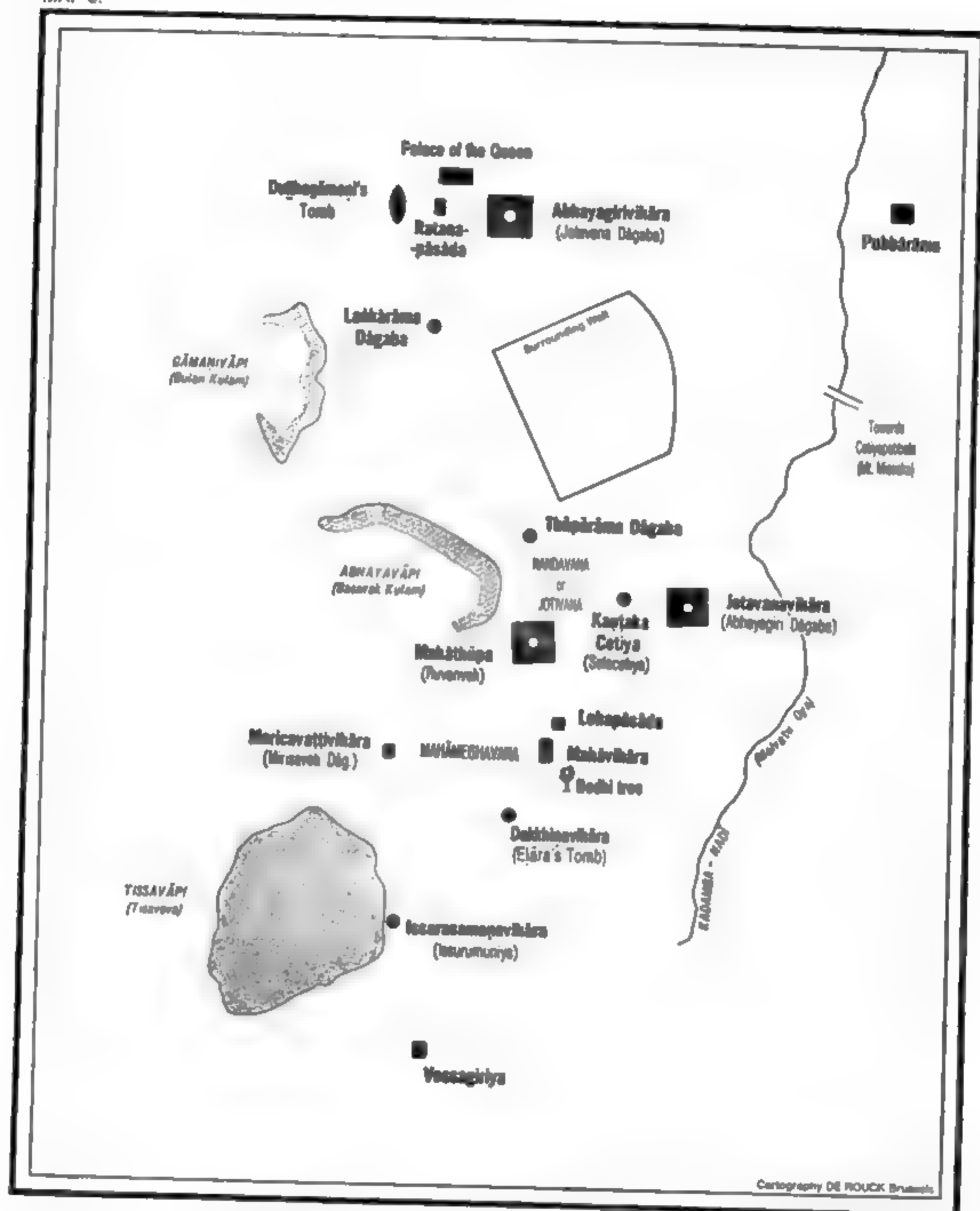
Cartography DE ROUCK BRUSSELS

MAP 4.



KAPIŚA AND GANDHĀRA
Regions
KAPIŚA
Towns
Alasanda
Rivers
R. Kubhā
Modern names are quoted between brackets
SCALE
HINDŪKUSH Mts
PAROPAMISADAE
Alasanda
(Alex. under
the Caucasus)
(Parvān)
R. Ghorband
Kāpiśī
KAPIŚA
(KOHISTĀN)
KAPISENE
(KAFIRISTAN)
Khawak Pass
KAMBOJAS
LAMPAKA
(LAGHMAN)
R. Alishang
(Kābul)
R. Kābul
R. Kubhā
(Kābul)
R. Logar
Nikaia
Nagarahāra
Haḍḍa
(Dakka)
Khyber Pass
BAJAUR
ASPASIOI
(Nawagai)
ASSAKENOI
UḌḌIYĀNA
SVĀT
R. Svāt
R. Panjkora
Maṅgalapura
(Manglaor)
(Barikot)
(Barra)
(Ora)
Mt. ILAM
BŪNER
Aornos
(Takhot)
(Sunigram)
(Amb)
(Tourak)
(Jamāl-Garhi)
(Takht-i-Bahi)
(Shahr-i-Bahlol)
GANDHĀRA
Varṣapura
(Shāhbāz-Garhi)
Puṣkarāvatī
(Peukelaotis)
(Charsadda)
Puruṣapura
(Peshāwar)
(Naushera)
Udabhāṇḍa
(Und)
(Attock)
Indus
R. Haro
Takṣaśilā
(Taxila)
Cartography DE NOUCK BRUSSELS

MAP 5.

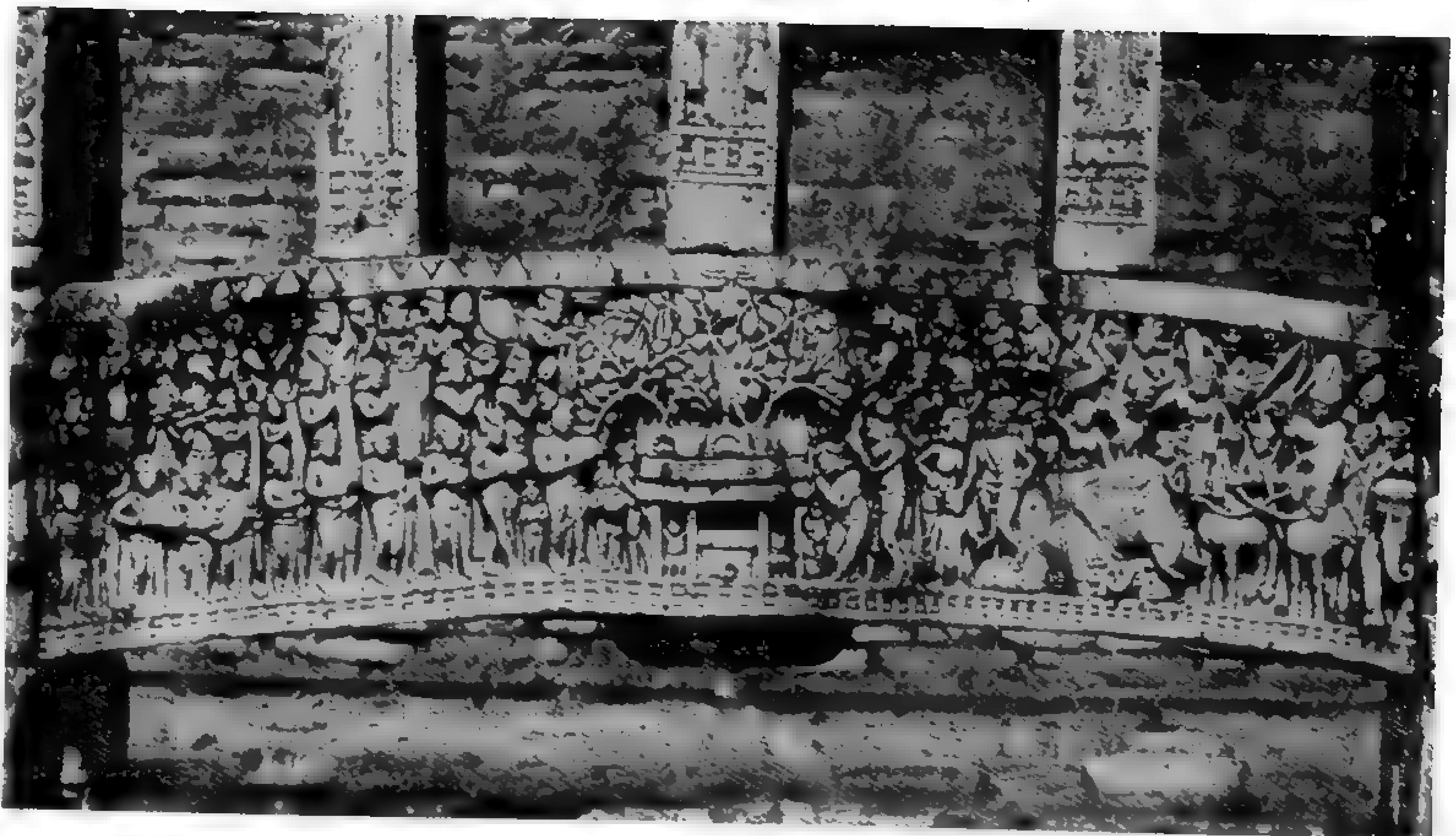


Plan of Anurādhapura (Ceylon)



(Phot. Royal Academy of Arts, Londres.)

I. — Mathurā Buddha. Gupta style.



(Phot. Goloubew.)

II. — Sāñcī. Eastern gateway. Aśoka's pilgrimage to the Bodhi tree.



(Phot. Platé.)

III. — Ceylon. Anurādhapura. Thūpārāma Dāgaba.



(Phot. Platé.)

IV. — Ceylon. Mahintalē. Ambasthala Dāgaba.



(Phot. Auboyer.)

V. — Sārnāth. Deer Park. Damekh Stūpa.



(Phot. Musée Guimet.)

VI. — Sārnāth. Lion Capital.



(Phot. Demoulin.)

VII. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. View from the east.



(Phot. General Direction of Archaeology of India.)

VIII. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. View from the south-east.



(Phot. Platé.)

IX. — Ceylon. Anurādhapura. Mirisaveṭiya Dāgaba.



(Phot. Platé.)

X. — Ceylon. Anurādhapura. Ruvanveli Dāgaba.



(Phot. Archaeological Service of Ceylon.)

XI. — Ceylon. Anurādhapura. Abhayagiri Dāgaba.



(Phot. Musée Guimet.)

XII. — Railing of the Stūpa of Bhārhut.



(Phot. Johnston et Hoffmann.)

XIII. — Bodh-Gayā. Carved railing. Supports 4 to 7.



(Phot. Auboyer.)

XIV. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. Nothern gateway.





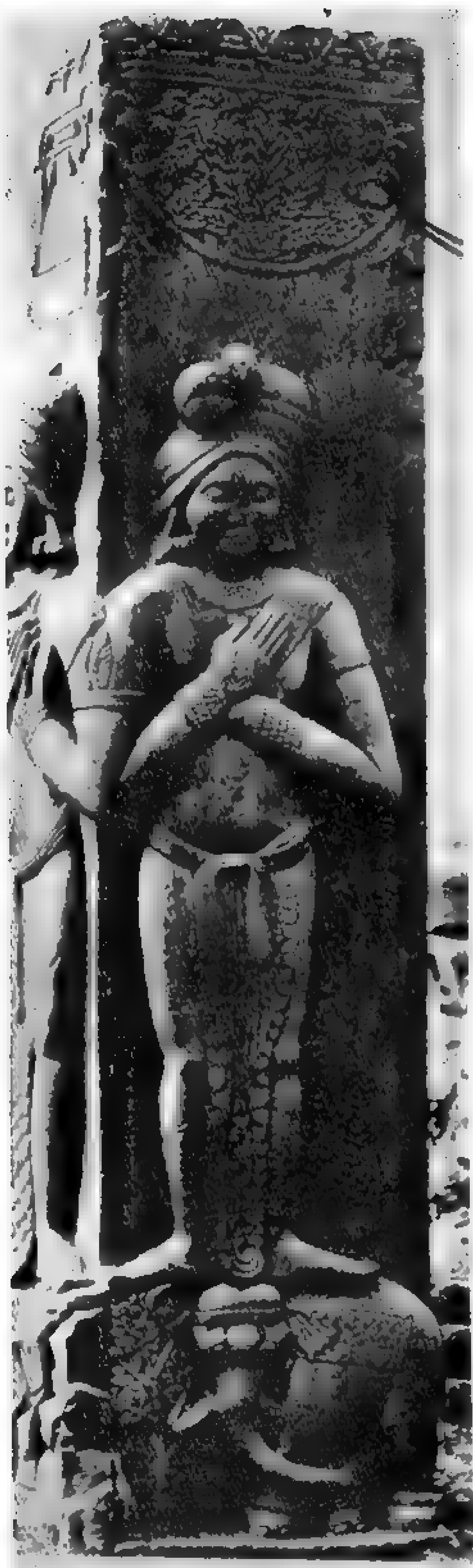
(Phot. Foucher.)

XV. — Amarāvatī. Conception and birth of the Buddha.



(Phot. Musée Guimet.)

XVI. — Amarāvatī. The Great Departure.



(Phot. India Office.)



(Phot. Royal Academy of Arts, Londres.)

XVII. — Bhārhut. Yakṣa.

Bhārhut. Yakṣiṇī.



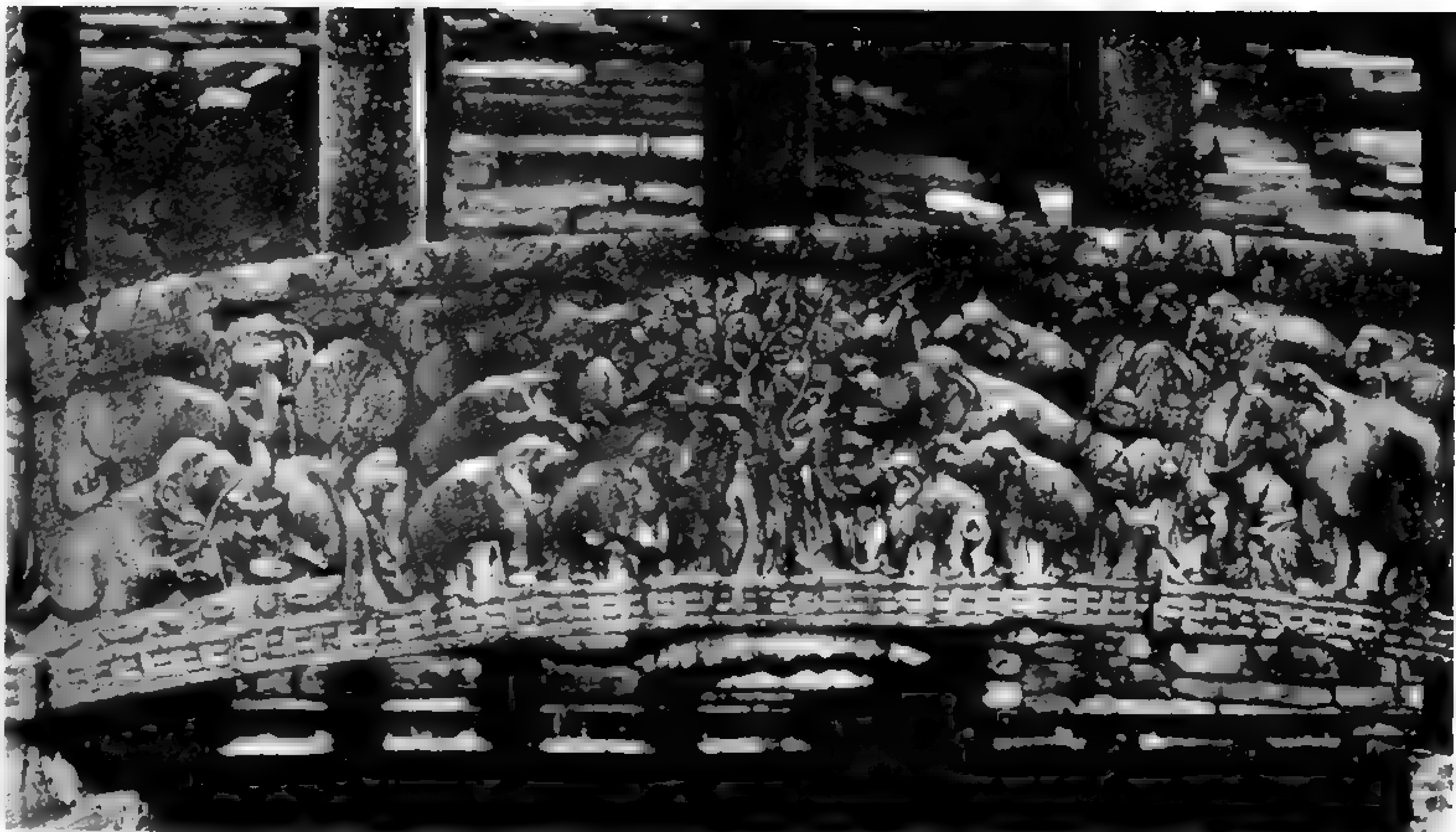
(Phot. Goloubew.)

XVIII. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. Yakṣiṇī on the Eastern gate.



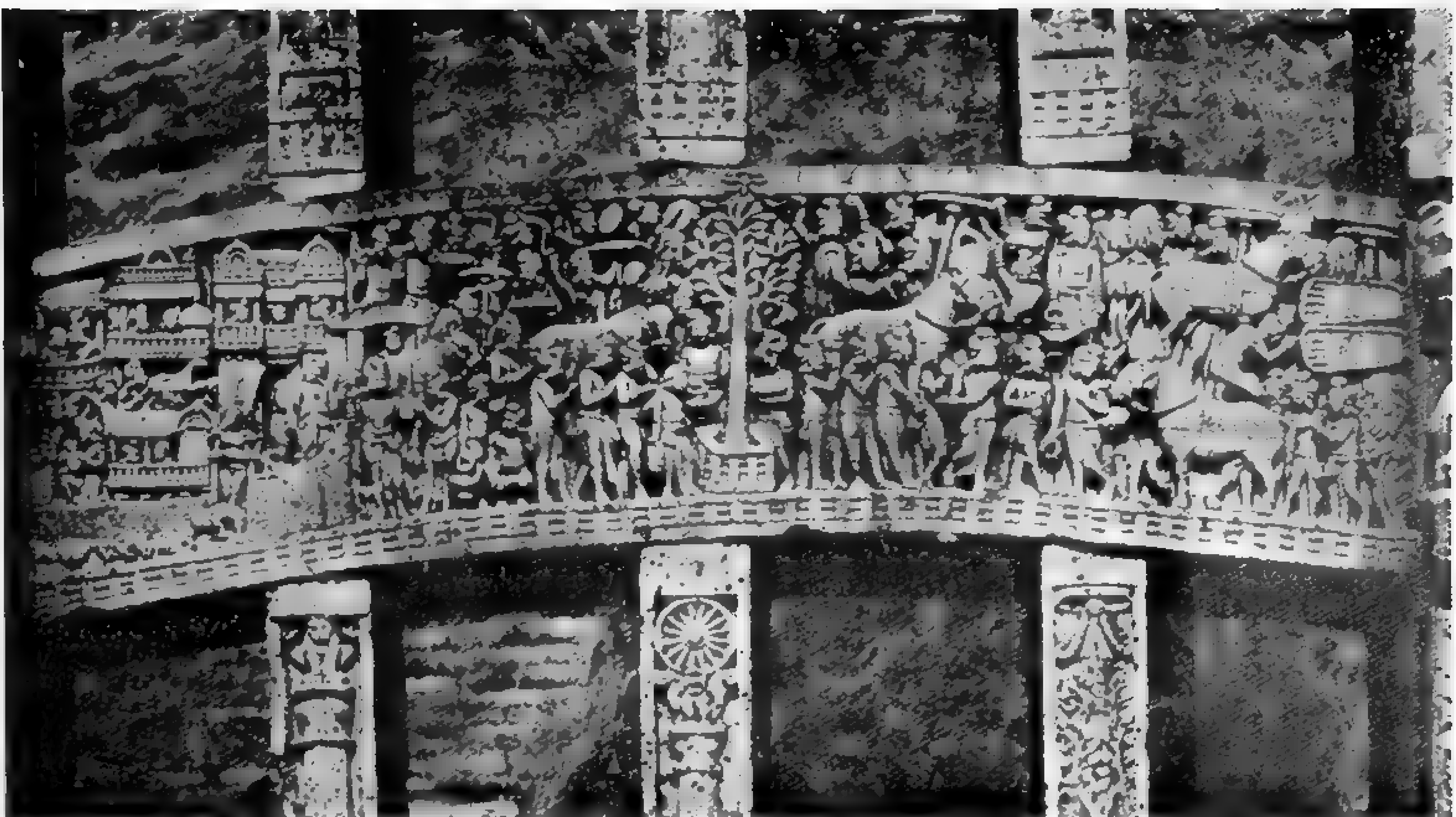
(Indian Museum, Calcutta.)

XIX. — Bhārhut. Rurujātaka.



(Phot. Goloubew.)

XX. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. Saddantajātaka.



(Phot. Goloubew.)

XXI. Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. Eastern gateway. The Great Departure.



(Phot. Goloubew.)

XXII. — Amarāvatī. Śibijātaka.



(Phot. India Office.)

XXIV. — Bhājā. Caitya n. 12.



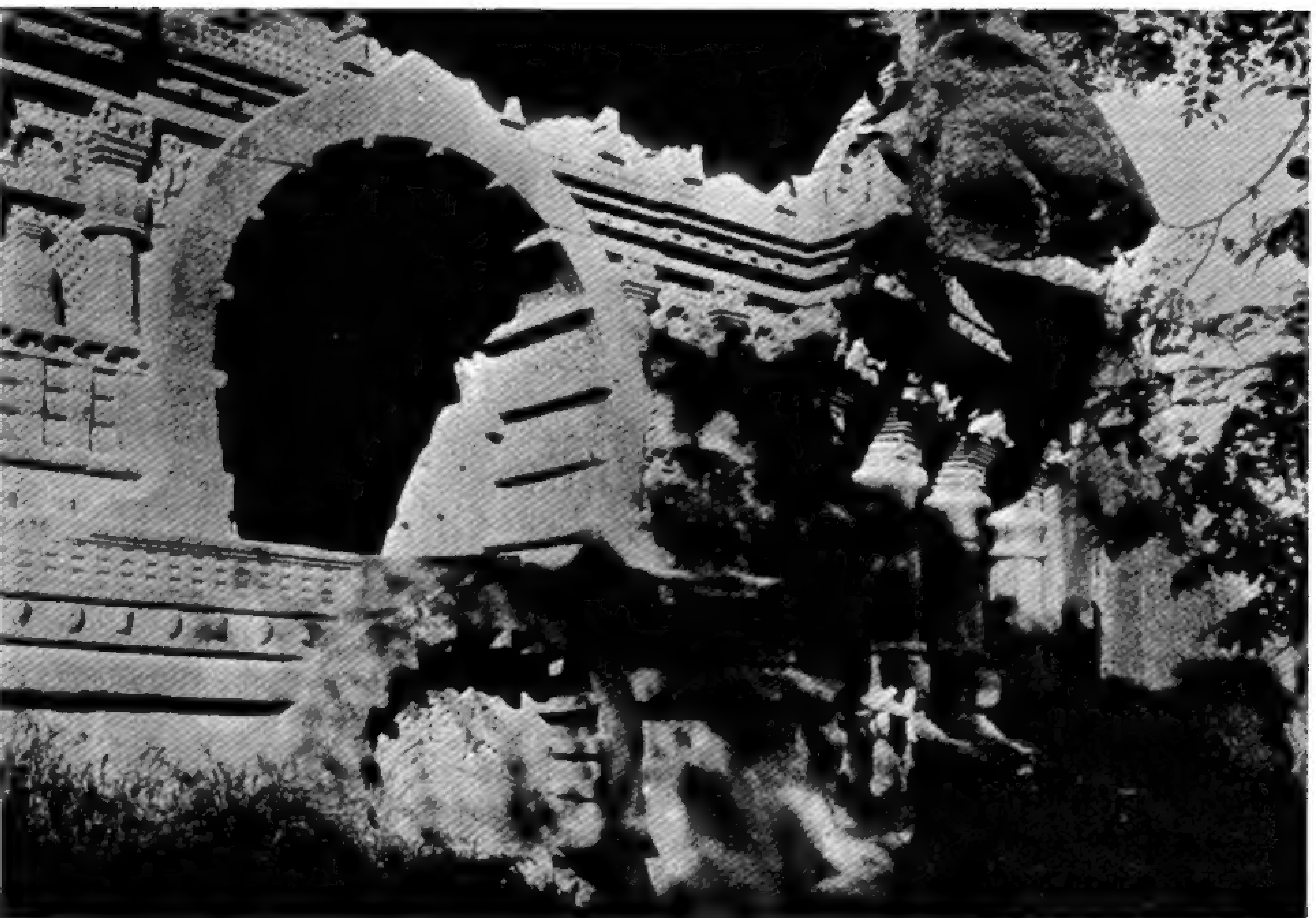
(Phot. Archaeological Survey of Hyderâbâd.)

XXV. — Ajaṇṭā. Interior of vihāra n. 12.



(Phot. India Office.)

XXVI. — Bedsā. Interior of the Caitya.



(Phot. Foucher.)

XXVII. — Nāsik. Front of Caitya n. 18.



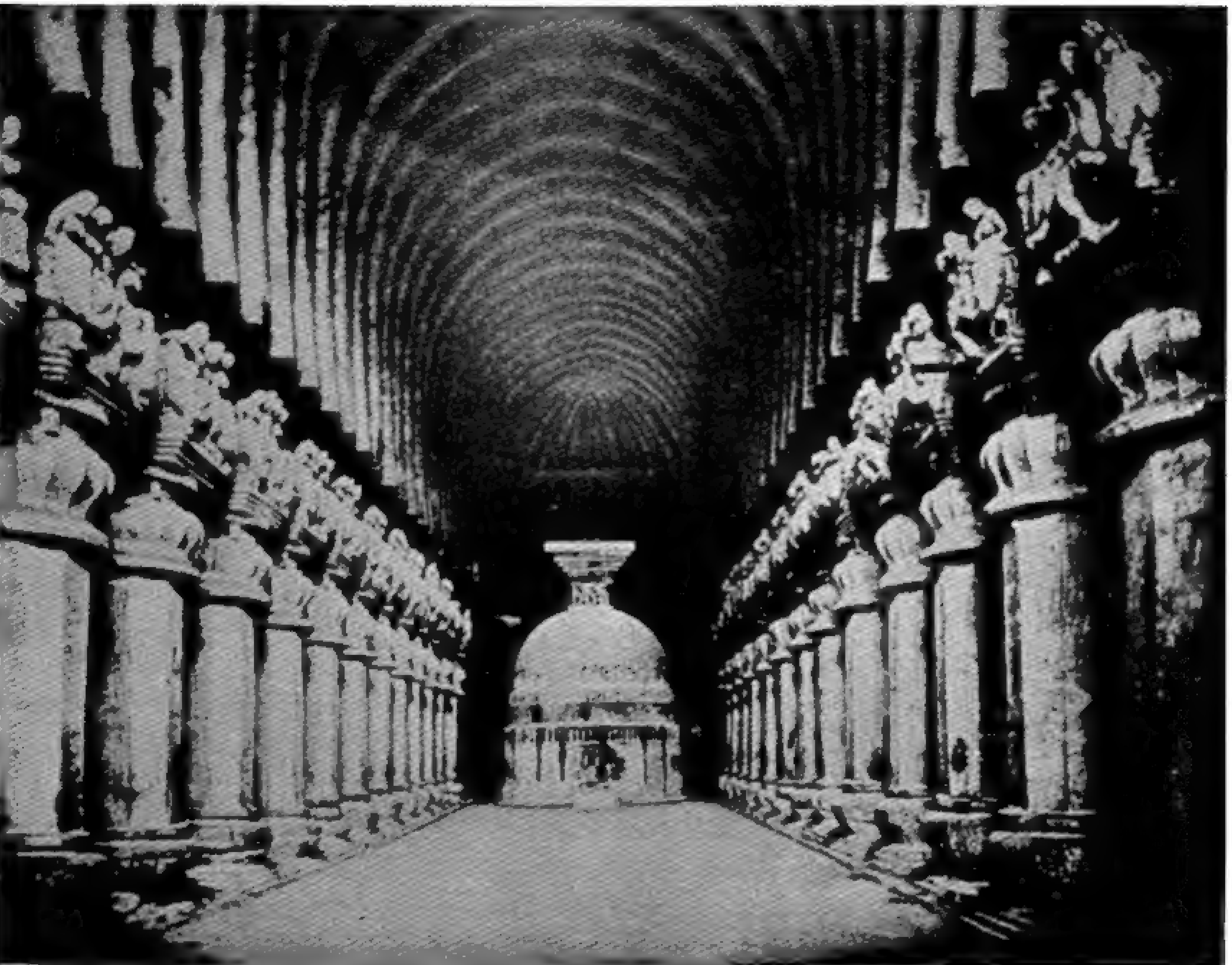
(Phot. India Office.)

XXVIII. — Nāsik. Vihāra n.3 of Gautamīputra.



(Phot. India Office.)

XXIX. — Kārli. Front of the Caitya.



(Phot. India Office.)

XXX. — Kārli. Interior of the Caitya.